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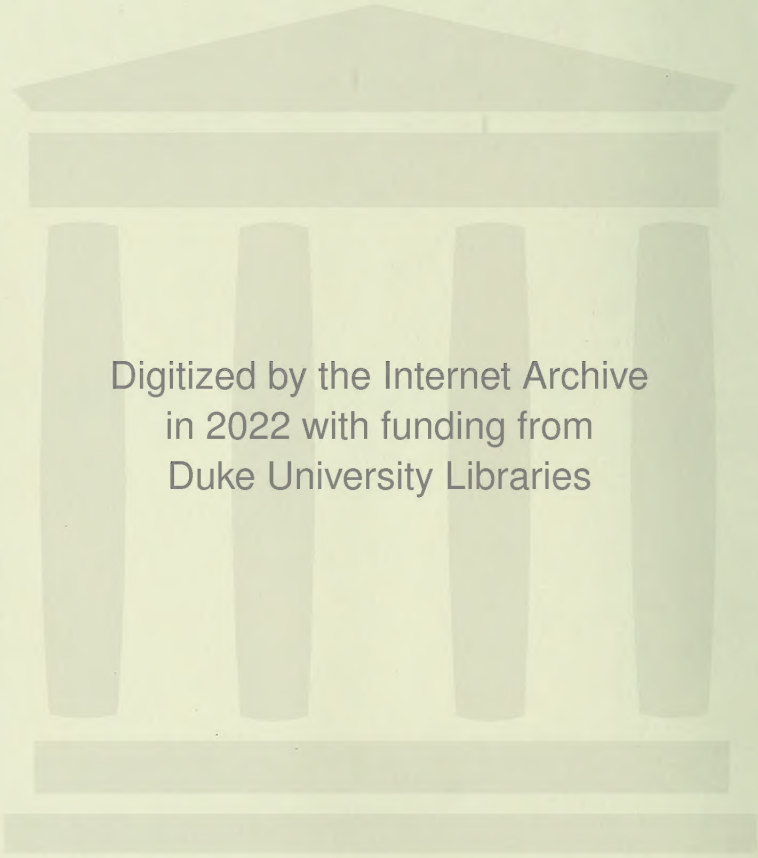
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QUEEN ELIZABETH.

(From the painting by Zucchero at Hatfield House.)

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

A HISTORY FOR THE PEOPLE

BY THE
VERY REV. H. D. M. SPENCE, D.D.
Dean of Gloucester

VOL. III.

THE ENGLISH REFORMATION

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CONTENTS.

CHAPTER		PAGE
XLI.	The Secular Popes	1
XLII.	Luther and the German Reformation	12
XLIII.	The Two Last English Ecclesiastical Chancellors	27
XLIV.	Henry VIII. and the Divorce	41
XLV.	The Parliament of the Reformation. The Vicar-General Thomas Cromwell	56
XLVI.	Suppression of the Lesser Monasteries	96
XLVII.	The Final Confiscation of all Monastic Houses	120
XLVIII.	Further Progress of the Reformation till the Death of Henry VIII.	149
XLIX.	Edward VI. and the First Prayer-Book	185
L.	The Second Prayer-Book. Death of Edward VI.	207
LI.	Mary and the Roman Reaction	232
LII.	The Spanish Marriage, and the Reconciliation with Rome	248
LIII.	The Marian Persecution. Ridley and Latimer	269
LIV.	The Burning of Cranmer. The Marian Martyrs	293
LV.	Mary's Failure and Death	315
LVI.	Accession of Elizabeth. Cecil, Parker, and Jewel	326
LVII.	Archbishop Parker and his Work	356
LVIII.	The Great Contest with Spain and Rome	387
LIX.	Archbishop Grindal and the Puritan Party	408
LX.	Archbishop Whitgift and the Anglican Development. Richard Hooker	423
LXI.	Close of Elizabeth's Reign. The Reformed Church of England	445

EXCURSUS D.

The Story of the Nun of Kent, Commonly Known as the "Holy Maid of Kent," 1531—1534 469

EXCURSUS E.

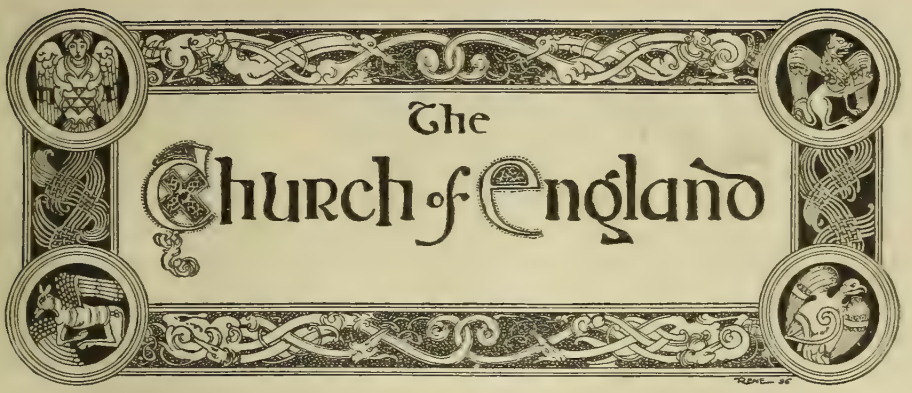
The Parker Library at Cambridge 470

EXCURSUS F.

Spenser's Portrait of Grindal 472

LIST OF PLATES.

Queen Elizabeth	*Frontis.*	
Archbishop Cranmer	*To face page*	50
Furness Abbey	„	121
Norman Tower and North Transept, Winchester Cathedral	„	245
View of Oxford City	„	271
Exeter Cathedral: The West Front	„	342
Bath Abbey	„	419



CHAPTER XLI.

THE SECULAR POPES.

Character of the Popes who preceded the Reformation—Sixtus IV. a purely Political Ruler—Open Immorality of Innocent VIII.—Alexander VI. and the Borgias—Pius III. also the Father of a Family—Julius II.—Shameless Intrigues of Pontifical Elections—Political Ability of Julius—Founder of the Papal States—Extraordinary Contemporary Satire upon this Pope—The Medicæan Leo X.—His Magnificence and Patronage of Art and Letters—Attempted Reform under Adrian VI.—His Sincerity, but utter Failure—Clement VII.—His Simoniacal Conduct—Sack of Rome under his Papacy—Paul IV. and his Illegitimate Family—Papal Patronage of Art and Letters.

THE line of Popes who filled the principal and most influential position in the religious world of the west during the half century which preceded the Reformation in England, no doubt largely contributed to the public feeling which demanded and obtained the great change. With rare exceptions, they were worldly men rather than spiritual guides; energetic and often unscrupulous statesmen and princes, rather than churchmen. Purely secular and self-seeking men, with a cynical disbelief in the doctrines they professed to teach, and with a shameless disregard of the ascetic virtues held in estimation by the church in which they were the chief pastors, it may well be conceived that such men utterly failed to see what was lacking in the church of their time; they were blind—utterly blind—to the wants and needs of the peoples whose religion they professed to guide and direct.

Indeed, such men as Innocent VIII., Julius II., and Leo X. could never have been expected to enter into any questions connected with vital religion. They lived in another atmosphere altogether than that breathed by Colet and More in England, or Luther and Melancthon in Germany. Vital religion to the Popes of this period, distinguished and for the most part able men that they were, was quite outside their lives. The principal work under-

taken by a Sixtus IV. and a Julius II., and more or less adopted by the other Popes of this period, was the foundation of a secular kingdom, in which the Pope was the monarch. The building up of the States of the Church was the great feature in the story of the Papacy, at the time when the mighty questions which resulted in the Reformation were agitating men's minds in central and northern Europe.

Let us rapidly glance over the careers and characters of this line of mighty prelates, with their awful claims to a supreme spiritual power.

Sixtus IV., who filled the papal chair A.D. 1471 to 1484, began what may be termed the secularisation of the Papacy. Of him Machiavelli writes: "He was the first Pope who began to show the extent of the papal power, and how things that before were called errors could be hidden behind the papal authority." The historian of these popes thus explains these weighty words: "The papal power which Machiavelli had before his eyes was not the moral authority of the head of Christendom, but the power of an Italian prince who was engaged in consolidating his dominions into an important state . . . This object Sixtus IV. pursued passionately, to the exclusion of the other duties of his office." *

His successor, Innocent VIII. (A.D. 1484 to 1492), who pursued the same policy, in his private life openly disregarded the most venerable traditions of the mediæval church: preferring his relations, among them his own acknowledged son, to high and important offices. Indeed, with bitter but not untrue irony this pontiff has been described as setting the example of an estimable father of a family. His example, as might have been expected from a Pope who openly recognised in the Vatican a son and daughter, was generally disastrous to the discipline and the whole moral tone of the church. Bacon, alluding to a bull of privileges granted by Innocent VIII. to king Henry VII., in grateful return for a complimentary oration delivered by the English ambassador, writes: "The Pope, knowing himself to be lazy and unprofitable to the Christian world, was wonderfully glad to hear that there were such echoes of him sounding in so distant parts."

Alexander VI. (cardinal Borgia), who reigned in Rome from 1492 to 1503, was yet more active in the work of the secularisation of the Papacy. His career as head of the Christian church of the west was rather that of an active and utterly unscrupulous statesman, than that of a Christian bishop of the highest rank. None can deny that he was devoted to business and state affairs, and unsparing of himself in the discharge of his public duties as a ruler. He ever punctually discharged the ecclesiastical duties of a Pope so far as mere ritual was concerned. But his private life before his election to the Papacy was notoriously immoral, and these immoralities continued, without any attempt to conceal them, after he became Pope. Of his children, Cæsar and Lucretia have become historical, and the story of the first is disfigured with shameful intrigue and even crime.

* Bishop Creighton: "History of the Papacy during the Reformation," book v., chap. iv.

Alexander VI. (Borgia) was followed by cardinal Piccolomini, who took the title of Pius III. He only lived a few months. He, too, is known in the history of these popes as the father of several children. He was a man, however, of some learning, and his character in other respects generally stood high.

Julius II. (cardinal Rovere) took up the thread of the tortuous papal policy the same year (1503), and for ten years until 1513 was a prominent figure in European history. As a secular prince, his reign was distinguished for conspicuous ability. He carried on and developed the plans of his predecessors, which aimed at making the Papacy an important territorial power in Italy, and was successful generally in these purely secular schemes; but nothing was done in his reign to restore a spiritual tone into the Roman court. Still, it must be conceded to Julius II. that he endeavoured to provide for a purer election of future popes, and to infuse some spirit of earnestness into the college of cardinals.

The manner of life, the greed and lawlessness of these princes of the church, during this period, is one of the saddest chapters in a generally sad history. They gave and received bribes; they lived with all imaginable ostentation. Their stately Roman palaces were fortified and strengthened with towers; great numbers of armed retainers were housed in these palace-fortresses; and there they too often bid defiance to all justice and right. These men, often relations of the reigning pope, had most of them sons and nephews whom they enriched with the spoils of the church, regardless of the open scandal which their conduct occasioned. There were, of course, some exceptions; but the general reputation of the members of the once famous and still most powerful college of cardinals was evil. One of the gloomiest features of this time was the network of intrigue and plotting which enveloped every succeeding papal election. The choice of the supreme pontiff was entirely in the hands of the cardinals; and as the choice necessarily fell upon one of their body, the antecedents, the public and private life, the ambitions, tastes, aims, and hopes of the cardinal deliberately chosen for the august office of bishop of Rome, was intimately known to the electoral body. Yet with *the knowledge of the man*, these electors, after long and careful consideration, with ceremonies handed down from a remote antiquity, in solemn conclave assembled, elected a cardinal Borgia (Alexander VI.), a cardinal Rovere (Julius II.), a cardinal Medici (Leo X.) to fulfil an office which carried with it such enormous responsibilities and which involved such tremendous claims.

Apart from utter lack of spirituality, and from a merely secular point of view, this was a great reign. Julius II. made the Papacy the centre of the politics, not of the religion of Europe. Guicciardini, the Florentine historian, writes of the Pope how, "had he been a secular prince, he would deserve the highest glory; how he was extolled by those who, having lost the right use of words and confused the distinctions of accurate speech, judge that it is the office of the Popes to bring empire to the apostolic seat by arms and by the shedding of Christian blood, more than to trouble themselves by setting an example of holy life and arresting the

decay of morals, for the salvation of those souls for whose sake they boast that Christ set them as His vicars on earth."

Julius II. may be looked upon as the Pope who completed the foundation of the Papal States, the dissolution of which strange and unhappy mixture of spiritual and secular things our own age has witnessed. In this curious reign of a bishop of Rome, we see the so-styled head of Christendom leading his armies to attack his enemies—those who were opposed to his schemes for territorial aggrandisement. It was this Pope, with his wars and intrigues, who was the subject of a bitter contemporary satire, in the shape of a strange dialogue with St. Peter at the gate of Paradise. In this dialogue he is represented as claiming, but claiming in vain, the right of entry:—

Peter (to the shade of Julius): "Have you taught true doctrine?"

Julius (replies): "Not I. I have been too busy fighting. There are monks to look after doctrine, if that is of any consequence."

Peter: "Who are those dark ones with the scars?"

Julius: "Those are my soldiers and generals who were killed fighting for me. They all deserve heaven. I promised it them under hand and seal if they lost their lives in my service, no matter how wicked they might be."

Peter: "How about the duke of Ferrara?"

Julius: "I wanted the duchy of Ferrara for a son of my own, who could be depended on to be true to the church, and who had just poniarded the cardinal of Pavia."

Peter: "What! Popes with wives and children?"

Julius: "Wives! No, not wives. But why not children?"

Peter: "Were the opposition cardinals bad men?"

Julius: "I know no harm of their morals. The cardinal of Rouen was sanctimonious—always crying for reform in the church. Anyhow, death relieved me of him, and I was glad. Another, the cardinal of St. Cross, a Spaniard, was also a good sort of man, but he was rigid, austere, and given to theology, a class of man always unfriendly to the Popes."

Peter: "How have you increased the church?"

Julius: "I found it poor: I have made it splendid."

Peter: "Splendid with what? With faith?"

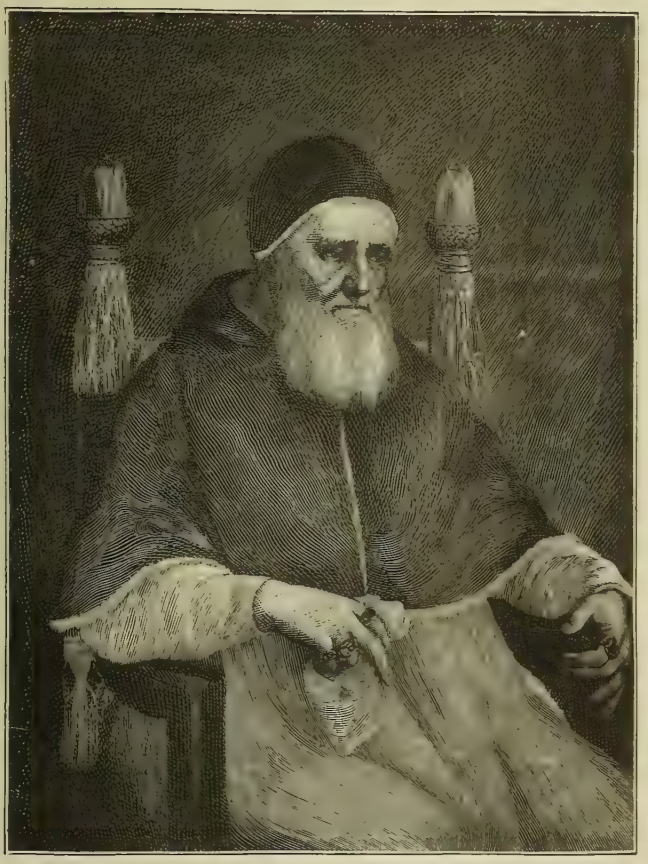
Julius: "These are words. I have filled Rome with palaces, troops of servants, armies and officers, with purple and gold, with glory, hoards of treasure."

Peter: "At any rate, this is the worldly side. How about the other?"

Julius: "You are thinking about the old affair, when you starved as Pope, with a handful of poor hunted bishops about you. Time has changed all that. Look now at our gorgeous churches, our priests by thousands, bishops like kings, with retinues and with palaces, cardinals in their purple gloriously attended, horses and mules decked with gold and jewels, shod with gold and silver. Beyond all, myself supreme Pontiff, borne on soldiers' shoulders in a golden chair. Hearken to the roar of cannon, the bugle notes, the drums—kings of the earth

scarce admitted to kiss my holiness's foot. Look at all this, and tell me, is it not magnificent?"

Peter: "I look at a very worldly tyrant."



POPE JULIUS II.
(From the portrait by Raffaele in the National Gallery.)

Julius: "You would not say so had you seen me carried in state at Bologna and at Rome after the war with Venice, or when I beat the French at Ravenna. Those were spectacles! Carriages and horses, troops under arms, generals galloping, pomp of bishops, glory of cardinals, trophies, spoils, shouts that rent the heavens, and I carried aloft, the head and author of it all!"

Peter: "Enough — enough! The heathen were humane compared to you— you who triumphed because so many thousand Christians had been slain for your ambition; you, a Holy Father in Christ, who never did good to any single soul in word or deed!"

The strange dialogue concludes with St. Peter asking the familiar spirit

accompanying Pope Julius, "O miserable churl! tell me, spirit: are the bishops generally like this one?" The spirit replies, "Yes, a good part of them, but this is the chief, far and away." Peter closes the conversation with: "I am not surprised that so few apply now here (at the gate of Paradise) for admission, when the church has such rulers."

This unheard-of piece of scurrility, directed against the acknowledged chief bishop of western Christendom, with his claims to an awful power, was so popular that it was brought on the public stage at Paris.* It may have been, probably was, grossly exaggerated; but it reflects the feelings with which many at that time regarded the greatest of the line of those secular Popes who reigned at the Vatican in the early years of the sixteenth century. Yet when this renowned warrior, statesman, and Pope died, in 1513, Rome, her turbulent, pleasure-loving citizens, her magnificent cardinals and nobles, unfeignedly mourned. "Men felt that a great man had passed away."

Pope Julius II. was a notable example of an illustrious churchman, in those dark days when Christianity had well-nigh vanished from the church. Such a head of the western church, in no slight degree precipitated the great crash. The life of the Pope was too faithfully copied by many of his subordinates in the countries of northern and central Europe. He was imitated by lesser men, who possessed the worldly tastes but were not actuated by the lofty aims and patriotic ambitions of their master, who loved Italy and Rome. Sceptics often at heart, they used the still mighty influence of the church for their own selfish ends. Such men were, alas! numerous among the cardinals, the archbishops, the bishops, and the higher clergy of the first quarter of the sixteenth century.

"The most precious memorial of Julius II. is his portrait by Raffaele, on which many of us have gazed with curious admiration. It is a veritable revelation of his character. Seated in an arm-chair, with head bent downwards, the Pope is in deep thought. His furrowed brow and his deep-sunk eyes tell of energy and decision. The down-drawn corners of his mouth betoken constant dealings with the world. Raffaele has caught the momentary repose of a restless and passionate spirit."* Alas! the spirit of the great Pope was that of a thoroughly worldly, not of a religious man.

The cardinals chose as successor to Julius II. one of their number well fitted to carry on the now traditionary policy of the line of secular Popes. Cardinal Medici, the moving spirit of the powerful and famous Florentine house of that name, who assumed the title of Leo X., is perhaps the best known of these stately and magnificent pontiffs, whose lives and policy excited in minds like Luther's so intense a feeling of sorrow and almost of despair. Leo X. cardinal Medici, reigned some eight years A.D. 1513 to 1521, a period which included the early years of the revolt of Germany under the influence of Luther and his com

* For these extracts also we are indebted to Mr. Froude's translations in the "Oxford Lectures" "Life and Letters of Erasmus." (Longmans & Co., 1895.)

* Bishop Creighton: "History of the Papac during the Reformation," book v., chap. xvii.

panions. (The theses of the reformer against the doctrine of indulgences were nailed to the Wittenberg church door in 1517.) The cardinals desired a kindly, magnificent Pope, perhaps less politically active than the dead Julius II., less bellicose, but still a pontiff who would maintain the secular dignity rather than the spiritual position of the chief pontiff. Such a man they found exactly in cardinal Medici. There was a story widely circulated, that one of the first sayings of the new Pope to his elder brother, Giulamo Medici, was, "Let us enjoy the Papacy, since God has given it to us."

The reign of the Medici Leo X. was long looked back to in Rome and Italy as the golden age—as the period of its greatest glory. Under his rule Rome was the real capital of Italy, the centre of arts and letters. The court of Leo was magnificent, and considering the age and the lax code of its society, no especially glaring immorality disfigured it. The entertainments at the Vatican were numerous and splendid, and the guests not unfrequently numbered as many as two thousand. It was to supply means for all this lavish expenditure, that such devices as the sale of indulgences, which stirred the heart of Luther, were pressed, though the ostensible reason for the urgent need of money was the prosecution of the costly works in the new church of St. Peter's.

His latest historian* tells us how Leo X. was also a keen sportsman, and that as soon as the summer heat began to abate, he withdrew from Rome and devoted a couple of months to field sports, including hawking, fishing, and the more active sport of the chase of deer and wild boars. He was always the kindly and liberal patron of art and literature, and in his days Rome was ever the favourite home of the great architects, painters, and sculptors, who made that eventful age in Italy so famous. In spite of all his devices to raise money, when he died his treasury was empty and his debts enormous. This was the pontiff who represented the mediæval church at the time when its very existence was threatened by the German revolt; at the time when, in every country of Europe, men's minds were turned to the urgent necessity for a thorough reform in the church's doctrines and practices.

Something of a reaction in the college of cardinals, probably largely aided by the influence of the emperor Charles V., took place on the premature death of Leo X., and resulted in the election of the emperor's tutor, cardinal Adrian of Utrecht, a man sixty-three years old, with a wide reputation for piety. Pope Adrian VI. was no mean theologian, and was earnestly desirous of promoting a real reformation in the Papacy and in the church at large. He had, however, no sympathy whatever with the new learning, and he was bitterly hostile to Luther and his theological views. A curious change at once passed over the Vatican court. Instead of the lavish profusion and gorgeous magnificence of Leo X. and his predecessors, Alexander VI. (Borgia) and Julius II., the household of Adrian VI. was of the simplest description. An old Flemish woman presided over the kitchen, and the Pope was waited on at table by two Spanish pages. He pressed upon the luxurious cardinals the urgent

* Bishop Creighton.

need for reform in the church's manners, and called upon them to set the example of devotion and of a stern frugality.

The result of these sharp measures was to win him much unpopularity, and even hatred, in Rome. Abroad he pursued the same measures of retrenchment, and pressed upon foreign churches the necessity of immediate change in their way of living and working. "The time is past," he wrote, "when God will connive at our faults. The age is changed, and popular opinion no longer thinks that the charges brought against us are partly false. The axe is laid at the foot of the tree, unless we choose to return to wisdom. Let the Pope and the curia do away their errors, by which God and man are justly offended; let them bring the clergy once more under discipline. If the Germans see this done, there will be no further talk of Luther. The root and the cure of the evil are alike in ourselves."

It was, indeed, time that something should be done at headquarters if the church were to be saved. Personal profligacy had long surrounded the pontiff's throne; everything connected with Rome was rotten to the core, at home and abroad. The Tetzel scandal in the matter of indulgences was, in fact, repeated—perhaps with less coarseness and openness, but still repeated—in England in every great and small town, as well as in a thousand centres on the Continent. Everything connected with the supreme authority at Rome was sold — legal justice and spiritual privileges, promotions, dispensations, pardons, indulgences; the very revenue of the holy see depended largely on simony; and at the same time all the officials, from the senior cardinal down to the lowest clerk in the chancery, were naturally averse to any inquiry, reform, or alteration in a system upon which their income for daily bread or daily luxury absolutely depended.

Adrian VI., in his honest longing for reforms, looked round in vain for helpers in his formidable task. Alas! he soon died. He was, as has been well suggested, helped out of life, perhaps, by the hopelessness of his task. 1522 witnessed his election, the following year (1523) witnessed his obsequies. "He is," writes his biographer, "a pathetic figure in the annals of the Papacy. A man whose very virtues were vain, because he had not force to clothe his ideas with such a form that they appealed to men's imagination. He had no impressiveness, no fire, no attractiveness. The cynical diplomatists and self-seeking ecclesiastics who were around him were never moved, even for a moment, by any consciousness that they stood before a man whose life was built higher than their own. All that he could do was to raise a barren protest, which created no sympathy on either side. He forgot that the old-fashioned conception of a pope, which he strove to restore, had entirely faded from men's minds, and his revival was only a caricature. An old and feeble man, without resources, without a party, he hoped to convince a stubborn and distracted world by the mere force of an example of primitive piety."* But Adrian died all too soon, perhaps of a broken heart. Still, he will ever shine out among that long line of secular dissolute popes as a noble, self-denying man, but who was

* Bishop Creighton.

unequal to the great task to which he had set himself.

THE INTERIOR OF ST. PETER'S, ROME.

Adrian VI. was succeeded by another cardinal of the powerful Medici house, who took the name of Clement VII. He was an Italian of the old school of worldly ecclesiastics, trained in the courts of Alexander VI. (Borgia) and Julius II. His election was mainly due to intrigues among the cardinals. He engaged to divide among the members of the college by lot the many benefices which he held. This simoniacal bargain gives some index to the character of the new pontiff, and to the spirit which actuated the cardinal princes in whose hands lay the all-important choice.

The Roman folk were full of joy, however, at the prospect of the restoration of

Photo: Alinari.

THE EXTERIOR OF ST. PETER'S, ROME.

the brave days of Leo X., with a lavishly spending court. There was no longer any talk of reform or change; but things went

on in the papal circle as they had done aforetime. This pontificate is especially remarkable for the awful disaster which befel Rome itself. We are not concerned here with the story of the tortuous intrigues of Italy. Clement VII. became pope at the close of 1523. In 1527 the western world was startled and horrified at the news that a large army of mercenaries, nominally under the banner of the Empire, disappointed of its pay, had mutinied and marched upon Rome; had stormed it after a feeble and ill-directed resistance, and had then proceeded to sack the magnificent city, under circumstances of unexampled barbarity.

This terrible catastrophe, of course, for ever destroyed the prestige of Clement VII., of whom we shall hear again when we relate the unhappy story of the divorce of king Henry VIII. of England. It was this Pope Clement who played fast and loose with Henry VIII. and Katherine of Arragon; now playing into the hands of Katherine's nephew, the emperor Charles V., who supported his aunt, the unhappy queen; now holding out hopes to the infatuated English king that the church would break the bonds of the marriage, in accordance with Henry VIII.'s passionate wish. In the end, having pleased and satisfied neither Englishman nor Spaniard, Pope Clement found that his faithless policy had created that rift between England and the Papacy which, save once for a few short disastrous years, has never been bridged over since, though more than three centuries and a half separate us from the days when the sad tragedy of king Henry VIII.'s divorce was being played in Rome and London.

We may add one sombre detail to our grey, sad-coloured picture. When Clement VII. passed away, the college of cardinals in 1534 was pleased to elect in his room one of their number, the cardinal Farnese, known in history as Paul III. This prelate, like so many of his predecessors in the Papacy, had a family of illegitimate children. Immediately on his accession he created two of his grandsons—still boys of fifteen and fourteen years of age—cardinals of the church, "as props, he pleaded, for his old age." The Italian writer, Pallavicino, as an apology for this act, pleads that cardinal Farnese, Paul III., had been trained in an age of wickedness "the very memory of which cannot be recalled without a shudder of horror and indignation."

Here must close this hasty sketch of the Popes who reigned during the half century which immediately preceded the Reformation of the English Church. It has been drawn for the purpose of showing how utterly unfitted was this line of secular Popes (not to bestow on them a harsher epithet) to oppose any barrier to the rapid march of circumstances which led to the great change; indeed, the lives and policy of this succession of acknowledged heads of western Christianity in no small degree contributed to the catastrophe. As religious men, as heads of the spiritual power of the western world, a position they claimed, and which in the sadly mistaken age in which they lived was largely conceded to them, they were indeed weighed in the balance and found utterly wanting. But the fair historian must

not omit one title to honour which they have fairly merited from the generations which followed them. They were, generally speaking, true and magnificent patrons of art in its highest and noblest sense. The two greatest of these "secular" Popes, Julius II. and Leo X., were conspicuous examples of such enlightened patronage, and as such have earned the undying gratitude of all who are sensible of the ennobling and purifying power of true art.

The pontificates of Julius II. and Leo X. lasted from A.D. 1503 to A.D. 1521, a period of nearly twenty years. Julius II. was, if not the discoverer of the mighty genius of Bramante, Raffaele, and Michael Angelo, at least the munificent patron who gave these men the means and opportunity to carry out and develop their schemes of work, which have been for more than three centuries and a half the admiration of the civilised world.

Bramante, the great architect of the Renaissance, has left behind him many specimens in Rome of his unrivalled genius in the magnificent palaces he built for certain of the wealthy cardinals, and in the vast conceptions he carried out in the old Vatican palace; but his master-work was, of course, the new church of St. Peter's, built on the site of the older and more venerable building, with its innumerable memories. Bramante died more than a hundred years before the completion of the St. Peter's known to us. Considerable changes were made in the original design; but the splendid conception of the vastest church in Christendom belonged to Bramante, the architect of Julius and Leo. In many respects our own St. Paul's is a copy, of course on a smaller scale, of the Renaissance temple of these magnificent Popes whose story we have been telling.

What Bramante, under the inspiration of Julius and Leo, did for architecture, Raffaele and Michael Angelo accomplished for painting and sculpture. Pilgrims who love art, from every country of the civilised world, for three and a half centuries have reverently gazed at, and many of them carefully studied and vainly tried to imitate, the works of these true masters.

Leo X. was, however, more than a munificent and discerning patron of art. He earnestly encouraged and promoted the cultivation of the new learning, providing well-nigh a hundred professors for the education of students, and from all quarters in his days famous scholars were attracted Romewards. In one of his bulls he wrote "that his design was to make the city of Rome the capital of the world in literature as it is in everything else." A still more accurate knowledge of Greek was the greatest object aimed at, and a series of valuable and costly editions of forgotten classical works were published at Rome. While, however, we read with curious interest the titles of some of these: Pindar, Theocritus, scholia on Homer or Sophocles, etc., we look in vain for editions of the Greek New Testament. The book loved by Christians above all books in the world, was ignored by the Roman school of learning fostered by the great secular Popes; the Greek New Testament was left to other and different hands to disinter, to print, to revise, and to comment upon. The worldly Popes of that wonderful age took little interest in such matters as these.

CHAPTER XLII.

LUTHER AND THE GERMAN REFORMATION.

Luther's Birth and Parentage—Early Life—His Visit to Rome—Tetzel and the Indulgences—Luther's Indignation—Publishes his Theses—Carelessness of Leo X. about the Matter—The Pope anathematises Luther, and Luther burns the Bull—The Diet of Worms—Luther's German Bible—His Marriage—What the Protestants really "protested" against—The League of Schmalkald—Appearance and Character of Luther—Basis of his Theology—Excesses of the Lutheran Reaction—Luther and Erasmus—Sir Thomas More's Opinion—Pamphlets of the Reformation Period—Reuchlin—True Sources of the Reformation.

WE sketched in our last volume the chief English pioneers of our own Reformation: Colet and More belonged, of course, to our country; and Erasmus, as we have seen, not only did most of his Greek New Testament in England, but received the principal inspiration for his great work from his English friends. There is a fourth figure we must now attempt to paint. He was indeed in no sense an Englishman; but his work had so vast an influence upon the momentous religious change about to pass over our church, that it is impossible to tell the Reformation story of England, without dwelling for a brief space on the life, the character, and the doctrines of the German teacher who brought about so tremendous a change in doctrinal teaching and religious rites in Germany and on the continent of Europe. No such history as ours can be complete, without some attempt to sketch the mighty figure of Martin Luther.

He was born in Thuringia, a province of North Central Germany, in A.D. 1483, some sixteen years later than Erasmus. His parents were honest enterprising mechanics who by patient industry raised themselves to a position of fair competence, which enabled them carefully to educate their boy Martin, who early showed promise of future distinction. He set his heart upon being a priest, somewhat against his father's wish, and when still young became a monk in an Augustinian monastery in his native country. There he distinguished himself by his passionate love of study and by his stern, ascetic way of life. His superiors, anxious to provide the young and earnest monk with suitable useful work, procured for him the post of teacher or professor in the newly-founded university of Wittenberg in Saxony, where he soon became a power as a teacher and preacher.

In 1511, when he was twenty-eight years of age, he was sent to Rome on some business connected with the affairs of his Augustinian order. His enthusiastic spirit longed to see Rome, and it is said, when he first caught sight of the city, he threw himself in intense devotion on the ground, crying out, "Holy Rome, I salute thee!" But, alas! what he saw there sadly disappointed him. Julius II. was Pope, and the character and life of the pontiff and his cardinals were utterly at variance with

Albertus dei ⁊ aplice sedis gra. scte Moguntinen sedis. ac Magdeburgen. eccle Archiepus. pmas. ⁊ sacri Ro: imperii in germania ar
chicancellarius. pncepsq elector ac administrator: Halberstatten. Marchio Brandenburgen. Stetinen. Pomeranie: Cassubo: Sclavorumq dux
Burggravius Nurenbergen. Rugieq princeps. Et guardianus fratrum ordinis minor de obseruantia pventus Moguntini. Per sanctissimu
dnm nostru Leonem Papam decimu. per provincias Moguntinen. ac Magdeburgen. ac illarum ⁊ Halberstatten. civitates ⁊ dic. cet. necnō terras
⁊ loca illustrissimi ⁊ illustriu Principu dnorum Marchionu Brandenburgen. temporali dominio mediate vel immediate subiecta nuncij ⁊ com
missarij: ad infrascripta specialiter deputati. Vniuersis ⁊ singulis pñtes literas inspecturis Salutem in dno. Motu facimus q̄ sanctissimus dns
noster Leo divina p̄ovidentia Papa decimus modernus: omnibus ⁊ singulis vtriusq; sexus christifidelibus: ad reparatōem fabrice basilice p̄nci
palis ap̄lor sancti Petri de vrbe: iuxta ordinatōem nr̄am manus porrigentibus adiutrices: vltra pleniss̄imas indulgentias ac alias gr̄as ⁊ facultates
q̄s christifideles ipsi obtinere possunt: iuxta literar aplicar desuper pfectar tenentia miscēter etiā in dno indultas atq; pcessas: vt idoneū possint
eligere pfessorem plbm secularem. vel cuiuslibet etiā mendicantiū ordinis regularem. qui eor confessione diligenter audita. p̄ro cōmissis per eligentem
delictis ⁊ excessibus: ac pcis quibuslibet: quantumcūq; grauibus ⁊ enormibus: etiā in dicte sedi reseruatis casibus: ac censuris ecclasticis: etiam ab
hac. ad alicuius instantiā latis. de plenitudine potestatis. ac de consilio fratrū. etiā cōe interdicti incursus. ⁊ quar absolutio eidem sedi esset specialr̄ reseruata. Preterq; machina
tionis in personā summi pontificis: occasionis eōr aut alior superior p̄latorum iniectionis manuū violentar in illos aut alios p̄latos. falsificatōis
literar aplicar. delationis armor. ⁊ alior prohibitor ad partes infidelium: ac sententiar ⁊ censurar̄ occasione aluminū vulse aplice de partibus infi
delium ad fideles p̄tra p̄hibitōem aplicam delator incursar. semel in vita ⁊ in mortis articulo quotiens ille imminebit. licet mors tunc nō subsequat
Et in nō reseruatis casibus totiens quotiens id petierint plenarie absoluere ⁊ eis pniam salutarem iniungere. necnō semel in vita ⁊ in dicto mortis arti
culo: plenariam oīm peccator indulgentiā ⁊ remissionem impendere. Necnō per eos emissa p̄ro tempore vota quecūq; (vltra marino: visitationis
liminū apostolor: ⁊ sancti Jacobi in compostella: religionis ⁊ castitatis vot̄is dūtaxat exceptis) in alia pietatis opera cōmutare auctoritate aplica
possit ⁊ valeat. Indulsit quoq; idem sanctissimus dns noster. p̄fatos benefactores eor̄umq; parentes defunctos qui cū charitate decesserūt in p̄cibus:
suffragijs: elemosynis: ieiunijs: orationibus: missis: bonis canonicis: disciplinis: pegrinationibus: ⁊ ceteris omnibus spūalibus bonis que fiunt
⁊ fieri poterunt in tota vniuersali, sacrosancta eccla militante: ⁊ in omnibus membris eiusdem in perpetuum participes fieri. Et quia devot[illegible]
ad ipsam fabricā ⁊ necessariā instauratōem
supradicte basilice p̄ncipis apostolor iuxta sanctissimi dni nostri Pape intentionem ⁊ nostram ordinatōem de bonis suis p̄tribuendo se gratum
exhibuit. In cuius rei signū pñtes literas a nobis accepit. Ideo eadem auctate aplica nobis cōmissa: ⁊ qua fungimur in hac parte
ipsi q̄dictis gratijs ⁊ indulgentijs vti ⁊ eisdem gaudere possit ⁊ valeat p̄sentes concedimus ⁊ largimur. Datum
sub sigillo per nos ad hec ordinato. Die Mensis Anno domini. M.D.xvii

¶ Forma absolutionis totiens quotiens in vita.

Misereatur tui. ꝛc. Dns noster Jesus christus per meritum sue passionis te absoluat: auctate cuius ⁊ aplica mihi in hac parte commissa: ⁊
tibi concessa: ego te absoluo ab omnibus peccatis tuis. In nomine patris ⁊ filij ⁊ spiritus sancti Amen.

Forma absolutionis et plenissime remissionis: semel in vita et in mortis articulo.

Misereatur tui ꝛc. Dns noster Jesus christus p̄ meritū sue passionis te absoluat: ⁊ ego auctate ipsius ⁊ aplica mihi in hac parte cōmissa: ⁊ tibi
pcessa te absoluo. p̄mo ab oī sentēia excōicationis maioris vel minoris si quā incurristi. unde ab oibus p̄cis tuis: p̄ferendo tibi plenissimā oīm
pcōr tuor remissionem. remittendo tibi etiā penas purgatorij in quantū fuisse claues scte matris ecclie extendūt. In noie pris ⁊ filij ⁊ spūssancti Amen.

K Rome, Ch. 17.
Leo X.

INDULGENCE ISSUED BY POPE LEO X. TO RAISE MONEY FOR THE RE-BUILDING OF ST. PETER'S.

[*This was the Indulgence sold by Tetzel* (see p. 14) *as sub-commissary under Albert, Bishop of Mentz and Magdeburg. The name in writing is that of the recipient. Dated April* 13, 1517.] (*British Museum.*)

what the young Augustinian professor had pictured. He returned home disillusioned, even shocked, but once more devoted himself with renewed earnestness to the work of preaching and lecturing, striving to do his little share of duty even while the heads of the church were so conspicuously ignoring theirs. His fame as a preacher grew. The Elector Frederick, listening to him, one day said, "This monk has strange ideas."

Then came an incident, small in itself, but which, coming under the very eyes of Luther, already ill at ease and unhappy when he remembered what was going on at Rome and in other important centres of religious life, excited his deepest indignation and sorrow. Leo X. had succeeded Julius II., a magnificent, liberal, sceptical prelate, utterly devoid of all real spiritual earnestness. The court of Rome was extravagant. Large sums of money flowed into it from various sources, but the expenditure of Leo X. far outstripped his revenues, great though they were. One of this pontiff's dreams was to complete the vast and splendid buildings of the new St. Peter's church; especially for this object the many agents of Rome throughout Europe were pressed to gather extra money for the papal exchequer.

Among the frightful corruptions in the church life of the day, stood pre-eminent the strange and unnatural traffic in "indulgences." The monstrous fiction gradually had gained ground, that in the spiritual treasury of the Pope were accumulated the superfluous merits of all the saints from the days of the Apostles downwards. These were the Pope's own property, to dispose of as he pleased. A large revenue yearly accrued to the holy see from the sale of these indulgences. It is difficult to believe that either buyer or seller could really persuade themselves that such a traffic in good earnest benefited the soul, either of quick or dead; but the traffic, urged on by various motives—some based on foolish superstition, some on mere greed—went on unhindered in all the countries in communion with Rome.

It was in A.D. 1516–1517 that a Dominican named Tetzel appeared in the neighbourhood of Wittenberg, where Luther lived and worked. This monk had been entrusted with raising a sum of money for the needs of the papal court, and especially for the costly building works of St. Peter's, by means of these indulgences. He seems to have travelled from town to town, advertising these strange wares after the fashion of a wandering pedlar or chapman. The story, as we read it, sounds incredible, were it not supported by such ample evidence. The churches were decorated to receive this unworthy representative of the bishop of Rome. A red cross was fixed on the altar, a silk banner with the Papal arms floated over it, an alms-dish to receive the purchase-money for the indulgences was placed near, and the Dominican from the pulpit exhorted the bystanders to come and purchase forgiveness for their sins. Even grave iniquities—so taught Tetzel—might be covered by the purchase of these indulgences.

Shocked and dismayed by this shameless prostitution of at best a precarious and shadowy priestly claim, Luther, having remonstrated in vain, openly protested, and in the October of 1517 nailed on the door of the church of Wittenberg his

famous challenge to Tetzel or any emissary of the Pope to prove from Holy Scripture that a certificate signed by the bishop of Rome had the power of putting away sin. The protest consisted of ninety-five theses on the various features of these papal indulgences or pardons, which were especially sought for by anxious souls fearing for relatives or dear ones suffering the unknown pains of purgatory, and who hoped, possibly in some cases against hope, that the pardon of the Pope would free these departed souls, or at least shorten the period of their anguish. Luther boldly asserted that the papal assertion was monstrous. The church might cancel penances which it imposed, but the church's pardon could not reach to purgatory, on the other side of the grave. Those, he said, whom God had condemned, must there remain till He Himself was pleased to set them free.

The story of the act and words of Luther rang through Germany and most of Europe. The protest of the bold teacher of Wittenberg was generally applauded. Even many churchmen, faithful and loyal to the Pope, heartily approved. The scandal of the sale of indulgences was absolutely indefensible. It had long been felt by many to be a gross abuse, and the exposure of Tetzel brought the question to a head. As yet, however, Luther remained loyal to the Pope. He only demanded a disclaimer of Tetzel and his proceedings from Rome; and if that had been given the matter, so far as he was concerned, would probably have ended.

But the disclaimer never came. At first, Pope Leo X. treated the affair as of no importance. Luther, however, was in bitter earnest, and stoutly defended his bold theses. Disputations on the subject were held at Heidelberg. Other and grave charges came up against the exactions of the papal court through its varied emissaries, and in the end Luther was summoned to Rome. He refused to go. The German princes were urged by Leo to arrest the daring heretic, as he was soon styled. The princes, however, declined to take any step against one who unmistakably had public opinion on his side. Luther demanded that a General Council of the church should be held to consider these grave accusations. The whole question of the papal supremacy, its enormous claims, its crying abuses, was soon brought to the front; and actual revolt against the old order of things in the religious world had begun.

Rome curiously underrated the influence of Luther in Germany. No real attempt was made to understand his remonstrances, or to reply to his charges. The Pope and his cardinals dreaded the General Council, for which so many earnest men were hoping, and a bull anathematising Luther was published. This bull brought things to an absolute crisis. Luther replied by publicly burning the papal bull at Wittenberg, before a crowd of professors and students who sympathised with him. The decretals and other traditional documents, upon which the claims of the bishop of Rome were largely based, were tossed by the daring reformer into the same bonfire. This public and insulting renunciation of the Roman supremacy by Luther and his friends took place in A.D. 1520.

Charles V. had recently been crowned emperor, and his first Germanic Diet met

at Worms in the following year (1521). The principal business before that august and important assembly of the German sovereign princes, electors, and magnates was "to check the progress of new and dangerous opinions." Luther was summoned to appear before the Diet. Although a safe-conduct was promised him, he was urged to keep away. The burning of Huss at Constance, in spite of a similar guarantee, was in vain urged upon him. Luther's celebrated reply to these friendly warnings is well known: "Though there were as many devils in Worms as there are tiles upon the houses, I will go there."

As might have been expected, the Diet condemned him, although he had many friends in the Council—some open, more perhaps unavowed. But it was impossible for the supreme Council of the Empire to sanction an open rupture with the established order of religion. Luther, of course, declined to submit to Rome, and was formally placed under the ban of the empire as an excommunicated heretic. The edict of Worms styled him "the evil fiend in human form," and ordered that his writings should be burned and never reprinted; but before the time granted him by the imperial safe-conduct had expired, his friends forcibly seized him and placed him in safety in the castle of Wartburg in Saxony. There he remained shut up, but strictly guarded by his well-wishers from harm, for nearly a year. In the meantime the edict of Worms remained practically unheeded, and the revolt against Rome spread with strange rapidity over Germany. The details of this rapid German Reformation lie, of course, altogether outside the scope of our present work, and are only referred to in this brief sketch as bearing on the more general question of the Reformation of the church. The people of Germany took the reform of their own church largely into their own hands. The monasteries were generally dissolved. The old church courts were abolished. Images were removed from the churches. Private masses were abolished, and the Mass itself was changed into a Communion Service. The church lands were sequestrated. To all these startling changes there was little resistance. The free German cities became "Lutheran" in doctrine and practice almost without exception.

We return to the great Reformer who had kindled this mighty, widespread conflagration. During his seclusion in the castle of Wartburg he prepared, mainly from the Greek Testament recently published by Erasmus, his German version of the New Testament. This was published in 1522. The Old Testament was added after a year or two. This German Bible had an enormous and rapid sale, and advanced the cause of the Reformation with an influence no invective, however bitter, or merely human argument, however powerful, could have possessed. It has been well said that it was the disinterment and subsequent publication of the Greek New Testament by Erasmus, and the translation of it into English and German a few years later, "which did the work of the Reformation; without this divine witness it would inevitably have failed."

In 1524 Luther abandoned the monastic dress, and in 1525 he married Catherine von Bora, somewhiles a nun, who had left her convent some two years before.

LUTHER BURNING THE POPE'S BULL.
(*From the picture by F. Martersteig.*)

Much both of warm praise and bitter blame has been awarded to his casting off his early monastic and priestly vows, and adopting, about the age of forty, the married life and the responsibility of a home and family; but we are not concerned here with the wisdom or the righteousness of his action. His own defence is powerful, and from his own standpoint difficult to answer. He had for years inculcated the advantage of the married state, and had pointed out the evils attendant upon enforced celibacy; surely, he argued, he was bound to endorse his teaching and that of his friends by his own example. The picture we possess of Luther's home is unmistakably a beautiful one. His loving devotion to his wife was ever unbroken, and his relations to his children are at once touching and admirable. No regrets for his action in this respect seem ever to have darkened the atmosphere of that loving home circle.

In the same year (1524) a council was held at Augsburg, which in 1526 adjourned to Spires; but nothing was done on either side in the direction of conciliation or agreement. The rift grew broader and ever broader. In 1529–30 met, under the summons of the emperor Charles V., the famous Diet of Augsburg, from which may be dated the final and formal separation of a large part of Germany from communion with Rome. The Lutheran confession of faith, known as the "Confession of Augsburg," drawn by Melancthon, was formally presented to the emperor by the elector of Saxony, who ranked as the first of the German sovereign princes. But still no compromise between the opposing parties was arrived at. The emperor put out another edict, confirming the edict of Worms of 1521, and insisted on uniformity of observance in religious matters. The married priests were ordered to put away their wives. The laity were recommended to attend mass, to pray to the Virgin and saints, and to restore the monasteries. Each prince was enjoined, under penalties, to enforce the law in his own province. On the other hand, a General Council of the church was promised immediately.

The reply to the edict of Augsburg was the League of Schmalkald, half of the states and cities of Germany agreeing to band together in defence of their liberties. The name of "*Protestants*" now appears generally on the stage of church history; as the appellation of the men who "protested," not so much against doctrines in themselves, as is the too common view, but *against being coerced* into accepting doctrines which they believed to be false, or into practising ceremonies they held to be idolatrous.

Luther survived these events some sixteen years, dying in 1546 at Eisleben. He was interred with all possible honours at Wittenberg, the scene of his first protest against the indulgences of Leo X., the act which immediately led to all these mighty changes.

For the purposes of our history of the English Church, the above bare sketch of events connected with the Reformation in Germany is sufficient; but something more is necessary in regard to the remarkable man, to whom in the providence of God the reformation work in Germany is mainly due. It is indisputable that the theology of Luther and of his associates—men like

Melancthon—in no inconsiderable degree influenced the views of our own English reformers, upon which we must presently dwell at length, and inspired at least portions of the formularies of faith which they put forth; formularies which have been adopted as the basis of all the teaching of the Church of England from the Reformation period downwards.

We have briefly alluded to the circumstances of Luther's early career. In appearance he was a stalwart man; he seems to have been sensuous, passionate, imaginative, tender, easily moved to laughter or to tears, susceptible of the strongest love or hate. His eyes, men say, were especially remarkable. They were black, with a yellow rim round the iris, such as one sees in the eyes of a lion. His passionate devotion, his intense earnestness, his student's work—work as translator, commentator, lecturer, preacher—never flagged. Much of his work is enduring, and likely to endure.

Luther in his private life was never the gloomy ascetic. He loved music, and was himself no mean composer, assigning to this popular art a place second only to theology itself. He was also an ardent admirer of painting, and his are among the earliest works made interesting by the help of engravings. Like so many of the great and eminent men of God in different ages, he had a curious and strange intimacy with the animal world, and like Francis of Assisi and our English Cuthbert, the birds of the air knew him and loved him as their friend.

What shall we say of his theology? What was there in Luther's belief and teaching which won so quickly an empire over countless human hearts; an empire which is enduring, and which shows no symptom of change or of decay? The dominant thought in his own mind has been well expressed in the following terms: "He possessed, what is perhaps the most awful and imperious creation of Christianity —the sense of sin. . . . Such a sense is at root a passion for the possession of Deity, in a man who feels Deity too awful in His goodness to be possessed by him. . . . He knows the impossibility of being worthy of God, yet feels the necessity to him of the God who seems so unapproachable, so inaccessible. To such a man reconciliation, to be real, must be of God and to God, a work of infinite grace; and religion, to be true, must be the way or method of such reconciliation. The Christian doctrine of sin would be intolerable, were it not transfigured by the Christian doctrine of grace; indeed, it is the splendour of the one which makes the shadow lie so dark on the other."*

In his earlier studies Luther had come across the Vulgate version of the New Testament, not much studied in the schools of his time, save in the Epistles and Gospels selected for the church's services. With this Latin version he was aided by the treatises of Augustine, of which he was ever a diligent student. Deep thoughts had begun to work in his mind. Then came the Greek New Testament of Erasmus; and with this before him, the awful mistakes which the church was propagating in her teaching, flashed upon him in all their extent. The New Testament came to him, not as the voice of the church, but as the voice of God. "The first Christian age rises before him, wakes into life, stands out in vivid contrast with his

* Dr. Fairbairn: "Christ in Modern Theology."

own. Here are no indulgences, penances, pilgrimages ; all is simple, of grace through faith without works. . . . He stands in the immediate presence of Christ ; . . . in the light of the New Testament, duty becomes clear : there must be a return to

In other words, the dominant idea in Luther's theology, as set out in his lectures, sermons, and commentaries, was the utter impossibility of meriting the forgiveness of sins by good works. Men must be directed to turn alone to the Lamb of God. This,

LUTHER, MELANCTHON, POMERANUS, AND CRUCIGER TRANSLATING THE BIBLE.
(*From the painting by P. A. Labouchere.*)

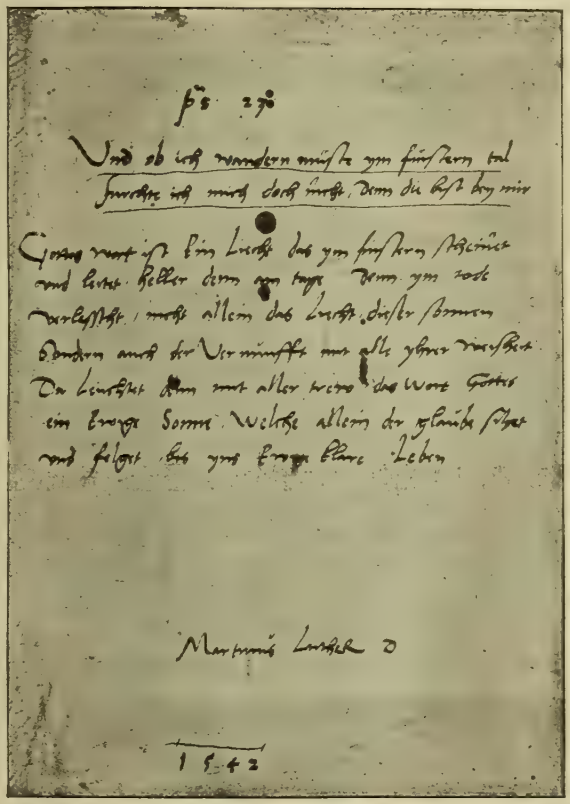
Apostolical Christianity. For Luther this return was summed up in the idea of redemption by the free grace of God in Christ, justification by faith without any work or contributory merit on the part of man. . . . What he saw before him was an immense system of salvation by works, the works mere ceremonial." *

* Dr. Fairbairn : "Christ in Modern Theology."

the German reformer felt, was emphatically *not* the teaching of the church of his day. The prevalent error, which taught that it *was* possible to merit the forgiveness of sins by good works, was the basis on which was built the whole monstrous system of indulgences, against which he had protested so earnestly in the extreme case of the Dominican Tetzel at Wittenberg. It

will be seen later on, how largely this central point of Luther's theology affected the doctrine and the formularies which embodied the teaching of the reformers of the Church of England.

But great though Luther was, and eminently useful as his work and teaching was in sweeping away the false system which had grown up in the Middle Ages, obscuring and veiling many of the precious truths and doctrines of primitive Christianity, it is indisputable that Lutheranism was full of inconsistencies; sparing much which ought to have perished, over-emphasising its great ideas, binding itself hastily to definitions and formulæ which produced new divisions. It has been accepted generally as the form of reformed Christianity adopted in Germany; but the dispassionate observer is forced to come to the conclusion that the result, so far as Germany is concerned, has not been satisfactory. In England it will be seen that, while adopting much that was true and real and in accordance with primitive Christianity in Luther's teaching, our own reformers avoided a large proportion of the errors which disfigured Lutheranism, and which have gravely impaired the influence and power of religion over the lives and conversation of men in those countries where Lutheranism was adopted.



AUTOGRAPH INSCRIPTION BY LUTHER ON THE FLY-LEAF OF THE SECOND VOLUME OF THE GERMAN BIBLE, PRINTED AT WITTENBERG IN 1541.* (*British Museum.*)

A few words seem still necessary on the relations between the two men whose life-work alone rendered the

* Translation: Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil if thou art with me. God's word is a light which shines in darkness and leads more clearly than daylight. For in death is extinguished not only the light of this sun, but also the light of reason with all its wisdom, whilst the word of God shines in all faithfulness an eternal sun which alone faith sees and follows to the eternal clear life.

English Reformation possible — Luther and Erasmus. It is not too much to say that these great reformers disliked each other, mistrusted each other. The grounds, however, of their mutual dislike and mistrust were not by any means the same.

When in 1516 Luther, then a professor at the new university of Wittenberg, was ardently pursuing those studies which equipped him for his after work, we can easily imagine the eagerness with which the fervid Augustinian monk welcomed the Greek Testament with its annotations, put out by the famous scholar Erasmus; how he would study it for the first time in the original language, hoping to find in the learned and brilliant exposition which accompanied the precious text, his own views definitely and clearly stated. He was bitterly disappointed. Erasmus, he quickly found, had missed what he felt was the true keynote to the great Epistle to the Romans. The illustrious scholar, whose praise was on the lips of every reformer, had interpreted "the deeds of the law" (Rom. iii. 20), by the keeping of which no flesh shall be justified in the eyes of God, as referring to the Jewish ceremonial law only. He (Luther)—and this was the ground idea of his theology—referred these "deeds of the law" to the observance of the *whole Decalogue*. And this was the keynote to all Erasmus's interpretation of St. Paul. Every day, said Luther, as he read more and more of Erasmus, he lost liking for him. With all his Greek and Hebrew, he said that the illustrious scholar was lacking in Christian wisdom. "May God give him," wrote Luther in one of his letters, "understanding in his own good time!" The rift between the two grew broader as time went on.

The grounds of Erasmus's dislike of Luther were very different from the grave and weighty doctrinal points which so agitated the fervid German reformer. They were more general—more belonging, so to speak, to the history of the world. Especially important and interesting to ourselves were the sources of the hostile feelings of Erasmus towards Luther and his reforms, for they found many an echo in English hearts; and indeed the reverent love for antiquity, and the dread of too violent and sudden changes, which actuated Erasmus in his later years, largely contributed to the conservative spirit which happily guided so much in the Reformation work in England. Erasmus, with all his knowledge of the corruptions of the ecclesiastical system of his day, with his clear view of Christianity as mirrored in the New Testament, with his earnest longing to see a thorough reformation in the doctrine and practice of the church, feared revolution, with its sure sequel in the sweeping destruction of so much that was venerable and helpful. He dreaded the release of incalculable forces; possibly fearful animosities, disunion, even religious war with its attendant horrors. And in Luther he saw one who, he thought, was likely to precipitate such a revolution. Hence, with a really unfeigned admiration for his daring, unselfish spirit, he misliked him, and persistently held aloof from him. The thoughts of Erasmus were largely the thoughts of men like Colet and More. They were shared too by king Henry VIII., as we shall see, and were never quite absent from the thoughts of the leading

reformers of England. We will cite a few of Erasmus's comments upon Luther; they will help us to understand the spirit which partly guided the acts and writings of Cranmer and Ridley, who will so shortly come before us.

At the beginning of Luther's public career, when attention was fairly aroused by his bold denunciation of the scandal in the matter of the indulgences, Erasmus strongly sympathised with the brave protest, and strongly deprecated the Pope's action. The latter, instead of calmly examining the grounds of Luther's righteous indignation, assumed a haughty, bullying attitude, sending utterly unfit men to inquire into the transactions which excited such widespread indignation. "I am amazed," wrote Erasmus, "that the Pope should have commissioners on the business so violent and arrogant. Cardinal Cajetan is overbearing and haughty; Miltitz is little better; Aleander is a maniac." To Luther he wrote, urging moderation: "Quiet argument may do more than wholesale condemnation. Old institutions cannot be rooted up in an instant. Do not get angry. Do not be excited over the stir you have made."

Writing on the same subject to a young cardinal of the great house of Croy, Erasmus observes that the "best men were least offended by Luther," but adds, "I am sorry that Luther's books have been published. I tried to prevent it, as I thought they would cause disturbance; however, while men may not entirely approve them, they will read them, and pardon much for the sake of the rest." He defends the champion of the truth thus: "What unworthy motive could Luther have had? He wants no promotion. He seeks for no money." Yet Erasmus deprecated the violence of the Lutheran writings. In a letter to Warham, the archbishop of Canterbury, we find the following: "Luther has made a prodigious stir; would that he had held his tongue, or had written in a better tone. Luther has been sent into the world by the genius of discord; every corner has been disturbed by him. All admit that the corruptions of the church required a drastic medicine. But drugs wrongly given make the sick man worse."

In another letter to Luther's friend and wisest counsellor, the theologian Melancthon, he expresses himself in this wise: "I do not object generally to the evangelical doctrines, but there is much in Luther's teaching which I dislike. He ruins everything which he touches, with extravagance. I would have religion purified without destroying authority. Practices grown corrupt by long usage might be gradually corrected without throwing everything into confusion. Luther sees certain things to be wrong, and in flying blindly at them causes more harm than he cures. . . . What good is done by telling foolish young people that the Pope is antichrist, that they cannot do right if they try, that good works and merits are a vain illusion, and that man can do nothing of himself? . . . Would that Luther had tried as hard to improve Popes and princes as to expose their faults."

As Erasmus grew older he became gradually more conservative. Lutheranism alarmed him. He feared greatly the construction of a new dogmatic theology, of which the denial of the human will was a marked feature. In a letter, dated 1529,

he alludes to some of the wilder Lutheran ideas. "The notion that any Christian may consecrate or absolve or ordain I think pure insanity. . . . Doubtless I have wished that Popes and cardinals and bishops were more like the Apostles, but never in thought have I wished these offices abolished. . . . Never will I be exasperated or tempted into deserting the true communion."

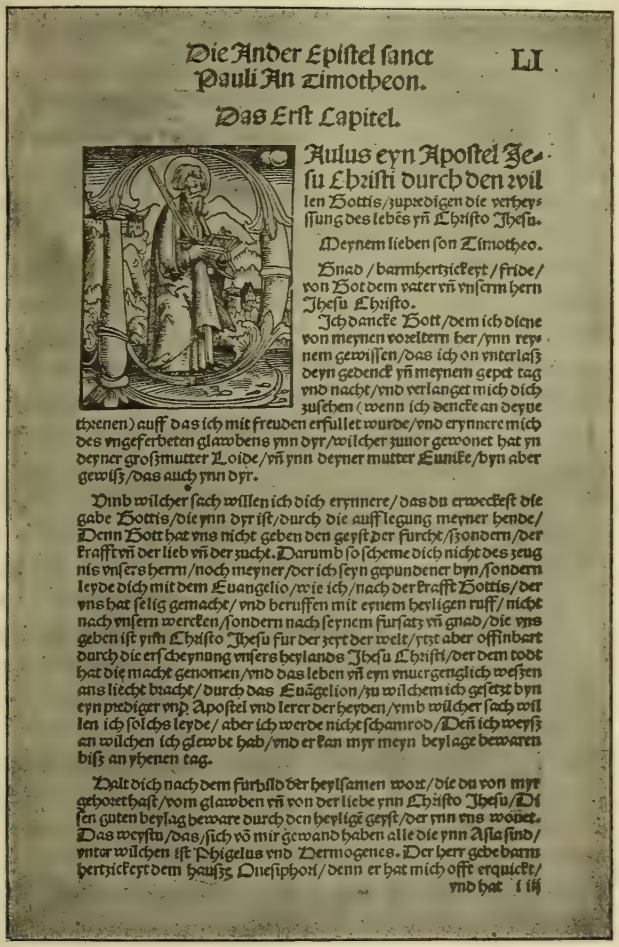
What Erasmus feared in Lutheranism, but shrank from expressing to the full, Sir Thomas More openly said, and in England there were many earnest reformers who felt like More. In a letter to Erasmus written in 1525, the year of Luther's marriage to Catherine von Bora, when the revolt of Germany against the old religion had already attracted the attention of Europe, More says: "Do it [that is, reply at length to Luther]; you have nothing to fear. Luther himself is not so cowardly as to hope, or so wicked as to wish, that you should be silent. I cannot say how foolish and inflated I think his letter to you. He knows well how the wretched glosses with which he has darkened Scripture, turn to ice at his touch. They were cold enough already. If for some reason you cannot make a public rejoinder, at least set down your private thoughts in writing and send me the MS.; the bishop of London and I will take charge of it." But this we know Erasmus never did. Although he disliked sorely much that Luther did and taught, he knew that on many points the German reformer was right. In the matter of any public rejoinder to Lutheranism, Erasmus held his peace. He would not be found fighting against God.*

* Cf. Froude: "Life and Letters of Erasmus."

The first thirty years of the sixteenth century witnessed the newly-discovered printing-press in full activity. As might have been expected, such a time was prolific in controversial literature; little, however, of which was worth preserving or even remembering. But the bitterness of the attack on the many and crying abuses of the church, and obstinate defence on the part of many who were interested in the continuance of the scandals in question, evoked not a few pamphlets, as we should term them, bearing on the great controversy and the many questions it stirred up. The most popular and important of these, the "Praise of Folly," by Erasmus, we have already briefly described. Luther's pen was also frequently employed in the contest. His violent invective and passionate remonstrances were, however, in the highest degree regrettable, and his productions as a pamphleteer, though they were numerous and often pungent, are best forgotten. Luther has other and nobler claims, by far, to the respect and veneration of the generations who followed him.

Of this school of ephemeral literature, after Erasmus's "Praise of Folly," the "Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum" perhaps holds the most prominent place. This remarkable satire appeared in 1516, and is generally understood to have been largely, though not entirely, the work of Ulrich von Hutten, who has been well described as a noble, a warrior, and a rake—a theologian withal, and an ardent reformer. All things, it is said, were welcome to Hutten—arms and love, theology and debauchery, a disputation with the disciples of the mediæval schoolmen, a controversy

with Erasmus, or a war to the knife with the dunces of his age.* Von Hutten died still comparatively young; he was passionately attached to Luther, who nevertheless



Die Ander Epistel sanct Pauli An Timotheon. LI

Das Erst Capitel.

Aulus eyn Apostel Jesu Christi durch den vil len Gottis/zupredigen die verheyssung des lebēs yn Christo Jhesu.

Meynem lieben son Timotheo.

Gnad/barmhertzickeyt/fride/ von Got dem vater vñ vnserm hern Jhesu Christo.

Ich dancke Gott/dem ich diene von meynen voreltern her/ynn reynem gewissen/das ich on unterlaß deyn gedenck yñ meynem gepet tag vnd nacht/vnd verlanget mich dich zusehen (wenn ich dencke an deyne threnen) auff das ich mit freuden erfullet wurde/vnd erynnere mich des vngeferbeten glawbens ynn dyr/welcher zuuor gewonet hat yn deyner groszmutter Loide/vñ ynn deyner mutter Eunike/dyn aber gewisz/das auch ynn dyr.

Umb welcher sach willen ich dich erynnere/das du erweckest die gabe Gottis/die ynn dyr ist/durch die auffleygung meyner hende/ Denn Gott hat vns nicht geben den geyst der furcht/sondern/der krafft vñ der lieb vñ der zucht. Darumb so scheme dich nicht des zeugnis vnsers herrn/noch meyner/der ich seyn gefangener byn/sondern leyde dich mit dem Euangelio/wie ich/nach der krafft Gottis/der vns hat selig gemacht/vnd beruffen mit eynem heyligen ruff/nicht nach vnsern wercken/sondern nach seynem furszatz vñ gnad/die vns geben ist ynn Christo Jhesu für der zeyt der welt/yetzt aber offinbart durch die erscheynung vnsers heylands Jhesu Christi/der dem todt hat die macht genomen/vnd das leben vñ eyn vnuergenglich wesen ans liecht bracht/durch das Euāgelion/zu welchem ich gesetzt byn eyn prediger vnd Apostel vnd lerer der heyden/vmb welcher sach will len ich solchs leyde/aber ich werde nicht schamrod/Denn ich weysz an welchen ich glewbt hab/vnd er kan myr meyn beylage bewaren bisz an yhenen tag.

Halt dich nach dem furbild der heylsamen wort/die du von myr gehoretest/vom glawben vñ von der liebe ynn Christo Jhesu/Disen guten beylag beware durch den heyligē geyst/der ynn vns wonet. Das weystu/das/sich vō mir gewand haben alle die ynn Asia sind/ vnter welchen ist Phigelus vnd Hermogenes. Der herr gebe barmhertzickeyt dem hausze Onesiphori/denn er hat mich offt erquickt/ vnd hat

THE BEGINNING OF THE EPISTLE OF ST. PAUL TO TIMOTHY.
(*From the first edition of Luther's Translation of the Bible. British Museum.*)

mourned over his friend's brilliant, unwise career, and deplored his clever but mischievous satire, which excited so much attention. These "Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum" were written in exaggerated monkish Latin, and professed to be letters of simple monks unknown to fame, bring-

* See Sir J. Stephen's Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography: "Martin Luther."

ing their puzzled questions and doubts to their old master, trusting that he out of his vast learning would be able satisfactorily to answer them. The picture drawn was, of course, a gross

caricature, but it unmistakably hit not a few of the more conspicuous blots in the church, and especially in the monastic life of that age. Erasmus and other notabilities appear from time to time in the correspondence, giving an historical colour to the work. Ridiculous scruples and questions of absurd casuistry are carefully detailed, and side by side with them broad hints of secret immorality are given. "Immense straining at gnats was put in contrast with the ease with which camels were swallowed within the walls of the cloister." *

This bitter satire is classed among the most effective that the world has ever seen, and there is no doubt but that it lent a material aid to the progress of some of the more regrettable features of the Reformation. Luther gravely censured the writer of the famous pamphlet for employing in it the language of reproach and cruel insult, and spoke of the author of the scurrilous but wonderfully popular piece as a buffoon. Strangely enough, Sir Thomas More was amused and interested in it, and wrote to Erasmus "that in England it delighted everyone." Its effect was seen when the general suppression of the religious houses was carried into effect some twenty years later. The "Letters of the Obscure Men" were so amusing, so brilliant and witty, that for a time it was supposed that none but Erasmus could have been their author. The great scholar indignantly repudiated the doubtful compliment, alleging that the coarseness of the book simply disgusted him. Ulrich von Hutten, hearing of the outspoken delight of More in the "Letters" in question, wrote to Erasmus for some account of his English admirer, and in reply Erasmus sent to Von Hutten that charming and graphic picture of More which we have already given in our account of the English writer and statesman.

Another of these powerful satires, which attracted the attention of Europe, was the dramatic dialogue, from which we have already quoted, written in A.D. 1513, after the death of Pope Julius II., and purporting to be a conversation between the shade of the departed Pope and St. Peter at the gate of Paradise, the doorkeeper refusing admission to the haughty Pontiff. That people could listen calmly to such tremendous charges against a Pope acknowledged by the whole western church, gives us some insight into what was working in many men's minds at this juncture.

Far more weighty, though, than these satires and libels which flooded Europe, were the works of the learned Reuchlin, the friend of Erasmus, who was a profound Hebrew and Greek scholar, and to whom belongs the credit of introducing the study of these languages into Germany. Reuchlin is not unfairly styled the father of modern Biblical criticism. The devout Colet speaks of his writings as "the works of so great a man," and gently rebukes Erasmus for sending a copy of one of the more famous of them, the "Cabalistica," to bishop Fisher and not to him (Colet). It was from the writings of Reuchlin, the Greek Testament and commentaries of Erasmus, and the German Bible of Luther, not from the host of witty and scurrilous satires, that the strongest arguments for the reformation of the church in Germany were taken.

* Seebohm: "Oxford Reformers."

CHAPTER XLIII.

THE TWO LAST ENGLISH ECCLESIASTICAL CHANCELLORS.

Early Life of William Warham—Primate and Chancellor—Testimony of Erasmus and Henry VIII.—Warham as a Reformer—Makes Way for Wolsey—His Dying Protest against Separation from Rome—Wolsey—His Political Genius—Early Life—Archbishop of York and Pluralist—Legate *à latere*—Chancellor and Chief Minister—His Pomp and Power—Conduct in the Divorce—Disgrace and Death—His Attitude towards Church Reform—Educational Foundations from Revenues of Suppressed Monasteries—Insufficiency of such Measures in the Actual State of the Church.

THERE were two distinguished men who had a large, perhaps the principal share in guiding the fortunes of the Church of England during the twenty-five or thirty years which immediately went before the era of the Reformation. They were the last of the statesmen-ecclesiastics of the Middle Ages, who usually stood at the king's right hand, occupying generally the principal position in church and state. From the days of Dunstan, again and again we find one man filling the post of archbishop and chief adviser of the crown, in civil as well as in ecclesiastical matters. The two men whose careers we must now briefly sketch, were the last who filled this double position.

The elder of them—William Warham, subsequently archbishop of Canterbury for thirty years, during fifteen of which he was chancellor and chief minister of the crown, only vacating the latter civil post in favour of Wolsey, his brother-archbishop of York—was born about 1450. His career in many particulars closely resembled that of many who before his time had risen to high honour and dignity in the church. He was educated at Winchester (Eton and Winchester were, in the days of Warham, the two principal schools of England), and then at New College, Oxford, of which society he became a fellow, then a tutor. As was the habit with so many rising churchmen, Warham early devoted himself to the study of law, and subsequently practised in the Court of Arches. He was not ordained, apparently, until 1493, and then rapidly rose into prominence. Cardinal-archbishop Morton, the minister of Henry VII., introduced him to the king, and we now find Warham busily engaged in state affairs, attached to various important foreign missions as legal adviser, such as in the case of the embassies to Burgundy in the matter of the imposture of Perkin Warbeck, and to Spain on the occasion of the negotiations which preceded the marriage of prince Arthur and Katharine of Arragon. Then we find him with a seat at the royal council as master of the Rolls, until in 1501 he was nominated to the bishopric of London, and in 1503, on the unexpected death of archbishop Dean, he became primate and chancellor.

During his long career, Warham was ever an earnest, conscientious worker; generous to others, magnificent in everything connected with his great office, though always simple and even austere in his own private life. At Oxford he was known as one who never indulged in

the customary tastes of youths of his own time of life. He kept no "dogs of chase," no hawks; he was never seen with sling or bow and arrow; he refused to play at any games of hazard; ever the unwearied worker, whether as student or tutor, lawyer or ambassador, chancellor or primate.

ARCHBISHOP WARHAM.
(*From the picture by Holbein.*)

Erasmus, no very gentle critic of the higher ecclesiastics, and ever sparing of his praise, even of those he admired and liked, thus wrote of him, in a letter to cardinal Grymamus: "The archbishop of Canterbury (Warham) is one of the best of men, and an honour to the realm; wise, judicious, learned above all his contemporaries, and so modest that he is unconscious of his superiority. Under a quiet manner, he is withal energetic and laborious. He is experienced in business; he has played a distinguished part in foreign embassies; besides being primate, he is lord chancellor, the highest judicial office in the realm—yet, with all his greatness, he has been father and mother to me, and has partly made up to me what I sacrificed in leaving Rome." Again, as late as 1530, Erasmus writes of him: "Some are saints, like the archbishop of Canterbury [Warham] and the bishop of London and the bishop of Rochester [Fisher]."

With both the kings whom he served Warham was a favourite, and, although he contrived to retain his popularity in the country towards the end of Henry VII.'s reign, when the king and his ministers were generally disliked, Henry remained his warm friend till the hour of his death. He would often visit the archbishop, and was his guest at Canterbury about three weeks before his mortal sickness. That Henry VIII. thought highly of Warham and esteemed him greatly, is manifest from the terms in which the king spoke of him in a letter written to his envoy at the papal court the year before Warham's death. "And why," so runs the king's letter, proposing that the divorce case should be adjudged in England, "should ye not suffer the archbishop of Canterbury to determyne this matter in Inglande. . . . As for the person of the bisshop of Canterbury, ye may say there canne be no person in Christendome more indifferente, more miet, apt and convenient than the said archbisshop (Warham), who hath lernyng, excellent high and long experience, a man ever of a singular zele to justice."

Warham was a reformer, but too gentle

in the measures he wished to see adopted; he was a true supporter of the new learning, though wanting the enthusiasm of Colet, More, Erasmus, or even Wolsey. His points of the ecclesiastical system, and especially loathed the proceedings of the ecclesiastical courts. These he earnestly desired to see reformed. These courts

"EGO ET REX MEUS."

(By permission from the picture by Sir John Gilbert, R.A., P.R.W.S., in the Guildhall Art Gallery.)

desire, for instance, in the case of the Bible, was that it should be more generally read than it was; but he would confine the privilege to a few, who would study it piously and wisely. He would not have the Bible used as a test by which to sit in judgment on the teachings of the church. He clearly saw many of the iniquitous dealt especially with matrimonial causes, wills, and social contracts, and with many real and supposed moral offences. Much money was extorted from the people by these courts. Long delays, if money were not forthcoming, were often complained of; hush-money bribes, and other iniquitous proceedings were too often the rule.

It was especially to remedy this state of things, to bring about a complete reformation of the ecclesiastical church in England, that Warham countenanced the appointment of Wolsey, the archbishop of York, who he felt was a stronger man than himself, as legate *à latere*. Occupying thus an exceptional position as special papal legate, Wolsey would be enabled thoroughly to reform the obnoxious courts. This was the reason of Warham submitting to Wolsey being made a cardinal, and at some self-sacrifice allowing another thus to take his place in some important duties which belonged to his high office as archbishop of Canterbury. It was, however, an unfortunate step; for Wolsey instituted a legislative court which superseded the old jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts, and brought him later into collision with Warham. Thus the attempt at reformation here proved a failure.

To sum up Warham's career. He had been confessedly a great ecclesiastic, and on the whole a successful and well-loved man, but was utterly unfit to guide the church in her hour of difficulty. In his latter days he was shocked and dismayed at the drastic measures of reform which he saw were imminent. Powerless to struggle against the stream, he withdrew himself heartbroken into his home, and, dying, dictated from his bed that solemn but unavailing protest with which his name will be for ever connected. It is a pathetic state paper, these words of the dying archbishop, and fairly represents the state of mind of men like More, the learned and godly layman, and Fisher, the saintly bishop. These, while seeing the urgent necessity of a great reform, stood aghast when they saw the tremendous changes which appeared to be coming on — changes which they feared would destroy the church they hoped to reform by quieter and more gentle means. Rudely to break with the cherished tradition of the mediæval church, to such men was an intolerable thought. Fisher and More went cheerfully to death rather than submit; Warham, the old man, it was said, died of a broken heart, and dying, left these solemn words behind him:—

"In the name of God—Amen.—We, William, by Divine Providence archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, protest against any statutes hitherto published, or hereafter to be made by Parliament, in derogation of the Roman Pontiff and the Apostolic see, or in diminution of the rights, privileges, customs and liberties which belonged to the church of Canterbury; we protest that we cannot consent to such statutes; we dissent from them, cry out against them, contradict them."

Many in England thought like these great and good but mistaken men; but the torrent of the Reformation was too strong for them. They were swept away, and their unavailing protests ignored; and for good or for evil—we see now it was for good—the old order of things was completely changed, in the manner which has to appear in our story.

The second of these men is a still more conspicuous example of the long line of statesmen-ecclesiastics who governed England for so many centuries; and was the last of that long and distinguished line. Wolsey, afterwards chancellor as well

as cardinal-archbishop of York, legate *à latere*, in some respects was the greatest of them all. His learned biographer* considers him "the greatest political genius whom England has ever produced; for at a great crisis of European history he impressed England with a sense of her own importance, and secured for her a leading position in European affairs, which since his (Wolsey's) days has seemed her natural right . . ." In his days, during the eleven brilliant years of his ministry, he made England for the time the centre of European politics.

Wolsey was born at Ipswich, it is believed, in 1471. His parents, belonging to what we should term the middle-class, were persons in fairly good position, prosperous graziers and wool merchants. At a very early age he went to Oxford, and in due course became a fellow and master of the grammar school of Magdalen College. In 1501 we find him chaplain to Dean, archbishop of Canterbury, and in 1506 at court as chaplain to king Henry VII. He was then about thirty-five years of age. In the next three years he was busily engaged in state matters at home and abroad, and evidently won the favour of the king; for before the latter's death Wolsey received the preferment of the rich deanery of Lincoln.

Henry VIII. appointed Wolsey his almoner, on the strong recommendation of Richard Fox, bishop of Winchester—a trusted counsellor of his father; and in 1511 he appears as a member of the king's council. Wolsey now comes to the front; he became a trusted adviser of Henry, who rewarded him with divers responsible and influential places of preferment, thus paying for his services, as the custom then was, out of the revenues and dignities of the church. In 1514 he received the bishopric of Tournai, when that city passed into the possession of the English; and in that same year the archbishopric of York was conferred on the young and rising statesman. In this great office, the second dignity in the Church of England, Wolsey was never installed. It was only after his fall in 1529 that he found leisure to make arrangements at York for the ceremony, some fifteen years after he had accepted the dignity; but the end came before the day appointed. Wolsey's predecessor in the archbishopric of York was also a non-resident. This was archbishop Thomas Bainbridge, who lived as a cardinal in the papal court, and who died, as it is believed, poisoned by one of his household. The bishopric of Lincoln was also conferred upon Wolsey, who was then enriched by the revenues of three sees, in none of which he seems ever to have resided.

But if he was a neglectful ecclesiastic—for in addition to the above important preferments he shortly afterwards received the bishopric of Winchester and the magnificent abbey of St. Albans—Wolsey was an energetic and most able minister of state, occupying the position of chancellor and chief minister of Henry from the resignation of Warham until 1529, when he made way for Sir Thomas More. He was also, through the powerful interest of Henry VIII., elected to the rank of cardinal, and was appointed legate *à latere* in England. The cardinal-archbishop was eminently a peace minister,

* Bishop Creighton of London

for he was conscious that England had nothing to gain from war; and for seven years of his brilliant administration, while the Continent was often convulsed with bloody battles, sieges, and desolating invasions, England remained absolutely at peace. This quiet period enabled her very largely to increase her commerce, and to develop her universities and schools. Nowhere, as we have seen, did the new learning find a home and a welcome as it did in England, under the influence of such men as More, Colet, Erasmus, Linacre, and other distinguished scholars and men of genius.

The great English minister was not only all-powerful, but was, through the many preferments which he held, enormously wealthy. His pomp was almost royal, and a suite of high ecclesiastics and nobles followed him wherever he moved. His household was composed of five hundred persons of noble birth, and its chief posts were eagerly sought after by knights and nobles of high degree. Two of his splendid residences after his fall became royal palaces, both famous in English history—Hampton Court, and York Place, afterwards known as Whitehall. These dwellings, under altered conditions, for centuries were the centres of court and political life; while his magnificent foundation of "Cardinal College" at Oxford, under its altered name of "Christ Church," still maintains its fame and reputation among all English-speaking

HAMPTON COURT.

CARDINAL WOLSEY AT LEICESTER ABBEY.

(By permission, from the picture by Sir John Gilbert, R.A., P.R.W.S., at South Kensington.)

people in our own day and time, though nearly five centuries have passed since the great cardinal designed and endowed "the house."

Nor was all this splendour and pomp, greater perhaps than had ever previously been displayed by a subject, incommensurate with Wolsey's power. As chancellor he was supreme judge, as well as principal minister of state; as legate *à latere* he was absolutely master in all church matters; and in all this varied and various business, he showed himself consummately skilful. No adverse criticism has ever been levelled at Wolsey's conduct of public affairs. The result of this concentration of all power in church and state in one single hand enormously strengthened the Crown. It has been well said that "in raising his favourite to the position of head of church and state, Henry VIII. was gathering all religious as well as all civil authority into his personal grasp. The nation which trembled before Wolsey, learned to tremble before the king who could destroy Wolsey by a breath. Greatness, wealth, authority he held, and owned he held, simply at the royal will."*

Roughly speaking, the supreme power of Wolsey lasted eleven years. As time went on, various causes worked together to undermine, and eventually to ruin the great cardinal. Foreign affairs did not turn out as he had expected, and the king's implicit trust and real love for his able and devoted minister grew gradually cold. Henry listened more and more to Wolsey's many enemies and detractors.

* Green: "History of the English People," chap. vi., section v.

Weariness of his enormous and ever-increasing labours, perhaps satiety after he had for a long series of years enjoyed the highest prizes the world has to offer, seems also to have crept over the brilliant and successful statesman, to have robbed him by degrees of much of his old tireless energy, and to have dimmed somewhat his old brilliancy and splendid ability. Over the king and the court gradually a cloud spread, which changed the character of Henry, and turned for a season all his thoughts and aspirations into a new channel.

This cloud, at first not bigger than a man's hand, grew and grew, till it overshadowed England. Neither Wolsey nor anyone else at first suspected it. The love of Henry for the beautiful Anne Boleyn, Wolsey thought, was only a transitory fancy, such as not infrequently passes over and disfigures court life. But Henry's passion was no transitory fancy. We trace elsewhere the growth and development of what was termed the "king's matter," the question of the divorce from the wife of his youth, Katharine of Arragon. Wolsey temporised; he knew it was an unjust and shameful proceeding from the beginning; but he used his great powers, alas! to aid and abet the king's wishes. We shall see how the designs of the cardinal-minister were frustrated; and how Henry, seeing the cardinal had failed, entrusted the matter to other hands, and arbitrarily dismissed his old friend and counsellor under circumstances of the cruellest neglect and ingratitude.

Nothing can excuse Henry's conduct to his long-tried and faithful minister.

It is not too much to say that this conduct broke Wolsey's heart. With a constitution probably undermined by years of unremitting work and thought and care, he was unable to bear up against the shock of the utter ruin which fell upon him. Not only had he lost all which made life to him worth living, but that life, he felt, was in danger of being violently and shamefully cut short. The end came with startling suddenness. The story of the closing scene, with its dramatic incidents, is too well known to need repetition. After having been stripped of well-nigh all his posts of honour and emoluments, of all his wealth and possessions, he was suddenly arrested, and on his sad journey under guard to the Tower some mortal sickness seized him, from which the stunned and hopeless man, so lately the foremost subject in England—certainly the most powerful minister in Christendom—never rallied.

It was dusk on a November evening in 1530 when the dying cardinal, in the course of that last sad journey to London and the Tower, reached Leicester abbey, where the abbot greeted him by torchlight. "Father abbot," he said, "I am come hither to lay my bones among you." He was right; too weak to walk, Kingston, the constable of the Tower, tenderly bore him in his arms to a bed in the abbey—the bed he never quitted; for after a few restless pain-filled hours, he breathed his last. Years after, the true story of the closing days of Wolsey was written by his dear friend and personal attendant, Cavendish. The story was read by the greatest of our English dramatists, who has fashioned out of it that portrait of Wolsey which will endure so long as the English language is read and loved by men. "Wolsey has become the type of the vanity of all human endeavour, and his closing hours point the moral of the superiority of a quiet life with God, over the manifold activities of an aspiring ambition."*

Such is the brief record of the career of the last and greatest of the statesmen-ecclesiastics of England. What, now, did he think of the condition of the church over which he virtually ruled for the eleven years preceding the tremendous crash of the Reformation?

Living as did Wolsey in the midst of so many various corruptions and misappropriations of church revenues and preferments, it was perhaps impossible for him fully to grasp the iniquity of the state of things which then existed in the church. A bishop himself of several sees, of which he knew scarcely anything, the bitter wrong occasioned by the non-residence of ecclesiastics would scarcely occur to him. Payment for state and public work out of the revenues of the church had become a matter of such ordinary occurrence, that it passed usually without any open scandal. For instance, in 1521, when the abbot of St. Albans died, at Wolsey's request king Henry VIII. ordered the monks of that wealthy foundation to take his chancellor-archbishop as their abbot, saying, "My lord cardinal has sustained many charges in this his voyage"—the king was alluding to one of Wolsey's foreign missions—"and hath expended £10,000." Such an appointment for such a reason in subsequent ages would have seemed impossible; it was no unusual act in those days. Wolsey,

* Bishop Creighton: "Cardinal Wolsey."

with his pluralities, could scarcely look askance on his friend cardinal Campeggio, for instance, enjoying the bishopric of Hereford and its revenues, although Campeggio was only known in England as an Italian cardinal occasionally employed on important foreign missions by the Pope. Favoured parish clergy often held as many

office? I can tell, for I know him well. . . . It is the devil; among all the pack of them that have cures, the devil shall go for my money, for he applieth his business. Therefore, ye unpreaching prelates, learn of the devil to be diligent in your office; if ye will not learn of God, for shame learn of the devil." Roy's

WOLSEY GOING IN PROCESSION TO WESTMINSTER HALL.
(*By permission, from the picture by Sir John Gilbert, R.A., P.R.W.S., in the Guildhall Art Gallery.*)

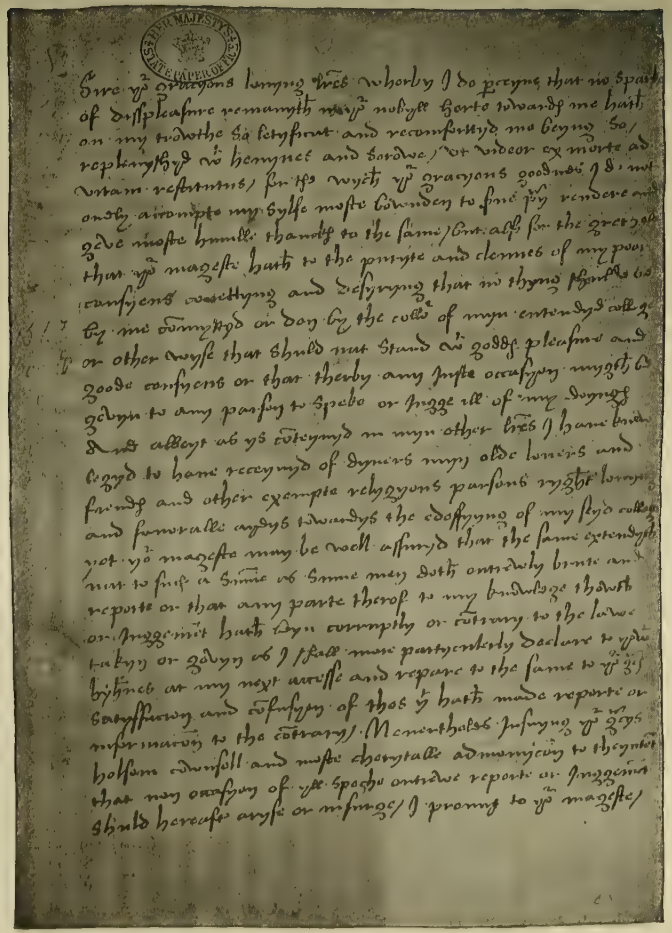
as eight benefices, but what could Wolsey say in such cases?

Yet the evil of these glaring abuses connected with non-residence had sunk deep into the hearts of many thinking men. Latimer's audacious sermon at Paul's Cross, preached some eighteen years after Wolsey's fall, reflects something of the public mind in this particular. "I would ask a strange question," said the popular preacher: "Who is the most diligent bishop and prelate in England, that passeth all the rest in doing of his

bitter satire against the clergy, written about 1528, tells the same story in exaggerated, but still in not quite untrue terms, of the popular indignation against this shameless and fatal way of living and working.

> "They (the bishops) drink in golden bowls
> The blood of poor simple souls
> Perishing for lack of sustenance.
> Their hungry cures they never teach,
> Nor will suffer none other to preach."
>
> *Roy's Satire.*

Wolsey, however, in spite of his political preoccupations, felt too surely that in



LETTER FROM CARDINAL WOLSEY TO KING HENRY VIII, EXPRESSING HIS JOY AT BEING FORGIVEN, AND ACQUAINTING HIM WITH THE PROGRESS OF HIS COLLEGE AT OXFORD, (*Record Office*).

large measure the church had lost its former hold upon the people; that it was no longer, as in old days, the inspirer of popular aspirations. The middle classes, then rapidly rising into prominence and power, he knew well viewed the church's riches with jealousy, feeling that in innumerable instances this wealth was misapplied. Some of its practices, and in certain instances its doctrines, were the objects of ridicule and mockery among even pious men of intelligence. We have seen that this was the case with such devout and scholarly thought-leaders as Colet and Erasmus, and even More. Wolsey would reform this state of things; he would even remove the papal authority in England, and, without any formal breaking with past traditions, would put the relation of the Church of England to the Papacy on a new footing. It was a thorough reform he longed for and hoped to carry out; but it was a *conservative* reformation, and one that should be carried out gradually, and without any drastic or destructive operations. He would begin with a new application of much of the monastic property, in cases where the old foundations were manifestly useless, or, at all events, were not doing the work for which they were originally founded and endowed. Many of the monasteries he hoped to convert into scholastic houses—"garrisons of learned and pious men, who should occupy the land from end to end."

This idea of Wolsey, as part of the reformation of the church, had long been a favourite project with enlightened churchmen. William of Wykeham endowed his new college at Oxford with lands purchased and acquired from monasteries. Henry VI. endowed his noble foundation of Eton and King's College, Cambridge, with revenues derived from the suppression of alien priories. In 1497 John Alcock, bishop of Ely, obtained permission to suppress the useless nunnery of St. Radigund in Cambridge, and use its site for the foundation of Jesus College. And Wolsey followed these wise examples by obtaining from Pope Clement VII. leave to convert into a college the monastery of St. Frideswide at Oxford. He soon afterwards obtained a papal bull allowing him to suppress all monasteries with fewer than seven inmates, and to devote their revenues to educational purposes. Wolsey even began this wise work of converting the useless religious houses into schools and colleges. In his native town of Ipswich, he established a college of considerable pretensions with some of the money thus obtained. But when Wolsey was disgraced, the Ipswich foundation was swept away. On a far nobler and grander scale, however, was his Oxford foundation of Cardinal College, which the king, on the earnest entreaty of the fallen minister, spared. The cardinal's hat, the well-known cognisance of the magnificent foundation of Wolsey, still preserves the memory of the illustrious founder, in spite of the change of the name to Christ Church; while the unfinished cloister tells the story of a magnificent and stately work rudely and suddenly interrupted.

The method adopted by Wolsey in the case of these small and fading religious houses was to send commissioners to inquire into their actual condition. If the report was unfavourable, which in the case of these shrunken establishments, whose

revenues were unable to support more than seven monks at the outside, was almost a foregone conclusion, as no great or useful purpose was likely to be served by the preservation of such a community, then the house was dissolved, and the few members were transferred to a larger monastic establishment, and the estates and possessions of the suppressed house were applied to educational uses. In Wolsey's case no grave moral charge seems to have been adduced as a reason for the dissolution of these fading foundations: only the uselessness of maintaining such establishments any longer. But the precedent was an ominous one, and was used with terrible effect a few years later, with a very different object.

The chief instrument employed by Wolsey was a certain individual, one Thomas Cromwell, who subsequently became the most notorious instrument in the deeds of ruthless spoliation which so sadly disfigured the Reformation work in England. Wolsey, the conservative reformer, little thought what a terrible suggestion his well-meant attempt to benefit national education at the expense of some few worn-out, dying communities would afford a few years later, when men's passions were loosed, and in the heat and anguish of dispute and controversy, right and wrong would too often be confused; little thought what wholesale robbery and ruin would be carried out under the shadow of a throne he had done so much to build up and strengthen, and with the sanction of a strained law he himself had first put into force.

Wolsey's work in respect to the much needed reformation of the ecclesiastical courts, the crying abuses of which all earnest churchmen alike deplored, has been already alluded to. To effect this most necessary reform, the cardinal-minister used his extraordinary position as cardinal and legate *à latere*, a position sought for by him, and acquiesced in by his ecclesiastical superior Warham, especially for this end. Wolsey instituted a legatine court, intended to supersede the ordinary jurisdiction of the courts whose powers were so shamefully misused. But his sudden fall from power prevented any development of his plans and policy in this direction; and the attempt only left the courts and jurisdiction in worse confusion than before.

Had Wolsey remained in power, it is probable that the crying evils justly complained of in connection with these ecclesiastical courts would have been largely redressed, and another and a wiser system gradually introduced; while monastic revenues belonging to houses confessedly useless, and lacking in discipline and earnestness, would have been increasingly diverted by general consent to educational purposes. Thus England would have been gradually covered with a network of public schools and colleges, and the irreparable losses and deplorable waste which the sorrowful years 1529–1540 witnessed, would have been averted. But in the providence of God these attempts at a quiet reformation, to be wrought by efforts within the church's inner pale, proved abortive and came to nought. The church, indeed, was sick nigh unto death. It was not only that its courts were corrupt and grievously oppressive to the people, that its priests were

making merchandise of its highest and most responsible offices, that too many of its ancient monastic communities were useless and decaying; but its teaching was full of error and superstition, and its holiest doctrines were changed in many instances almost past recognition. Wolsey and Warham "had made the common mistake of men of the world who are representatives of an old order of things at a time when that order is doomed and dying. They could not read the signs of the times, and confounded the barrenness of death with the barrenness of a winter which might be followed by a new spring and summer. They believed that the old tree of mediæval religion, which, in fact, was cumbering the ground, might bloom again in its old beauty." *

Other and sterner agents were needed for the work of purifying; other and more terrible means were required. These the Eternal Wisdom raised up and provided. In the period of storm and stress which immediately succeeded the fall of Wolsey and the death of Warham, it is true that much was done which serious thinking men must mourn over; that much was lost to the Church of England which can never be recovered or replaced. But the patriot, the real lover of primitive Christianity, must rejoice and be deeply thankful that, out of the seeming ruin and destruction of so much that was venerable and precious, the English Church, never destroyed, arose again, immeasurably stronger, purer, truer than ever, and more fitted to carry on its mighty work of teaching and guiding that Anglo-Saxon race, which had a future before it such as none then, not even the most enthusiastic and sanguine of its members in the sixteenth century, could foresee.

* *Cf.* Froude, vol. i., chap. ii.

CHRIST CHURCH COLLEGE, OXFORD, SHOWING THE UNFINISHED CLOISTERS.

HENRY VIII. GIVING THE CHARTER TO THE BARBER SURGEONS.
(From a print after the picture by Holbein.)

CHAPTER XLIV.

HENRY VIII. AND THE DIVORCE.

Historical Importance of the Divorce between Henry VIII. and Katharine of Arragon—Origin of the Marriage—Its Ill Omens and Consequences—Anne Boleyn—Character and Appearance of Henry VIII.—Early Attempts to Procure a Divorce—Appeal to the Pope—Double-dealing of Clement VII.—The Pope appoints a Commission—Its Adjournment and Failure, and consequent Fall of Wolsey from Power—Thomas Cranmer and his Advice—Rise of Cranmer in Royal Favour—Becomes Archbishop of Canterbury—The Divorce Pronounced in England—The Act of 1533 for Restraint of Appeals to Rome—The Formal Sentence—Last Occasion of an English Primate's Signature as Papal Legate—The Coronation of Anne Boleyn—Indignation of the Clergy—They are Forbidden to Preach—Importance of this Denial of Romish Jurisdiction.

THE episode of the divorce or separation of Henry VIII. from Katharine of Arragon possesses an importance in the history of England, out of all proportion to its actual position in the royal and state chronicles. Other sovereigns and princes before Henry VIII. had been divorced and separated and had married again for political reasons; and although in each case the act was an unrighteous one, it had been passed over with comparatively little comment. In king Henry's own case the episode of divorce was repeated; but a few lines are sufficient for the historian when he tells of the condemnation and death of Catherine Howard, or of the marriage of Anne of Cleves, and the subsequent divorce or separation. The proceedings, however, which accompanied the famous

question at issue in respect to the legality of the marriage of Katharine, had such momentous consequences, that the story must be told at length.

Years before, when Henry VII. was king, and his successor, afterwards known as Henry VIII., was a boy only twelve years old, Katharine, the daughter of Ferdinand, king of Arragon, one of the most sagacious and far-seeing princes of his time, came to England as the bride of Arthur, prince of Wales, Henry VII.'s eldest son. Five months after the marriage of Arthur and Katharine, Arthur died. Henry VII. and Ferdinand were desirous for political reasons that the union between England and Spain should remain unbroken, and Katharine was betrothed to the boy-prince Henry, the Pope reluctantly granting a dispensation which legalised the unlawful connection. Time passed on; the mind of Henry VII. apparently changed as to the wisdom of the marriage, and it would probably have been broken off, had not prince Henry himself earnestly desired to carry it out. Katharine was six years older than her boy betrothed, who evidently loved her dearly, and refused to give her up. They were married with great state by archbishop Warham, Katharine appearing dressed, not as a widow, but as a virgin bride in white satin. Her hair, "long, beautiful, and goodly to behold," streamed down her neck, crowned with a gemmed diadem. She sat in her covered litter, drawn by white palfreys, and her ladies were apparelled like their mistress in white and silver. Virgins in white welcomed her in her bridal procession through the City of London. Everything was arranged to carry out the idea that she was a virgin bride, not the widow of Henry's brother Arthur.

Katharine, we are told, was a charming personage in those early days; she danced well, was a good musician, lively and bright in conversation, with an elegant deportment and gracious and winning manners; the beauty of her complexion was specially remarkable. The marriage for many years was undoubtedly a happy one. Henry was ever a hero in Katharine's eyes, and she was his devoted and passionately attached wife. Nor was the affection unrequited. The young king—he succeeded his father when he was only eighteen years old—was for years a faithful and ever-loving husband. We read in one of the state papers, a memorandum of Henry's some time after his marriage, that if he were still free to choose, his choice would fall on the lady Katharine.

Years passed on, and things went ill with the royal pair. A direct male heir to the English throne was passionately desired. Men dreaded with a well-founded dread the evils of a disputed succession. With the terrible memories of the long "Roses" wars still fresh in mind, the prospect of Henry VIII. dying without any heir save one sickly little daughter, was a gloomy future indeed for the country. We read of premature births, children born dead, or dying after a few days or hours; only the princess Mary, a frail girl-life, survived. A curse, men said, hung over the ill-omened marriage. All this must be taken into account when we dispassionately review the circumstances of the divorce, which became so prominent a feature soon after the first quarter of the

sixteenth century had run its course. Had Henry VIII., after some seventeen or eighteen years of wedded life, with the ill-defined but none the less positive dread of a disturbed future which threatened his well-beloved England should he die without a male heir to follow him, determined purely for state reasons to put away Katharine, posterity would have judged him very differently. It would have written him down, perhaps, as a hard, unfeeling, unloving man ; as one who did evil that good might eventually result. But men must have felt that many a political plea might have been urged in justification of his conduct. Many would have felt, and not without reason, that the king, in ordering his conduct, had placed his country first and his own reputation in the background.

But, alas for Henry's fair fame! the whole story of the divorce is coloured with his unhappy love for the beautiful Anne Boleyn ; and the majority of his critics gravely doubt whether patriotism entered much into his motives, when he pressed the question of the divorce into the forefront of English and European politics, when he made the tremendous question of freeing the church from the dictation of Rome, to hinge upon the right of the Pope to listen to an appeal from his injured wife.

The picturesque little window in the cloisters of Windsor Castle is still shown, through which one day the king is said to have caught his first glimpse of that attractive form of the maid of honour, who in after days was known as the heroine of the strange drama, which shaded into the fearful tragedy that finished the life-story of Anne Boleyn. This famous and ill-fated lady was the second daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn, who was connected by marriage with some of the noblest persons in the realm. As a child she accompanied the princess Mary, Henry VIII.'s sister, into France, when Mary became the wife of king Louis XII.—a marriage soon dissolved by the death of the French king. Anne Boleyn remained in Paris to complete her education, and much of her after frivolity and carelessness is ascribed to her residence of some nine years in the most licentious court of Christendom. In 1525 she returned to England, and became maid of honour to Katharine of Arragon, apparently still the king's loved and honoured consort. In the English court, after a time the young maid of honour became distinguished for her talents, her varied accomplishments, and, chiefest of all, for her winning beauty.

Some kind of a binding engagement which legally bound her to lord Percy, eldest son of the duke of Northumberland, had apparently been entered into before king Henry saw her ; and this early connection with Percy was after all the most solid of the accusations subsequently brought against the unhappy queen. Imprudent, light, fond of admiration, covetous of power and grandeur, certainly was Anne Boleyn ; but while fully admitting these faults, very grave in one advanced to the dizzy eminence of a throne, we willingly endorse the general acquittal which succeeding generations have pronounced of the monstrous charges brought against her fair fame by that strange and despotic king, who once thought he loved her with a passionate and overpowering

love. The sad tragedy which closed her short but strikingly brilliant career, has ever appealed to the chivalry of her countrymen, and pity rather than blame colours all our thoughts of the ill-fated

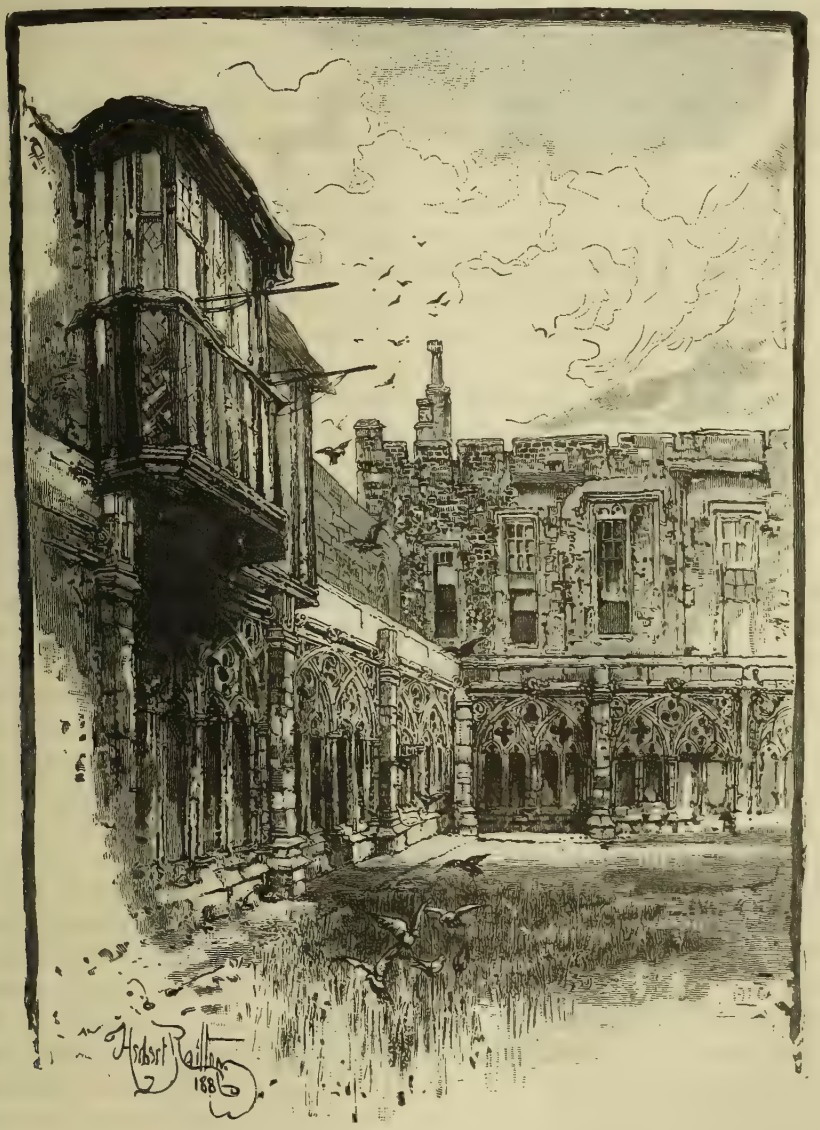
as "the night-crow," as the person to whom he owed all that was most cruel in his treatment, as "the sleepless enemy who, sleeping and waking, continually plotted his destruction."

ANNE BOLEYN.
(From the portrait by Holbein.)

Anne Boleyn. Two dark blots, however, will for ever stain the memory of this poor queen—her conduct to her mistress, the deserted Katharine of Arragon, during the period (lasting several years) which elapsed between Henry's first admiration for her and the actual divorce; and the bitter, relentless animosity she showed to the fallen cardinal Wolsey. He describes her

Holbein has preserved for us her likeness: we have several of her pictures. Like so many representations of world-famed beauties, no portrait probably does her justice—pretty certainly, and attractive, with great eyes looking out on the world she loved too well. We wonder, nevertheless, as we gaze on one or other of these paintings, what was the charm which

worked so powerfully upon Henry's heart and the hearts of many besides Henry.



ANNE BOLEYN'S WINDOW, WINDSOR CASTLE.

We marvel what was the charm which induced so great a man as the king to break away for her sake from the cherished traditions of centuries.

We speak advisedly of king Henry VIII. as a great man. He is disfigured, it is

true, by many and grievous faults, so many and so grievous that even his greatest admirers prefer to dwell on the results of his momentous history, rather than on the blurred and blood-stained details of his life. Yet not only was he a most able sovereign, but from the year 1509, when he succeeded his father Henry VII., until the years 1527-8, when his love for Anne Boleyn began to colour all his thoughts and to supply a motive for all his actions, a period of some seventeen or eighteen years, he ranked as one of the best and most accomplished princes in Christendom. He was generally popular at home, successful in his rare foreign wars, happy in his selection of one of the greatest ministers who ever guided the fortunes of England. He attracted the notice of scholars like Erasmus, who ever spoke of him and wrote of him in warm terms of admiration and devotion. In person he is said to have been like his grandfather Edward IV., who was reputed to have been the handsomest man in Europe, though when we look at his many portraits—for instance, at the famous picture of Holbein, which delineates the scene of his giving the charter to the barber surgeons—we are at a loss to understand such an encomium. In all knightly exercises he was without a peer; as a writer of despatches and state papers he equalled, if he did not surpass, his famous ministers. He was a scholar, an accomplished linguist, a musician, no mean theologian (as we shall presently see), and withal an indefatigable student. Intensely convinced of the truths of the religion he was ever ready to defend, he was present always twice, not unfrequently thrice a day at the services in the royal chapel; indeed his absorbing interest in religious matters never flagged, even in those sadder days of his middle and later life, when unbridled passion had been allowed to darken all the fair promise of his earlier years.

Such was Henry VIII. when the drama of the divorce began in real earnest, A.D. 1527. From the time that he first saw Anne Boleyn, the imperious sovereign, unaccustomed to opposition, determined to make her his wife. His theological studies suggested a pretext for a divorce from Katharine. Had not his marriage with the Spanish princess been unlawful? Could he lawfully wed with one who had been his brother's wife? It was true that a papal dispensation had been sought and obtained when he married her; surely, though, some plea might be discovered which would enable the reigning Pope to set aside the dispensation granted by his predecessor. Wolsey, then the chancellor and all-powerful minister, was consulted. The statesman from the beginning disapproved; but so subservient was he to the king, his master, that he entered, though evidently with reluctance, into his plans. Wolsey felt that, in addition to the moral shock which such a proceeding as the king dreamed of would give to every right-thinking Englishman, politically such an act as the putting away of Katharine would be highly perilous. Henry's queen was the aunt of the emperor Charles V., and this powerful sovereign would never calmly acquiesce in such an affront to his family. Nevertheless, Wolsey entered with seeming warmth into the king's designs.

At first the affair was brought before Wolsey and Warham, the two archbishops,

in their legatine court, secretly. Overtures were made to Katharine also, in the hope that she would acquiesce calmly in all the king's wishes. Great promises of wealth and dignity were made to her. But from the first the injured queen determined to maintain her just rights. It was then determined by Henry and his advisers that the Pope should be consulted, and that the opinion of the universities of England and the Continent should be taken on the question, and that the canonists of Europe should be invited to consider the point.

A long series of intrigues and negotiations now began. It was hoped that the Pope would decide the matter in favour of Henry, and thus put an end to the question by granting him a release from his marriage. Wolsey went abroad to conduct the difficult intrigue. Dissatisfied at the slow progress in the negotiation made by Wolsey, Henry sent his secretary, Knight, to see the Pope himself, to set before him his "conscientious" scruples. But the Pope saw through these pleas; recognising that Henry was moved really by a desire to marry Anne Boleyn, and that the religious scruples were only a pretext. The bishop of Rome also feared offending mortally the emperor Charles V., who was the dominant power in Italy, and so delayed giving any definite opinion. Clement VII., the reigning Pope, who succeeded Adrian VI., the failure of whose attempts to reform the Vatican we have already described, had brought back the state of things which had so long prevailed at Rome. He was a fair specimen of the line of secular Popes. Owing his election largely to bribery, as may be supposed, he was a warm supporter of the old evil traditions. He aimed at being a statesman rather than a churchman; but as a statesman he was weak, wavering, passionate; now bidding for the support of England; now trembling with good reason lest he should offend the powerful emperor Charles V. It was his sad reign which witnessed the sack of Rome by the imperialist mercenaries. This was the Pope to whom Henry and Wolsey looked for a settlement of the question of the divorce. Timorous, vacillating, a poor theologian, Rome could hardly have found in the long line of her Pontiffs one less fitted than was Clement VII. to grapple with the thorny questions stirred up by Henry VIII.

Knight, the secretary of the king's mission to Rome, effected nothing. Again the matter was placed in Wolsey's hands, who despatched a special embassage to Pope Clement, consisting of Stephen Gardiner and Edward Foxe, a royal chaplain. Gardiner was subsequently known as bishop of Winchester, and Foxe as bishop of Hereford, the first-named playing a most distinguished part in the reign of queen Mary. Gardiner and Foxe induced the Pope to send a commission to investigate the affair in England. Cardinal Campeggio was nominated legate; with him was associated the English minister, cardinal Wolsey. Campeggio was a prominent personage among the Roman officials of the time, and on several occasions was charged with difficult foreign missions by Rome. He was a fairly learned and prudent man of the world, and was highly esteemed by Erasmus, who describes him as one of the most just and reasonable of men. The Pope, however, pursuing his usual crafty policy, was careful not to give

plenary power to this commission to settle the matter, retaining in his own hands the final decision. Campeggio, who acted as the protector of England at the papal court, was rewarded for his services in this capacity by the bishopric of Hereford. This was one of the many instances of the shameful abuse by which high and responsible offices in the Church of England were held by non-resident foreigners. To Campeggio was intrusted a decretal of the Pope, in which the law relating to Henry's divorce case was carefully laid down. It is doubtful if this important document ever saw the light in the course of the mission of Campeggio; it was certainly destroyed by the legate, acting upon orders from Rome, before he finally left England.

The court of Wolsey and Campeggio was formally held at Blackfriars in London in the course of 1529. Queen Katharine appeared before it, protested against its jurisdiction, and then formally appealed to Rome. The legates gave no decision, but adjourned the court on a frivolous pretext. Shortly after, the Pope—no doubt under the influence of the emperor Charles V.—recalled the powers granted to the legates Wolsey and Campeggio, and resolved to revoke the cause to Rome. This utter failure to secure a settlement of the matter in England with the approval of Rome, was the immediate reason of Wolsey's downfall. Campeggio left England the autumn of the same year, 1529, under the marked displeasure of king Henry, who violated the privileges of an ambassador by causing his luggage to be ransacked at Dover in the hope of finding the decretal above referred to, but the legate had already destroyed it. Directly after Campeggio had left the kingdom, the king's attorney sued for a writ of "præmunire" against Wolsey, on the ground that his acts done as legate were contrary to the statute.

Some little time before this, Cranmer, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, appeared on the scene. Until the year 1528 the future metropolitan had led an undistinguished life as a quiet scholar. He belonged to an honourable and ancient, though not a wealthy family in Nottinghamshire, and as a member of Jesus College resided as a tutor at Cambridge for many years. He was not ordained before 1523, and proceeded to the degree of D.D. In 1528, the year of the sweating sickness, Cranmer was occupied with the instruction of two boys, the sons of a gentleman named Cressy, in the neighbourhood of Waltham abbey. Henry VIII., who was then earnestly pressing his divorce at the Roman court, was residing near Waltham, to avoid the danger from the disease in the cities. Two of his confidential advisers, Gardiner and Foxe, who, as we have seen, were employed in the all-important question of the divorce, accidentally met Cranmer at Mr. Cressy's table, and were struck with the unknown Cambridge scholar's views on the divorce. Cranmer urged the propriety of "trying the question out of the word of God," implying that it should be decided without any reference to the authority of the Pope. His idea was that if the marriage of Henry with Katharine was a union contrary to the divine law, it was no marriage at all. If there had been no marriage, then the king was free to marry whom he pleased without any reference to Rome. Let the canonists and the universities, he said,

THE FIRST TRIAL OF QUEEN KATHARINE.

(By permission, from the picture by Laslett J. Pott.)

pronounce that for a man to marry his deceased brother's wife was contrary to the divine law; let the evidence be produced before the ecclesiastical courts in England that Katharine had been married to the dead prince Arthur; and the cause would be at once decided in the way which Henry desired. To urge that a papal dispensation had been given in past years legalising such a marriage as that between Henry and his brother's widow, would be of no avail; for while a Pope was at liberty under certain circumstances to dispense with the law of the church, no papal dispensation would extend to the law of God.

Gardiner and Foxe were struck with Cranmer's lucid exposition of the question at issue, and the fresh light he threw upon it, and reported the conversation to king Henry. He at once sent for Cranmer, who impressed him as he had done Foxe and Gardiner. "Master doctor," the king is reported to have said, "I pray you, and because you are a subject I command and charge you, to set aside all other business and affairs, and to see that this my cause be furthered by your device."

From this time Cranmer became a royal favourite, and an influential personage. He was rapidly advanced, and the real conduct of "the king's matter" was entrusted to him. He was appointed a royal chaplain, and composed a treatise on the invalidity of the marriage of Henry and Katharine, the central argument being, that the marriage in question was not merely voidable, but from the beginning was void. We next hear of him at Rome, where, as the king of England's trusted counsellor, he was received with distinction; and although he was not permitted to repeat his argument before the Pope, he was appointed by the Roman court "Penitentiary of England," an important and lucrative office, as through the Penitentiary all papal dispensations in England must pass. The appointment was evidently a device of Clement's tortuous policy, intended to conciliate Henry, and to make Cranmer specially friendly to Rome, seeing that he would derive a considerable income from the papal court.

Cranmer, however, in spite of Roman cajoleries and bribes, continued his labours on behalf of his royal patron. In Italy, France, and Germany, he held many secret conferences on the subject of the disputed marriage. In 1530 we find him again in England. In the meantime the opinion of the English and foreign universities had been gradually elicited, as well as that of famous canonists. In 1532 he was again busily engaged on the Continent on the same business. During that visit he fell in love with the niece of the scholar Osiander, whom he married. This marriage has been quoted as a proof that, up to this time, Cranmer had no expectation or desire to succeed the aged Warham as archbishop of Canterbury, or even to be promoted to episcopal rank. But on Warham's death, early in 1533, the offer of the great post was made to him by Henry, who pressed its acceptance upon him. Again the Pope's policy was to win Henry and his favourite, and Clement made no difficulty in issuing the customary bull confirming the appointment of Cranmer.

At length the English and foreign universities were prepared with their judgment on the great question. Corruption, there is no doubt, was freely exercised on both

ARCHBISHOP CRANMER.

(From the painting by G. Flicçius in the National Gallery.)

sides; Spanish influence, of course, being exerted in favour of Katharine. In Italy and in Germany the opinion was against the English king, Italy being especially guided by Spanish influence, which was everywhere dominant. In Germany the weight of Luther's opinion was cast against Henry. Luther was no friend of Henry, who had written violently against his doctrines, and the German divines were coldly, though at the same time cautiously, hostile to the English king. Not so France —the jealous enemy of Spain and the emperor: there the whole weight of king Francis I.'s power was cast in favour of Henry's burning wishes; and the great university of Paris, partly, it must be confessed, acting under Francis's inspiration, drew up an ample declaration of opinion against the legality of the marriage of Henry and Katharine. Oxford and Cambridge, after long discussion, largely influenced by Cranmer, gave a qualified pronouncement in favour of the divorce.

All was now ready for the final scenes in the prolonged controversy. Two years had passed since Henry first began to move for divorce, and at the beginning of 1533 he privately married Anne Boleyn, whom he had created marchioness of Pembroke, granting her a yearly provision of a thousand pounds, equivalent to ten or twelve thousand pounds of our money, out of the revenues of the see of Durham.

Events during the first months of that year, 1533, moved rapidly. In February the famous act was passed by the English legislature for "the restraint of appeals to Rome." The immediate signification of this great act, of the decisive blows struck by the English parliament in this reign against the power of the Pope, was clear: it would prevent Katharine, should the judgment of the English courts go against her, appealing to the supreme jurisdiction of Rome. But its effects reached far beyond the divorce question. Henceforth, persons procuring processes, inhibitions, appeals, or citations from the court of Rome, as well as their aiders and abettors, all and every one of them were to incur the tremendous penalties of præmunire; and in all such cases which hitherto admitted of appeal to Rome, the appeals were to be from the archdeacon's court to the bishop's, from the bishop's to the archbishop, *and no further*. This was, indeed, only a return to ancient practice.

In the month of April that same year (1533) the case was laid before Convocation, which was required to hold debate and give evidence on the matter agitated between the king and queen. It does not appear that pressure was wanting, for while the sentences procured from the universities of England and the Continent were laid before the assembly, it was required to frame its answer according to the model of the university of Paris. The controversy in Convocation was, however, keen; but, as was to have been expected, the sentence, in spite of some decided protests, was given finally against the legality of the marriage of Henry and Katharine. In May of the same year archbishop Cranmer proceeded to Dunstable, a place within four miles of Ampthill, where queen Katharine was residing, and there set up his court in the Lady chapel of the convent, of which the prior, Markham, was earnestly devoted to the king. Katharine was summoned to appear before the court. She refused to come, and was then pronounced

contumacious. No further notice was taken of her absence, and when sentence was pronounced, she was not even summoned to receive it. In the citation she was called by the name of "the lady Katharine," her final style and title not being determined upon. With the archbishop at the Dunstable court were present

ARCHBISHOP CRANMER.
(*From a portrait at Lambeth Palace.*)

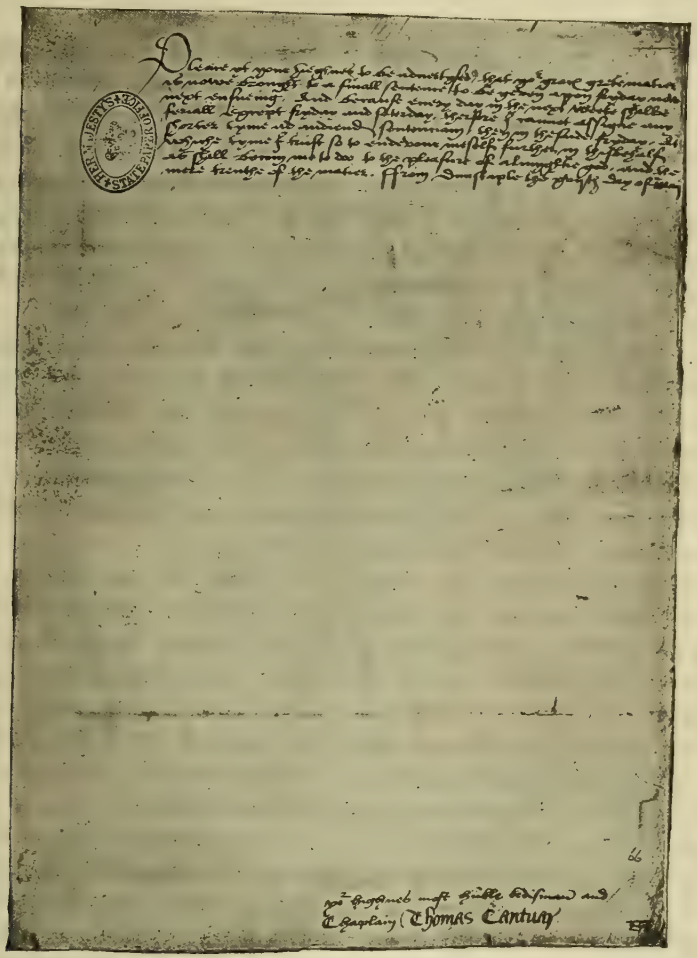
the bishops of London, Winchester, Lincoln, Bath and Wells. The marriage with the king was formally pronounced to have been from the beginning null and void, the court resting mainly upon the decisions of the universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and Paris. On the 23rd of May, 1533, the king was informed that the great cause was at an end.

A few extracts from the sentence deserve to be quoted. It began thus: "We, Thomas, by divine permission archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and legate of the apostolic see, in a certain cause of enquiry of and concerning the validity of the marriage contracted and consummated between . . . Henry VIII. and Katharine, daughter of . . . Ferdinand, king of Spain . . . proceeding according to law and justice in the said cause, which has been brought before us judicially in virtue of our offices, . . . having also seen and carefully considered not only the censures and decrees of the most famous universities of almost the whole Christian world, but likewise the opinions and determinations both of the most eminent divines and civilians, as also the resolutions and conclusions of the clergy of both provinces of England in convocation assembled, . . . find, and with undeniable plainness see that the marriage . . . between Henry VIII. and the most serene lady Katharine was and is null and invalid, and that it was contracted and consummated contrary to the law of God. . . . Therefore we—Thomas, archbishop, primate and legate—pronounce sentence and declare for the invalidity of the said marriage, decreeing that the said pretended marriage always was and still is null and invalid, . . . that it is of no force or obligation; and therefore we sentence that it is not lawful for . . . Henry VIII. and . . . the lady Katharine to remain in the same pretended marriage, and we do separate and divorce them one from the other, . . . and that they, so separated and divorced, are absolutely free from all marriage bond."

It is specially remarkable that this and the several instruments put forth on the

divorce by the archbishop, by which in effect the power of the Pope was made void, were the last public documents in which the primates of England wrote themselves legates of the Roman see, save in the public documents put out in the reign of queen Mary—a comparatively very short period.

Only a few days more were suffered to elapse after the pronouncement of the judgment at Dunstable: then London was gratified with the sight of one of the most gorgeous pageants which had ever delighted the eyes of the idle and the thoughtless. No bridal ceremony had been possible in the case of her whom the



LETTER FROM CRANMER AT DUNSTABLE TO HENRY VIII., INFORMING HIM OF THE DATE WHEN HIS "GRAVE GRETE MATIER" WILL BE BROUGHT TO A CONCLUSION. (*Record Office.*)

king delighted to honour. In silence and in secret the ceremony had been hurried over some months before. But now Henry could show his new and beautiful queen in the sight of all. The brilliant apologist of Henry VIII. exhausts his vivid and striking word-painting in the description of the coronation of Anne Boleyn, from which one striking passage may be quoted: "Glorious as the spectacle [of the coronation procession] was, perhaps, however, it passed unheeded. Those eyes [the people's] were watching all for another object, which now drew near. . . . Then was seen approaching a white chariot, drawn by two palfreys in white damask, which swept the ground, a golden canopy borne above it making music with silver bells; and in the chariot sat the observed of all observers, the beautiful occasion of all this glittering homage, Fortune's plaything of the hour, the queen of England—queen at last—borne along on the waves of this sea of glory, breathing the perfumed incense of greatness, for which she had risked her fair name, her delicacy, her honour, her self-respect, to win; and she had won it. . . . There she sat, dressed in white tissue robes, her fair hair flowing loose over her shoulders, and her temples circled with a light coronet of gold and diamonds—most beautiful, loveliest, most favoured, perhaps, as she seemed at that hour, of all England's daughters. . . . Three short years have yet to pass, and again, on a summer morning, queen Anne Boleyn will leave the Tower of London, not radiant then with beauty on a gay errand of coronation, but a poor wandering ghost on a sad tragic errand, from which she will never more return, passing away out of an earth where she may stay no longer, into a presence where, nevertheless, we know that all is well—for all of us, and therefore for her."*

What of the poor discrowned lady, in her sad and lonely desolation? Stripped of her queenly title, styled simply dowager-princess of Wales, her daughter Mary pronounced illegitimate, she sank, crushed by her unmerited misfortunes, slowly into the grave. Nothing was done by the imperious king to soften the awful blow; no royal residence was specially assigned to her. She was removed from one residence to another, harassed, persecuted about the empty title she refused to resign, now and again even insulted, and treated with a parsimony disgraceful as it was useless, which moved the pity and indignation of Europe.

The one fair spot in this sad chapter was the devotion shown, after her mother's untimely death, by the disinherited Mary to her little sister Elizabeth, whom she was bade to call "not sister, but princess." Their loving attachment, often broken and interfered with by state complications and state jealousies, was never completely severed, and the remains of the two princesses—the daughter of Katharine, and the daughter of her supplanter, both in their turns queens of England, rest together in the quiet calm of one grave in "the abbey of the kings and queens."

On the Continent the news of the divorce and the king's marriage was generally received with indignation; but the confused relationships of the foreign powers, the bitter jealousy which existed between

* Froude's "History," vol. i., chap. v.

France and Spain, the deadly animosity with which the Lutheran states were regarded by Italy and other countries still faithful to the Roman obedience, prevented anything like an armed demonstration in favour of Katharine, and the not unnatural fears of Henry soon subsided. Even the Pope, whose power in England had received so fatal a blow in the matter of the right of appeals, forbore to launch any edict against Henry, whom he hoped to win back to some kind of submission.

At home the indignation of the working clergy was aroused by the king's act. The pulpits resounded with grave and well-earned rebukes. So dangerous did these criticisms appear, that Cranmer forbade all preaching. This singular restraint of preaching lasted a whole year, and Cranmer was, it is said, for a time the most unpopular man in England. So far this feeling was altogether to the credit of the English clergy and laity; but unfortunately many of them, with some of the Canterbury monks, were so far led away by it as to encourage the treasonable impostures of the celebrated so-called Nun of Kent,* who denounced vengeance upon Henry on pretence of direct revelation from the Almighty, and who was gladly used as a tool by unscrupulous members of the queen's party. Some really great personages were for a time deceived by this strange imposition, and it will be remembered that his connection with it was one of the causes which probably in some degree influenced the execution of Sir Thomas More. Its wide acceptance is a striking proof of the popular feeling concerning the divorce and re-marriage of the king.

But this burning indignation gradually died down. The divorce was, after all, the king's private wrong-doing. It did not seriously affect the life of the people. What endured, was the action which grew out of it in the matter of the relations of England and the Papacy. Cranmer and the king, when the immediate result was accomplished, and the injured Katharine was prevented lodging an appeal at the court of Rome, saw the vast importance of the step which the legislature had been induced to take. They were determined that it should not be retraced, and ordered the act for restraint of appeals to Rome to be set up on every church door in England.

Out of a cruel wrong, thus grew a mighty good for the English people. The first great step towards the enfranchisement of the Church of England from the bondage of Rome, which had lasted for centuries, had been taken. But this must not blind us to the iniquity of the step itself, which admits of no excuse, no palliation. Although in the providence of God, it resulted in a nobler and truer life for the church, and through the church for the people, in the case of Henry himself, it was unblessed; it brought him neither peace, nor even temporary happiness. The remainder of that great reign, with its restless work —often true work and striving after the higher good and righteousness—was, so far as Henry himself was concerned, a period filled with lamentation, and mourning, and woe.

* For fuller details respecting this remarkable imposture, see Excursus D, "The Nun of Kent," at end of the volume.

CHAPTER XLV.

THE PARLIAMENT OF THE REFORMATION. THE VICAR-GENERAL THOMAS CROMWELL.

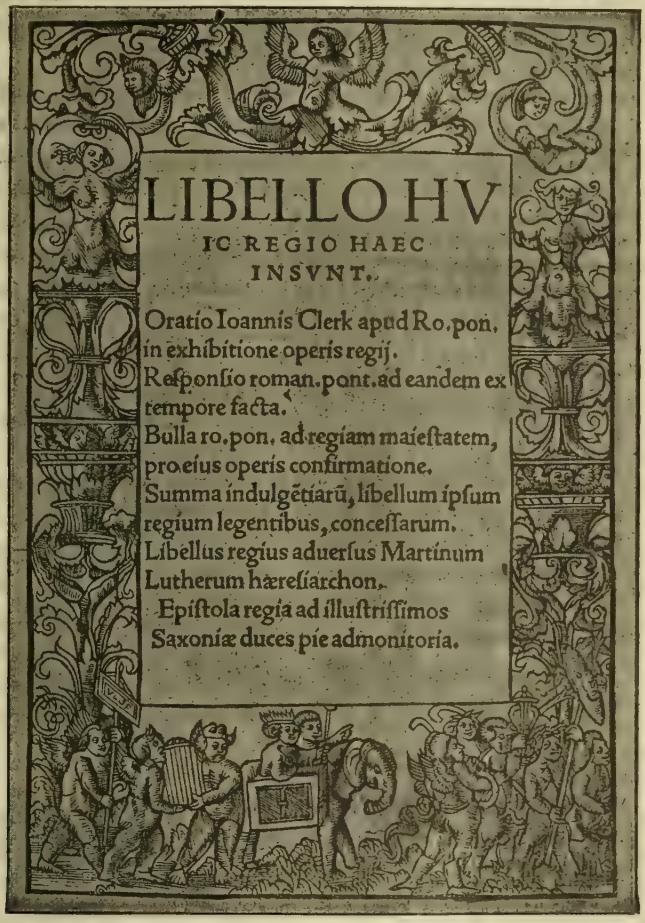
Reform of the English Church Hitherto Restrained by the Power of the Crown—Significance of the Divorce—Parliament Summoned in 1529—Acts of that Session reforming Ecclesiastical Courts and Prohibiting Non-Residence—1530 a Blank Session—But Distinguished for Oppression of the Clergy under the Statute of Præmunire—Claim of the King in 1531 to be styled Supreme Head of the Church—Supplication against the Ordinaries—Convocation makes Canons against various Abuses—Its Reply to the Supplication—Submission of the Clergy—Limitation of the Benefit of Clergy, and Extension of Mortmain Statutes—Abolition of Annates and First Fruits to Rome—More Resigns Office—Warham makes his Dying Protest—The 1533 Session passes the Act for Restraint of Appeals—The 1534 Session further Restricts Annates, forbids Peter-pence and Dispensations and Papal Bulls, and confines Ecclesiastical Elections within the Kingdom—Act for the Punishment of Heretics—The Act of Succession—Its Tragic Consequences—Suffragan Bishoprics—Martyrdom of John Frith—Thomas Cromwell made Vicar-General—Sketch of his Career—The "Valor Ecclesiasticus"—Martyrdom of the Carthusians—Papal Excommunication of the King, and its Utter Failure.

IN completing our story of the royal divorce which precipitated the English Reformation, we have somewhat anticipated the sequence of events, and must now retrace our steps a little. The divorce was pronounced, and the Act "restraining appeals to Rome" was only passed early in the year 1533; but the Reformation as a state question, really began in England three years earlier, in 1529. In that year Henry VIII. finally gave up the hope of a compromise with the Pope which should cover with the sanction of Rome his project for the dissolution of his marriage, and allow him to make Anne Boleyn his queen. And the consequences were momentous.

Things had long been evil, as we have seen, in the Church of England. The mediæval church was still full of life and power and learning; still officered with many men of devotion, zeal, and faith. But its teaching and its practice were disfigured by many superstitions, the growth of ages. Its life and work were hindered by many and shameful abuses. It was oppressed, too, with a strange foreign oppression by a so-called spiritual power, ever advancing fresh and more burdensome claims, which had grown men knew not how; and this foreign power, in addition, was in many respects evil and corrupt. We have treated in detail many of the curious superstitions which were so seriously affecting the doctrine taught and the life lived, and have seen how they revolted not a few of the best and noblest Englishmen. We have seen also how Rome weighed down with her dead hand every department of the church. The new learning had taught men much, had opened the eyes of many to see the defects of the mediæval ecclesiastical system; and there was a widespread and well-grounded discontent. The sermons of Colet, the writings of More, the letters of Erasmus, lift the veil for us, and show us only too clearly what was the mind of thoughtful men in England in the first quarter of the sixteenth century. For

years the church had been faintly struggling to reform itself. But such efforts had not been successful. They were at best but half-hearted: no really great reforming first, then churchmen; and a greater than Morton, Warham, or Wolsey was required to carry out what was so sorely needed.

In England a great power had existed,



TITLE PAGE (BY HOLBEIN) OF HENRY VIII.'S PAMPHLET AGAINST MARTIN LUTHER, WHICH GAINED HIM THE TITLE OF "FIDEI DEFENSOR" FROM THE POPE. (*British Museum.*)

spirit had arisen in England. Morton, Wolsey, Warham, archbishops, ministers of the crown, chancellors—men, too, all-powerful with the king of the day—had seen the growing need of a thorough reform. But these men were statesmen existed still, which watched jealously over the fortunes of the church, partly from motives of policy, partly from conviction, as in the case of Henry V. With us the crown had ever protected the church from crude, ill-advised, often self-interested

schemes of reformation. More than a hundred years before, in 1410, king Henry IV. set aside the revolutionary proposals of the House of Commons to sweep away church endowments and church privileges Henry IV. thus protected the church, largely because he felt that the men who would attack her were enemies of social order. Henry V. was a religious man as well as a most able sovereign, and the policy of his father, Henry IV., which used the crown as a defence of the church against the attacks of Lollardism, was also the policy of the victor of Agincourt, though higher motives also weighed with him. Henry VI. was counted in his own and in later generations as a saint, and with him mediæval superstitions were sacred; so when he was in power and as long as he was in power, the church was absolutely safe; it had no need to dread any rude reformer, whether for conscience' sake or mere greed. During the Wars of the Roses, in the reigns of the brothers Edward IV. and Richard III., men had other thoughts and aims to occupy them than religious matters, however pressing. During the reign of Henry VII. and his famous minister, cardinal Morton, the church was safe from any outside malcontent. Reform was in the air; but Tudor absolutism under the guidance of Morton left the Reformation to the church to initiate and to carry out, if it saw fit. Henry VIII., the able and versatile king, the all-accomplished soldier, and at the same time scholar and student, was a theologian himself of no mean acquirements, and for the first twenty years of his reign, while Warham and Wolsey were in power as chancellors, the crown still protected the church. And the enormous power of the crown under the great Tudor monarchs must be borne in mind. They were well-nigh absolute; and if their acts ran in the name of the Parliament, the Parliament was ever a singularly subservient assembly.

Under Henry VIII., during the long period of Wolsey's power as chief minister, reform, as we have seen, was by no means forgotten or laid aside; but the church, conscious of no immediate danger, was strangely apathetic. As for cardinal Wolsey, the chancellor, although he had many noble plans of new religious educational foundations in which much of the church's wealth and influence under the changed condition of things might be utilised, some of which plans he carried out, some he only sketched out, yet it must be confessed, in spite of his splendid abilities, that Wolsey's mind was too secular, and his time too filled up with absorbing state business at home and abroad, to allow him to devote himself with real earnestness and success to the urgently needed work of church reform. So things went on much as they had done aforetime.

Roughly speaking, western Christendom was divided into two great divisions. Italy, France, and Spain belonged especially to the Latin races—to peoples who, more or less, were descended from the inhabitants of the provinces of the old Roman empire. The central and northern parts of western Christendom, northern and middle Germany, the Low Countries, and the lands which fringe the Baltic, together with England, were peculiarly the home of the Teutonic peoples—the descendants of the

old northern races. While the causes of discontent with the mediæval corruptions of Christianity existed throughout the whole of western Christendom, it was among the Teutonic nations that this discontent—this longing after a purer religion, more like that which was taught in the earlier days of Christianity, was most pronounced. While in the Latin countries, Italy, France, and Spain, many were uneasy and dissatisfied with the existing condition of religion and the church; these great countries, as a whole, patiently though uneasily acquiesced in the existing state of things, looking to the promised general council of the church as the ultimate remedy.

Not so in Germany, the home of the Teutonic peoples. Germany openly broke with the mediæval church and its immemorial centre of Rome, and with some regrettable haste and precipitation, remodelled Christianity, not always being careful in the new religious organisation to preserve the ancient traditions and practices. In central Europe—in Germany—a great revolution in religious matters had been already accomplished by the burning faith and splendid enthusiasm of Luther. Much had been done in those broad countries watered by the Rhine, the Elbe, and the Danube, to purify the faith; but in the process of reformation not a little had also been done which men have since bitterly regretted; destruction had accompanied reformation, and the new church organisation was ill-fitted for its work, as men have sadly found out in course of time.

England—wealthy, powerful England—the other division of the Teutonic peoples, whilst feeling, like Germany, intense discontent with the corruptions of mediæval Christianity—a discontent which, for a long period, had been growing in the English nation—was restrained from openly breaking with the established order of things, as we have just observed, by the enormous power of the crown, which, for various reasons, was utterly averse to any great religious change. Indeed, the wearer of the crown of England, a man of singular genius and learning, and withal a most haughty despot, himself publicly wrote against Luther, the apostle of the German reformation, in a book which brought him from grateful Rome the title of "Defender of the Faith." What was to be the fate of England? Were the old landmarks to be swept away here also, as in Germany? Was the old organisation which had endured, with various changes, but which still, on the whole, had endured from Apostolic times, to be wiped out? Was the faith to be purified, and the practice and life of the church to be reformed, at the terrible cost by which faith and practice and life had been reformed in Germany and in central Europe?

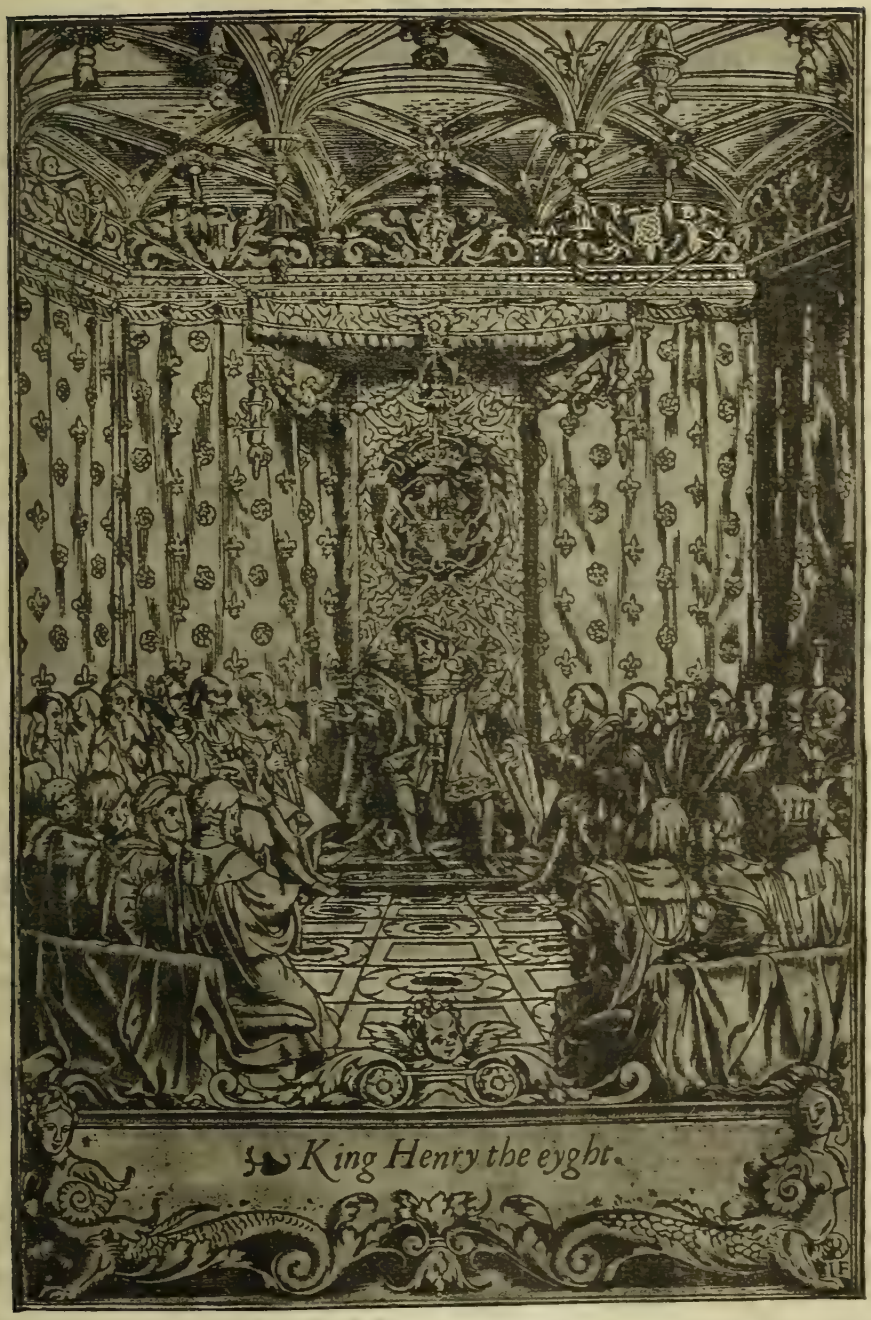
Froude, in a short passage of singular power, thus briefly sums up the situation in A.D. 1529: "A crisis had arrived, and a revolution of policy was inevitable. From the accession of Henry VII. (A.D. 1485) the country had been governed by a succession of ecclesiastical ministers [Morton, Warham, Wolsey], who, being priests as well as statesmen, were essentially conservative, and whose efforts in a position of constantly increasing difficulty had been directed towards resisting the changing tendencies of the age, and either evading a reformation of the church, while they admitted

its necessity, or retaining the conduct of it in their own hands, while they were giving evidence of their inability to accomplish the work. It was now over; the ablest representative of this party [Wolsey] in a last desperate effort to retain power, had decisively failed." * Froude, however, slurs over the absorbing motive which decided Henry VIII. to withdraw his protection from the English mediæval church. When that protection was once withdrawn, the flood of reformation, the waters of which had long been gathering, flowed on unchecked, with the results we now have to trace.

The position in England had, indeed, long been an unnatural one. Our country, in common with the continental Teutonic nations, had for some time been awakened to the knowledge that the Christian religion, as taught and expounded in the mediæval system, was hopelessly buried under a mass of baseless superstitions. National discontent, expressed by such men as Colet, Erasmus, and More, had risen to such a height, that some sweeping change—it matters little by what name it is called—was imperatively demanded. Nothing stood in the way of this change, save the will of an imperious and well-nigh absolute monarch, who chose to maintain the old state of things. And when his will no longer stood in the way, at once the nation commenced the work of reformation. The wild passion of Henry VIII. for Anne Boleyn was the immediate cause of Henry's changed policy. His anger with Rome for not assisting him in his project of divorce from the queen who stood in his way, and his sullen indignation with the clergy, who, to their credit as a body, publicly disapproved his action in the matter, determined the king to withdraw the shield of protection which the crown had hitherto thrown over the church and its grievous shortcomings. It was time, indeed, that this unnatural protecting influence should be withdrawn; it was a good thing for England, and eventually for her church. But it was a pitiful reason which brought about that change in the policy of the crown—a change which, in the long run, as we shall see, worked so great a blessing for our people.

Wolsey fell in the autumn of 1529. It is doubtful if the king at that date had any definite ideas on the subject of the Reformation, though he was far too able and far-seeing a man, too consummate a statesman, not to have read more or less accurately the signs of the times; not to be aware how unpopular with many, perhaps with the majority of his subjects, was the church; how deep-rooted was the persuasion, that far-reaching reforms were imperatively necessary. When Wolsey was dismissed and a new adviser summoned to his side, and the help and counsel of Parliament, long ignored, was invoked, the dominant feeling in Henry's mind was simply that new measures and new men must be tried in order to carry out what was the burning desire in his heart. The divorce from Katharine of Arragon undoubtedly was uppermost in his thoughts. He probably never dreamed of the far-reaching changes which were to be brought about through the instrumentality of that memorable Parliament summoned in the late autumn of 1529, though these changes were certainly acquiesced in, probably in

* History of England, chap. ii.



HENRY VIII. IN PARLIAMENT.

(From a contemporary print in the British Museum.)

many cases suggested by him, during that Parliament's long and memorable continuance.

Probably no one, indeed, of the principal persons who took part in its opening session had any conception of the magnitude of the changes it would effect in the course of its many sessions—least of all, perhaps, the king, who may be fairly described as being "educated" by its debates, and by the famous and able men who arose as these long-continued debates proceeded. At first, perhaps, he scarcely dreamt of even breaking entirely with the papal power. He wished, evidently, to startle and frighten Rome into acquiescing in his views; and later, apparently, to slight and rebuke the clergy for their opposition. At first this was apparently all that king Henry proposed to carry out. But the tide was too strong to be stemmed, even by the imperious monarch, when once the flood-gates of popular opinion were opened; and the king, as we shall see, was well content to float along with it, well content merely to guide that strong, irresistible current. We find at least no effort of his, as events proceeded, to stay its sweeping course.

How little, however, king Henry VIII. anticipated what was coming, is evident from his wishing, in the first instance, his old adviser, archbishop Warham, to come back again into his former place as chancellor and chief minister when Wolsey fell. Warham, who had resigned the seals about fifteen years before, was in church matters, though an enlightened supporter of the new learning, a conservative, and utterly opposed to any drastic measures of reform. But Warham was an old, worn-out man when the king's offer was made him,* and he at once declined to entertain the thought of again becoming chancellor. Then Henry turned to another and far dearer and more intimate friend, Sir Thomas More. We have already given some account of this distinguished man, almost the most renowned of then living Englishmen, at once scholar and statesman. More also was, as we have seen, although conscious of the faults of the present ecclesiastical system, and anxious for some changes and cautious reforms, an ardent churchman; and his appointment to the chief office under the crown seemed a pledge on the king's part that, although Wolsey was disgraced, no drastic changes or sweeping reforms in church matters were then contemplated. More, however, only held his high office for a comparatively short time. He soon felt himself constrained to resign, as he was unable to restrain or even to guide the proposal of measures, many of which he utterly disapproved. When it was clearly seen that More would not yield to the rushing torrent of public opinion, with which Henry partly sympathised, neither his long friendship with the king, nor his unrivalled reputation, nor his stainless character could save him; and his retirement and withdrawal from active political life was only the prelude to his arrest, condemnation, and execution.

But of this development of policy Henry never dreamed, when in A.D. 1529 he appointed More chancellor, and summoned

* It has been, however, by some historians denied that Henry ever absolutely offered the seals to Warham.

the "Reformation" Parliament to meet. Wolsey had been opposed to Parliamentary government, and, with the exception of one session, Parliament had not been called together for some fourteen years. This famous "Reformation" Parliament was composed of a House of Lords, consisting of two archbishops, sixteen bishops, twenty-six abbots, two priors, and forty-four temporal peers; and of a House of Commons numbering 298 members; the latter composed of popular representatives very largely under royal influence. Sir Thomas Audley, a devoted servant of the king and subsequently chancellor, was the speaker of the House of Commons.

The debates generally seem to have manifested a spirit of violent hostility against the clergy, but these attacks were directed rather against the abuses of the ecclesiastic courts and the so-called greed of ecclesiastics, than against the life generally lived by the clerks. Neither in this opening session, nor in the famous "supplication of the Commons" presented some two or three years later (1532), which detailed the especial grievances complained of by the laity, was there anything which amounted to a general accusation of immorality against ecclesiastics. That there were cases of gross immorality and evil living among ecclesiastical persons at that time, is not to be doubted; but after all, the examples cited, culled out of the diocesan registers, as too lightly punished, are not numerous in comparison with the whole number, and there is no proof that the clergy generally had fallen into such a state as to make them detested, on account of any special evil living, in the eyes of the nation.

The first session lasted only some six weeks. Numerous propositions touching the church were made by the Commons. These for the most part were hotly resisted by the Upper House, in which the bishops and abbots were so numerous. Fisher, bishop of Rochester, was conspicuous by his vehement opposition. Fisher has been described, not unfairly, as one of the ornaments of the bench and the kingdom; he had been years before the confessor and friend of the lady Margaret, countess of Richmond, mother of king Henry VII., well loved in England; and it was upon his advice she determined upon those noble academical foundations, which have made her name illustrious. He was the last survivor, too, of the counsellors of Henry VII. "My lords," he is reported to have said, "you see daily what Bills come hither from the Commons House, and all to the destruction of the church. For God's sake see what a realm the kingdom of Bohemia was, and when the church went down, then fell the glory of the kingdom; now with the Commons is nothing but down with the church, and all this me seemeth is for lack of faith only."

The king was, however, on the side of the Commons, and three important Bills of reformation were eventually carried in this short session, and became law. The first and second were measures directed against the ecclesiastical courts, and were emphatically needed. Amongst other crying abuses, the fees exacted in these spiritual courts for probate of wills, for mortuaries or offerings made at burials, were justly described as excessive and oppressive. The state of these ecclesiastical courts had long been complained of

In the earlier Middle Ages it must be remembered that they had been the refuge of the people against much cruel injustice and cruelty on the part of the royal and baronial courts, but they had become in the course of time utterly corrupt and oppressive. Warham, and subsequently Wolsey, had endeavoured to reform them, and it was indeed for this very purpose that Wolsey was made, with the consent of Warham, legate *à latere*, in order to give him absolute power to do away with the more crying abuses connected with them. Wolsey, however, we have already noticed, had effected but little in this direction, and legislation was urgently needed.

The third of the Acts passed in this first session was for the prevention of clerical farming and clerical trading, for abolishing pluralities, and for enforcing residence among the clergy. The first part of this Act was directed especially against the religious houses, where large estates were farmed, and where in many cases wool was sold by the abbots and priors like ordinary secular merchants. The Act, which was a curious one, tried to distinguish between farming and production which was necessary for the maintenance of the houses and their communities, and what was grown and produced for home and even foreign markets. It was, however, clear that the meaning of the Act was to facilitate the transference of ecclesiastical landed property to laymen, and it is memorable as the first effort in this age of spoliation to deal with the property of the church under the veil of legal and public sanction. This part of the Act became, however, owing to the vast confiscation which was soon carried out, practically inoperative. The clauses which dealt with pluralities and non-residence, touched some of the gravest abuses of the mediæval English Church. The vast number of exceptions, however, which permitted privileged ecclesiastics to hold more than one living, considerably neutralised the effect of these provisions. Rome, too, was attacked in this lengthy and far-reaching piece of legislation. Under a heavy penalty clerics were forbidden to obtain a licence from the Pope to hold more benefices than the statute specified.

The first year (1529) of the "Reformation" Parliament closed with the passing of these Acts. In the following year the king and the principal actors in the legislature were too preoccupied with the various intrigues and curious negotiations at home and abroad connected with the absorbing "king's matter" (the divorce) to devise or to debate any further legislation connected with the church. More, the chancellor, was distinctly averse to any more being done; and the king probably acquiesced, waiting to see what further action would be taken by Rome and the English friends of Rome in the great question which occupied well-nigh all his thoughts.

During this interval, however, king Henry was careful to show his rigid *orthodoxy*, by issuing various proclamations and instruments against heretics, and more particularly against heretical and anti-church books and pamphlets, which at this period were inundating England, and exciting men's minds against the church. Many of these publications were disfigured by shameless exaggerations, and by not a few impudent falsehoods. A commission,

consisting of the most learned persons of the two universities, was appointed to examine and report upon such books. These books, emanating both from home and foreign

THOMAS CROMWELL.
(*From the portrait by Holbein.*)

printing-presses, were eagerly welcomed and largely read by the many of all classes and orders who are always too ready to find fault with teachers of a religion, which attracts them with a strange attraction, even while it perpetually rebukes their selfish and careless lives. Angry with religion, men are only too glad to be enabled to criticise and belittle the men who are its acknowledged office-bearers

At the time of which we are writing, there was, alas! much that invited the severest criticism in the teaching and practices of the church. But among the immediate causes which precipitated the Reformation in England, and coloured it with harshness

and injustice, and even with cruelty, there is no doubt but that the scurrilous and ribald literature which, with too much success, was circulated among the people, will ever hold a prominent and disgraceful place. The invention of the printing-press was not an unmixed good. Then, as now, its enormous power was too often prostituted for selfish and evil ends.

One very noble purpose of king Henry's, however, shines out among much that was confused and marred by human prejudice and passion in these first days of attempted reformation. "His highness," we read, "intended to provide that the Holy Scripture should be by great, learned, and Catholic persons translated into the English tongue, if it should then seem to his grace convenient to do."

The year 1530, unmarked by any fresh legislation, was notorious for a most tyrannical and shameful procedure on the king's part, for which no apology can be offered. With unswerving boldness, both in private and in public, the clergy, especially among the regular or monastic teachers, continued to declare their conviction that it was utterly unlawful for the king to put away Katharine and to marry another. No state reasons that could be alleged could possibly justify such a procedure. Apparently in revenge for this steady opposition on the part of the clergy, Henry, on the advice of Thomas Cromwell, a former confidential official of the fallen cardinal, asserted that the whole body of the clergy, regular and secular, had come under the statute of præmunire by acknowledging the legatine authority of cardinal Wolsey.

The statutes of præmunire have been already referred to. They were Acts passed, and several times repeated and amplified, as safeguards against the imperious and ever-growing claims of Rome, and enacted that "They who should procure or prosecute any Romish bulls, in certain cases shall incur the forfeiture of their estates, or be banished, or be put out of the king's protection." In the case of Wolsey, whose supreme authority in ecclesiastical matters as legate *à latere* the clergy were charged with acknowledging, it must be remembered that it was at king Henry's own request Wolsey was nominated to the cardinalship, and was appointed legate *à latere*. Well aware that, by accepting the legatine office in question, he was transgressing the law, Wolsey, before exercising legatine powers, had been careful to obtain from the crown a licence under the great seal! There was thus absolutely no excuse for Henry's totally unjust and tyrannical accusation. But the king was master, and the church was helpless; and to obtain the royal pardon for this alleged transgression, the clergy consented in the following year, through Convocation, to pay an enormous fine to the king, a sum amounting to nearly two millions of our money!

The form under which this vast sum of money was paid was peculiar, and deserves a few words of comment, for it led to another and important concession on the part of the clergy. When Convocation in the year 1531 presented the money to the king (the exact amount, no doubt, had been previously arranged), no allusion was made to the præmunire, but the fine was described as a grateful offering for the incomparable benefits of the king towards them, which required not only verbal

thanks, but also a spontaneous oblation of money. "He, the king, had defended the church by sword and pen so mightily, so victoriously, that he had earned eternal fame. A thousand foes, the Lutherans especially, had conspired against the church and clergy of England; but his majesty, as the pious defender of the faith and of the church, had quelled their audacity. They were unwilling that his majesty should deem them ungrateful."

Henry was, however, not satisfied with the money grant only. He insisted upon the English clergy styling him, in the terms of their grant, "the only protector and supreme head of the church and clergy of England." Here the Convocation of the province of Canterbury, under the presidency of archbishop Warham, hesitated. Was such an acknowledgment right? For three sessions they held debate with the king's councillors, and at last agreed to give king Henry the title he insisted on, with the following modification: "We acknowledge his majesty to be the singular protector, only and supreme lord, and, so far as the laws of Christ allow, supreme head of the English church and clergy."

The assumption of this style by Henry VIII. excited attention and much grave remonstrance. Such men as Tunstall, bishop of Durham, solemnly protested against it, even though limited by the words "so far as the law of Christ allows"; and others among the northern bishops followed his example. The language apparently was strange, and the style of "supreme head of the church" was uncustomary; but, after all, the title was little more than the strong assertion of an ancient right. The English sovereign had been at all times the head of the realm, both of the spirituality and the temporality; sometimes he had borne titles which expressed this. In the laws of Edward the Confessor, for instance, he was termed the vicar of Christ, a title which seems as expressive as that which was assumed by Henry VIII. and sanctioned by Convocation.*

The year 1532 witnessed the last scenes of the intrigues and negotiations connected with the divorce question, but it was also especially memorable for the "supplication against the ordinaries" presented by the House of Commons. Roughly, this famous "supplication" consists of two parts. The first attacked the right which the clergy exercised of making spiritual laws in Convocation without the assent of the sovereign. The second part dealt with the various abuses which were complained of as existing in the Church of England.

The "supplication" dwelt, in the first part, upon the new fantastic and erroneous opinions which had of late increased among the people, mainly through the circulation of "frantic seditious books"; it added, however, that the uncharitable conduct of the church ordinaries (alluding, of course, to the bishops) and their commissaries in dealing with these errors multiplied them. The "supplication" then traced much of this mischief to the right claimed by the clergy in their convocations to make laws and ordinances on these and other matters without the royal assent. Laws, it affirmed,

* *Cf.* Dixon: "History of the Church of England from the abolition of the Roman jurisdiction," chap. i.

so made were to the great prejudice and damage of the king's subjects. The document then proceeded in its second part to detail: the grievances complained of arose principally out of the state of the ecclesiastical courts. The unfairness and bitter animus of the "supplication" is clearly and unmistakably shown by the general tenor of its vehement complaints. It speaks of acknowledged wrongs and grievances as though nothing had been done to remove them, although special acts for this purpose had already been passed; and there was nothing to prevent the Commons, had they pleased, from initiating further legislation in the matter of these courts, had they found that the acts of 1529 were insufficient or required amending. They dwelt with vehemence upon the exorbitant fees charged, the enormous probate duties, the vast cost of the ecclesiastical judicial machinery; and then, not without some justification, they proceeded to complain that even for sacraments of holy church, money payments were asked, and that in some cases the most solemn rites were withheld until the payment demanded was made. Other abuses were specified, such as the conferring of benefices upon "young folk," kinsfolk of the ordinaries, who were under age and unfit to serve any cure. The number of superfluous holidays was dwelt upon; a curious statement bearing on the lives of the people was appended here: "Great, abominable and execrable vices, idle and wanton sports, were used and exercised" on these holidays; it was recommended that the number of these should be cut down, and more religiously observed. The treatment of heretics was gravely found fault with. Accusations, said the "supplication," were hourly made, arrests were effected, long periods of incarceration endured, and then, if nothing was proved against the accused persons, they were liberated without any amends for their losses and sufferings; over-severity with these heretics was also alleged. But in all this "supplication" of the Commons, bitter though it was in its spirit, we find no hint of any general charge of grave immorality among the clergy.

In the April of the same year (1532) these accusations were sent by the king to archbishop Warham, to be laid before and immediately to be considered by Convocation.

While the "supplication" against the ordinaries was being prepared and presented by the Commons, Convocation was seriously engaged in making canons which dealt with the reformation of the abuses more generally complained of. Had these canons been completed and enforced, not a few of the more prominent evils in the life and practice of the church would have been swept away. The following reforms were embodied in the canons proposed in this last attempt at independent ecclesiastical legislation. Archbishops and bishops were to set an example to their flocks. Their frequent absences from their various dioceses were to be avoided for the future. They were exhorted and admonished by Convocation to be always present in their sees at the principal church feasts—at least at Christmas, Holy Week, Easter, and Whitsuntide. Leave of absence was to be generally limited. Over the fees exacted and severities practised by their officials they were to exercise a more careful supervision. Heresies were to be put down,

HENRY VIII.

(From the portrait at Warwick Castle by Holbein.)

and heretical books diligently sought out. The monastic schools and the universities were to be visited, and a stricter discipline was to be required from the abbots and the "religious" under their rule. Greater care and increased strictness was to be exercised at ordinations. No person was to be ordained sub-deacon unless he were sufficiently acquainted with the Gospels and Epistles, at least those contained in the Missal, so as to be able to give the examiner the grammatical sense of these portions of Holy Scripture. All excuses made by beneficed men, who claimed to be allowed non-residence for the purposes of study, were to be carefully inquired into. To guard against idleness, all rectors, vicars, curates, and chanting priests, besides their daily offices, were directed to busy themselves in studies and in other good works, especially in the duty of instructing the young. Idle priests were to be severely rebuked, and even punished by their ordinaries. The sumptuous in apparel were to be reduced to a prescribed vesture, and hunters among the clergy recalled to graver conversation. Schoolmasters were to be especially careful not to allow their pupils to read books which the ordinaries of the place disapproved of as likely to corrupt the faith. As in many of the religious houses the number of the "religious" was decreasing, it was enjoined that a proper number should in these houses be made up and kept up perpetually. A list of seditious and heretical books was prepared. These reforms, it will be seen, covered many of the more crying abuses prevalent in the church.

While Convocation was thus busied in preparing these statutes, which aimed at a thorough reformation of the clergy, the king sent down "the supplication of the Commons against the ordinaries" above referred to, and desired that an answer to the accusations therein contained might be speedily returned. With little delay what is known as the first answer to the "supplication" was prepared for the king. This answer was revised, perhaps composed, by the afterwards famous Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and was a dignified and moderate state paper. It denied that there was any widening breach between the clergy and the people of England, asserting that the jurisdiction of the church in matters of heresy had been carefully administered, that much of the information upon which the "supplication" was based had been devised by persons who had little favour to the clergy. As regarded the charge that they made sanctions or laws in Convocation without the royal assent, they maintained that their action here rested upon rights which they possessed from immemorial antiquity.

When the king placed "the answer" in the hands of the Speaker of the Commons, he showed his discontent with its independent tone by observing, "We think this answer will scantily please you, for it seemeth to us very slender." The king proceeded to require from Convocation a second answer. This second answer was prepared with great care, and sent to king Henry by the hands of the bishops of London and Lincoln, the abbot of Westminster, and other dignitaries, who were deputed to make a personal appeal to the king imploring him to support the clergy and to preserve the liberties of the church unbroken, as he and his great ancestors

had hitherto done. They suggested a compromise in the matter of the laws made by Convocation, proposing that they should be permitted to make laws in ecclesiastical matters by themselves, but not to publish them save by the king's consent. They further offered to amend any existing laws if in any point they were obnoxious.

The personal appeal to Henry, however, was fruitless; and the second answer also completely failed to satisfy him. The struggle for mastery between Convocation and the king did not last long. There was no one among the clergy of supereminent influence and ability. There were many earnest and devoted men, and not a few scholars, but no one stood out at that juncture conspicuously above his fellows. Warham, the archbishop, when in his prime, would have been scarcely fit to guide and direct the church at such a juncture; he had shown himself an admirable archbishop in quiet times, but he was of little use in moments of stress and storm, and, in addition, Warham was now a very old and worn-out man. Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, was the most prominent then among the prelates; but Gardiner was no favourite of the king, and, as we shall see in his subsequent career, was too devoted to the interests of Rome and to the preservation of its ancient power, for the English party among the clergy to be considered as a leader.

The contest was all over before the end of May of that year (1532). With only slight concessions, the king had his way, and in the famous "submission of the clergy" the king's demands were virtually embodied. Two years later the submission was embodied in an Act of Parliament, which also included the Act for restraint of appeals to Rome, hereafter to be described. In this celebrated Act it was ordained that the clergy, according to their submission, were neither to execute their old canons or constitutions nor make new ones without the assent and licence of the king, on pain of imprisonment and fine at the royal pleasure; that their convocations were only to be assembled by the authority of the king's writ; that the king should have power to nominate two-and-thirty persons, sixteen of the spirituality and sixteen of the temporality, to revise the canons, ordinances, and constitutions promised. Henry, however, never took advantage of this last concession.

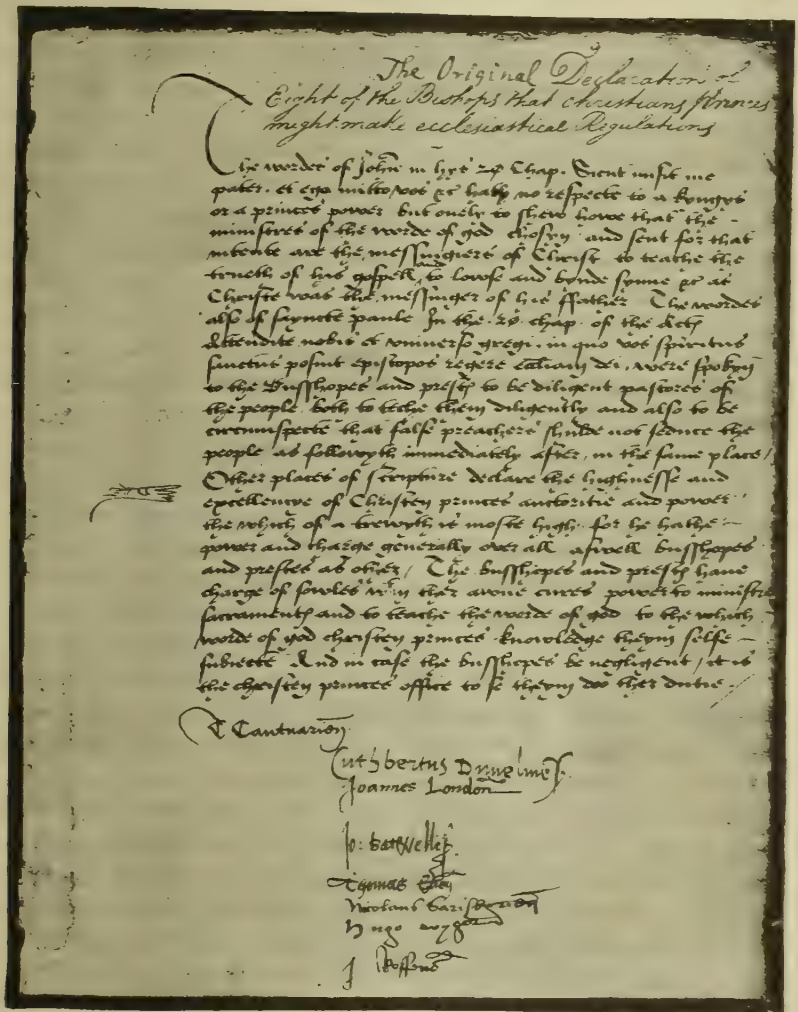
To return to the royal and parliamentary doings of 1532. Three important Acts were the subject of debates in Parliament in the remaining months of this year's sessions. Two of these materially limited the privileges long enjoyed by the clergy of England, and the third was the first considerable blow aimed at the jurisdiction in England of the papal see. The first limited the ancient privilege known as "benefit of clergy." From very ancient times, under the somewhat vague name of "clerks," not only ministers of the church and religious persons in general, but, as it seems, every person who could read and write, might, when accused of petty treason and felonious offences, plead their clergy, and be demanded by the ordinaries of the church to be surrendered to them, as subject to their jurisdiction and not to the king's justices. In times when few, save the clergy and the "religious," possessed even the scantiest knowledge, when few

could read and write, such a privilege was almost entirely confined to the ranks of the clergy and monastics; but when learning grew more general, such a privilege became a positive danger to the state. The statute of 1532 did little more than limit "clergy" to the actual ministers of the church; but it paved the way to other statutes, by which the privilege was taken away even from all ecclesiastical persons. Such legislation must be regarded as emphatically righteous, since privileges of this kind in any well-ordered state could only conduce to laxity and to wrong-doing. To the God-fearing and peaceable among the ecclesiastics "the benefit of clergy," thus understood, would be no boon or assistance.

The second of these statutes was a far more serious blow. It was the first definite attack upon the property of the religious communities and of the church; and this first attack, as we shall have to relate, was quickly followed up by others, and of a far more injurious nature. Under the old feudal system of tenures, lands were held of lords under obligations, often burdensome and oppressive. The chief of these was military service; another occasional but still burdensome obligation was wardship and other rights, which fell to the crown or the lord at every vacancy. To avoid these obligations, lands were often given to churches, and especially to religious houses. Lands thus given were said to be "aliened in mortmain." Being held by "religious persons" in what was termed "frank-almoigne" in pure and perpetual largesse, these lands owed no military service; they became "dead" for all state and national purposes—hence the term "mortmain." Being held, too, in unchangeable perpetuity—for no vacancy could ever occur in a corporation—these lands were subject to none of the ordinary incidents which belonged to a vacancy. Sometimes these donations to churches or religious bodies were real, the results of piety or superstition; this was especially the case in the earlier Middle Ages, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the great age of monastic building and endowment. But as time went on, many such donations were fictitious, being simply given to the church to escape the ordinary obligations, and were received back from the church by the donors on less burdensome conditions.

Such donations, real or fictitious, became a real danger to the state. To guard against it, a whole series of Acts were passed from very early days downwards. We find such a statute in Magna Carta, making it illegal for any to give his lands to a religious house, either by a real or fictitious gift; all such gifts were declared void. The famous statute of "mort-main" of Edward I. is usually quoted as the great example of these statutes. But by different devices these legal provisions had been constantly evaded. Among the various endowments bestowed upon the church, a favourite and very common practice was to leave land to a religious house or church to secure the continual service of a priest to sing masses for the soul of the departed for ever, or at least for threescore or fourscore years. This curious superstition, for it must be reckoned as such, is several times alluded to in the "Paston Correspondence," from which we have already quoted as illustrative

of the religious belief and life of an ordinary English family in the fifteenth


The Original Declaration of Eight of the Bishops that christians Princes might make ecclesiastical Regulations

DECLARATION OF EIGHT BISHOPS (CRANMER, CUTHBERT TUNSTALL OF DURHAM, JOHN STOKESLEY OF LONDON, JOHN CLARK OF BATH AND WELLS, THOMAS GOODRICH OF ELY, NICHOLAS SHANTON OF SALISBURY, HUGH LATIMER OF WORCESTER, AND JOHN HILSEY OF ROCHESTER, RECOGNISING THE AUTHORITY OF CHRISTIAN PRINCES IN ECCLESIASTICAL MATTERS. (*British Museum.*)

century, the century immediately preceding the present era. The act of 1532 limited any such gift thereafter made to a period of twenty years. This new statute would, of course, seriously affect all fresh church endowments, and its effect would be far-reaching.

One more ecclesiastical act of this year

(1532) must be mentioned. Curiously enough, it was made at the request of the clergy themselves. The act to abolish annates, or the first-fruits of bishoprics paid to the see of Rome on every vacancy, was a blow aimed at the power of the Pope. It was a burdensome tax, and its abolition by act of Parliament has been well described as the cutting away of the first of the great Roman cables. It was, however, arranged by the king that this act should not be published for a year, the royal assent, by a special clause, being delayed; in the hope that the Pope might be brought to a better understanding with the English king—presumably on the question of the divorce, which was still pending. When eventually this bill became law, the bishops obtained no advantage from it, for the first-fruits, not only of bishoprics, which used to go to the Pope, but the first-fruits of all benefices whatsoever, were then swept into the royal treasury.

This same ever-memorable year witnessed the resignation of Sir Thomas More as chancellor. He resigned his great office after but a short and troubled tenure, at the same time that the "submission of the clergy" was signed. The spirit of the ecclesiastical legislation was utterly distasteful to him. He foresaw, too, that the work of 1532 was only the beginning of other and more drastic changes—changes which he found his influence would be powerless to stay. No one felt more deeply than did More the urgent necessity of reform in the church, but he dreaded the effect of the removal of the ancient landmarks. What had taken place in Germany ill-disposed him to countenance any steps in legislation which might eventually lead to a similar revolution in England. If the links which bound England to Rome —burdensome though those links were —should be rudely snapped, he feared lest, as had happened in foreign churches, the line of bishops reaching back to apostolic times might be broken too, and a new form of church order and government unknown to the great churches of antiquity substituted. The men, More sadly felt, to whose counsels Henry was even beginning to listen, for the most part cared more for plunder and self-aggrandisement than for reform. The doubts and dreads, so graphically expressed in Erasmus's Letters as already cited, were ever before More's mind, and, to his deeply religious spirit, were presented in a yet more painful aspect. It was a quiet, cautious, thoughtful, (might we use the term) "prayerful" reform that More longed for: dreading with inexpressible dread the after-effects which the stern, ruthless, destructive measures evidently meditated by Henry VIII., would have upon the future of the church, whose errors More deeply and truly mourned over, but which, in spite of errors, he passionately loved. With such a work—destruction rather than construction—in which he felt no sympathy, he would have nothing to do. Before the year closed, Warham of Canterbury died, after delivering his solemn protest against the late legislation; he felt, even more than his friend More, the revolutionary and destructive tendencies of king Henry VIII.'s mind. Less convinced than the great chancellor of the urgent necessity of reforms, he bitterly and sorrowfully condemned the changes, while More contented himself with simply resigning his high

office and descending into private life. But as the sequel sadly showed, More's silence was too dangerous a factor to be ignored: even his silent disapproval cost him his head.

Very early in the next year (1533) Henry VIII. married Anne Boleyn, and in February the "Act for restraint of Appeals" to Rome was passed. The act of the previous year abolishing annates, or the first-fruits of bishoprics paid on every vacancy to the Pope, though passed, was only ratified in July, 1533, some six months later; so the "Act for restraint of Appeals" ranks as the first decisive blow struck by the legislature of England against the papal power.

Too much has been made of the immediate circumstances under which this act was passed. It became law just as the king's divorce from Katharine of Arragon was pronounced, and no doubt Henry's idea of preventing an appeal to Rome by the divorced queen, was a factor in the circumstances which led to the passing of the act at that juncture. But it was only one factor. Strong discontent on the part of the Church of England with Rome had long existed, and the demand of the clergy in Convocation in the previous year, that the "Annates" should be abolished, is a strong proof of this. In some respects the abolition of the payment of annates would be a heavier blow to Rome than the restraining of appeals; and if the temper of the *clergy* was so strong as to demand such a remission of a tribute, long paid to Rome, some idea can be formed of the mood of the Commons, who were not influenced by the scruples which naturally weighed with ecclesiastics. Indeed, the willingness on the part of Parliament and the lukewarm opposition of Convocation when, in the next year, the decisive acts were passed which were directed against the papacy, and which finally separated England from the Roman communion, tell us with no uncertain voice that it was something far deeper than the petulant anger of king Henry VIII. which brought about the great change in the relations of the English church with the bishops of Rome. The heart of England was set upon asserting the complete independence of its national church—the independence it had enjoyed in the far-back days of the Anglo-Saxon Alfred and his great house.

The preamble of this famous statute is notorious, and may be well quoted as an admirable declaration of the imperial majesty of England. It ran thus: "In divers sundry old authentic histories and chronicles it is manifestly declared and expressed that this realm of England is an empire, and so hath been accepted in the world, governed by one supreme head and king." "From the days of Athelstan the kings of the English assumed the title of emperor of Britain, meaning thereby to assert the independence of the English crown of any foreign superior. The title of emperor was meant to assert that the king of the English was not the homager but the peer alike of the Imperator of the West and the Basileus of the East." * It was meant to assert that Britain was the third imperial division of Christendom, while the Britannic churches constituted a separate

* *Cf.* Freeman: "Norman Conquest," chap. iii., sect. 4, and chap. xxiii., sect. 1.

patriarchate. Archbishop Anselm was, we know, styled by Pope Urban at the Council of Bari, A.D. 1098, "Pope of another world" (*Papa alterius orbis*). It was enacted in this important statute that all causes connected with spiritual jurisdiction should be adjudged in England; that no appeals out of the realm were to be made. The prelates of the realm, the ministers and curates, were desired to execute all sacraments and divine services in spite of interdicts or excommunications, on pain of a year's imprisonment. Any person procuring sentences from Rome was to incur the forfeiture of præmunire.

Passing over for a moment certain memorable events which happened in the course of the year of Henry's divorce and re-marriage, we will briefly sketch the sequel to the first anti-papal legislation of the years 1532 and 1533, in the great acts against Rome passed in the following year, the twenty-fifth of king Henry VIII. The same Parliament met on January 15th, 1534. From the rolls of the Upper House we find a large proportion of the spiritual peers were absent; fourteen out of the twenty-six mitred abbots were absent, and only seven of the bishops were in their places. But the legislation which decided the position of the Church of England as a church completely independent of Rome, went on.

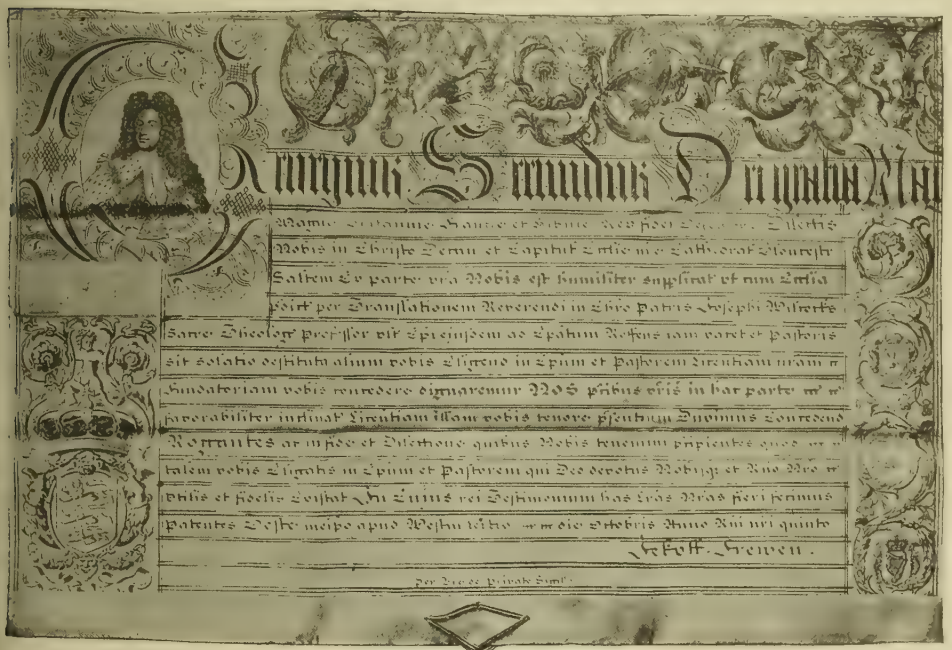
Three great acts bearing on this momentous question were passed. The first, "the Act for the restraint of Annates," repeated but enormously amplified the act passed two years before on the same subject. The second was "the Act concerning Peterpence and dispensations." The third was "the Act for the submission of the clergy and restraint of appeals." A brief notice of these all-important acts in detail will be useful.

In the first, "for the restraint of Annates," a marked change in the title given to the Pope—a change also observable in the other statutes of this year—appears. The "Pope's Holiness" of earlier statutes, became simply "the bishop of Rome, otherwise called the Pope." The former Act forbidding annates, which simply dealt with the liabilities of bishops and with certain payments made by them to Rome, was here greatly enlarged, so as to extinguish *all* payments to the Pope without reserve. It also forbade bulls or breves or any other thing to be procured from Rome; and, what was of great importance, it confined the elections of bishops entirely within the kingdom. This act continued the old process of the licence to the chapter of the cathedral church to elect (the *congé d'élire*), accompanied by a letter missive signifying to the chapter the person whom the king desired to be elected. This customary method of procedure was made now part of the statute law of England. If the chapter failed to elect in a certain number of days, they were placed under a præmunire, and the king proceeded to fill the vacancy by a simple nomination, without further regard to them.*

Much has been written and said on the present mode of appointing archbishops and bishops in the Church of England.

* *Cf.* Dixon's "History of the Church of England from the abolition of Roman Jurisdiction," on whose elaborate and exhaustive note the following short account of the manner of choosing and subsequently electing bishops in the English church is largely based.

The *congé d'élire* or the licence to elect, issued to the cathedral chapter, accompanied by the royal nomination of the person whom the sovereign desires to be elected, has been the subject of much



CONGÉ D'ÉLIRE,

Issued on the translation of Joseph Wilcocks of Rochester, upon which Dr. Elas the Archives of from the bishopric of Gloucester to that Syda' was elected Bishop, 1731. (From Gloucester Cathedral.)

severe criticism. It will be well, therefore, briefly to see what had been the custom which prevailed in England in the centuries preceding the Reformation, in the matter of the appointment of the chief pastors of the church. Going back to the seventh century, to the times of archbishop Theodore, that great organiser of the English church, traces of capitular election are found in his days; and yet we find Theodore presiding at elections made in the Gemot, where *the king and the Witan* were assembled. Plegmund, archbishop of Canterbury, the friend and adviser of Alfred (A.D. 890), is stated in all the Chronicles save one to have been chosen of God and of *all the folk*. A little later (A.D. 995) we read of archbishop Elfric being elected by *the king and all his Witan*, and the chapter of Christ Church, Canterbury, vainly opposing his election. Capitular election was indeed enforced by the reformation of Dunstan, but the regulations of Dunstan were soon broken, and under the later Anglo-Saxon and also in the reign of the Danish kings, we have instances in

which *the king alone* appointed the bishops. Under Canute and his successors we find the practice of investiture with ring and staff. These sacred emblems were sent by the chapter to the king when a vacancy occurred, and were returned by him with a nomination of the person whom *he desired* to have appointed. Edward the Confessor used to notify the appointment of a bishop by charter, without reference to an election. The neglect of any capitular election was urged by the Conqueror in the case of the deposition of Stigand.

The Constitutions of Clarendon, in the reign of the Angevin monarch Henry II., directed that episcopal elections should take place in the royal chapel, subject to the approval of the king and the chief persons in the realm. The system of issuing to the chapter the *congé d'élire*, the king's permission to elect, is said to have been begun by king John. This king promised freedom of election, when his permission to elect had been given. There is no doubt, however, but that the kings soon returned to the old practice of *nominating* the clerk who was to be chosen, the name being given in a letter accompanying the licence to the chapter to elect. It seems clear that freedom of election had only been exercised at rare intervals in the Church of England, and was only secured in those rare intervals by the personal influence of such eminent and powerful men as Dunstan, Anselm, or Langton. The direct influence of the kings in securing the election of their nominees was very rarely resisted.

Thus the act of king Henry VIII., passed in 1534, made no *real* change, save that it once and for all forbade any papal interference in the election of bishops; the power of the crown, save at rare and brief intervals, having ever been supreme in nominations to these episcopal appointments. In other words, the act of 1534 simply legalised what may be termed an almost invariable and immemorial practice in the Church of England.

The choice of the name is nominally still in the hands of the sovereign, but the choice is virtually made by the prime minister of the day; and the prime minister is the representative for the time of the majority of the English people. The sovereign exercises on rare occasions, usually wisely and prudently, the power of veto; but the name suggested, coming as it does from the minister of the majority of the nation, is usually accepted, as it may be said to represent the national choice.

This act, with its startling provisions as regards Roman interference, was quickly supplemented by another containing further clauses asserting the complete independence of the Church of England. This second act was named "the Act concerning Peter-pence and dispensations." This is the statute which the lawyers describe as discharging the subject from all dependence on the see of Rome. It was based upon what it termed the intolerable exactions which the bishop of Rome, otherwise called the Pope, and his chambers, which he called Apostolic, took out of the realm by usurpation and sufferance. These exactions included pensions, Peter-pence, procurations, fruits, bulls for archbishoprics and bishoprics, for appeals, legatine jurisdiction, dispensations, relaxations, and other infinite descriptions of bulls, breves, and Papal instruments. It was said, and

probably with truth, that the Pope got more money out of England than from any other country. Remonstrances had been for a long period frequently made to the papal court, even by those who were well disposed to a papal supremacy, but these remonstrances had been utterly disregarded; and now the cup was full, and all payments of every kind from England to the papal see were swept away by act of Parliament. It is a curious misreading of facts which refers these weighty acts of the legislature to the sole will of the king. It was the *voice of England* which imperatively demanded them.

The well-known contribution to Rome, which stands at the head of the act, called "Peter-pence," which is still collected, as travellers on the Continent are well aware, in every church owning the Roman obedience—the "denier de St. Pierre"—existed in England from very far-back times. It seems to date in our island from the days of the Mercian king Offa, and was originally, no doubt, made for maintaining an English college at Rome. Edward III., in 1366, stopped its payment; but only for a time. This "Act" contained directions for many other sweeping changes; notably that which ordered that all licences, dispensations, and other instruments, formally issuing from Rome, were to be granted henceforth by the archbishop of Canterbury, under restrictions laid down in the statute. Indulgences and all manner of privileges were specially ordered to be reformed by the king's council.

One sinister provision, however, appears in this act, in which the power and influence of the king is sadly visible. It was no doubt largely owing to the advice of one who had much to do with the legislation and proceedings, often high-handed and shamefully unjust, of that disturbed and stormy period of change—Thomas Cromwell, afterwards the vicar-general. There were very many of the religious houses, abbeys, priories, colleges and hospitals, exempt from the jurisdiction of the primate and his suffragans. These had no power of visitation, no right to confirm or to interfere in the election of their superiors or officials. They were alone dependent on the Pope; and now, when the authority of the Pope was entirely swept away, instead of placing these houses and communities under the jurisdiction of the English episcopate, a special provision was introduced into this "Act" setting forth that neither the archbishop of Canterbury nor any other person should have power to "visit or to vex them." This formidable and, as it turned out, fatal power was left in the hands of the king, and of such persons as he chose under the great seal to appoint.

The third of the famous anti-papal acts of 1534 embodied the "submission of the clergy," above referred to at some length, in a formal statute. This act also confirmed again the other, forbidding appeals to Rome.

Other weighty though less important ecclesiastical acts became law in this same session of Parliament—notably an "Act concerning the punishment of Heretics." It will be seen that Henry throughout his reign, in all his various moods, had, while consenting to the abolition of all papal power in England, no intention of departing from the doctrines generally held as vital by the mediæval churches of western

Christendom. A short private act was also passed, which "deprived" the two last of the long succession of foreign bishops who from the time of the Norman Conquest had been intruded into English sees, to their great and lasting detriment. These were cardinal Campeggio, the friend and well-wisher of Erasmus, who had played so useless and ignoble a part as legate to England in the matter of the king's divorce, and who held the see of Salisbury, and Jerome de Ghinucci, who occupied the see of Worcester. The latter had been for years the English agent at Rome.

The "Act of Succession" was the final piece of work of this ever-memorable session. It was framed for the purpose of securing the succession to the crown of England to the children of queen Anne Boleyn, and would not claim any special mention in this history, had it not contained certain clauses which were the immediate cause of the execution of Sir Thomas More and of Fisher, bishop of Rochester, and which also led to the suppression of the Friars Observant. Certain parts of the oath which this act directed the subjects of king Henry to take, touched the consciences of More and Fisher, and their refusal to swear brought both these two eminent men to the block. The story of the last days of More has already been told, and it will have been seen that other causes, besides the question of part of the oath of supremacy, were at work when More and Fisher were condemned. The temper of More was opposed to the drastic church legislation favoured by Henry. He was too great and eminent a personage to be suffered to live in opposition, while Fisher was inextricably bound up with the maintenance of the Roman supremacy. These two, in the eyes of Henry and his advisers—especially More, with his unrivalled genius, his world-wide reputation, his vast and well-deserved influence—were dangerous in the highest degree to the successful carrying out of those designs of a wholesale confiscation of church property, which were being gradually matured in the royal cabinet.

The oath of the succession was tendered to the religious orders, who were already evilly viewed by Henry and his advisers in a more severe and obnoxious form than that which had been refused by More and Fisher, and accepted by Parliament and the secular clergy. The friars were especially an object of dislike and suspicion. The religious houses were required to swear not only that the marriage between Henry and Anne Boleyn was just and legitimate, but also publicly to preach and persuade the same on every occasion. They were also desired to swear that they would ever hold the king to be head of the Church of England; and in the oath which was presented to them they had to swear also that the bishop of Rome, who had usurped the name of Pope, had no more authority or jurisdiction than other bishops in England or elsewhere in their own dioceses. There was an evident intention in the case of the religious communities, to *make the oath intolerable*. Contrary, however, to expectation, the oath in its new and offensive form was almost universally taken by the monastic orders. Only in two instances was it formally refused, for the fitful resistance of the Brigitites or reformed Austin friars at Sion in Brentford

gave, comparatively speaking, little trouble to the authorities.

The Carthusians of London, however, at first obstinately refused. After some pressure and persecution they yielded, but we shall soon see what was the temper of this famous house, when we have to relate the terrible Charterhouse tragedy, which followed almost immediately. The Friars Observant, an order of reformed Franciscans, possessed at this time several houses in England; they were a small but admirably disciplined body, and in their ranks were several of the most eloquent preachers of the day. At Greenwich the Observants declined the oath, with the result that the whole order was suppressed, their houses were emptied of their inhabitants, and friars of the Augustinian order were introduced into their friaries. This was the first suppression, and preceded the general confiscation of the lesser communities by some two years. The Observant Friars were treated with great rigour; many were imprisoned, and fifty are said to have died in confinement. The remainder were banished from the realm. The entire number of the English "Observants" did not exceed two hundred. Nothing save their refusal to take the oath

THE OUTER COURT, OLD CHARTERHOUSE.

seems to have been alleged against them. They maintained "they had professed St. Francis' religion, and in the observance thereof they would live and die."

In the November of this same memorable year, 1534, Parliament reassembled and continued its ecclesiastical legislation. The first act declared that the king ought to have the title of "Supreme Head of the Church of England." The act rehearsed that the clergy (in Convocation) had so acknowledged him already. The king was to have power and authority "to visit and reform errors, heresies, contempts, and offences." How completely and terribly Henry determined to avail himself of this power thus granted him by the legislature will soon have to be described.

The next act was a strange and novel form of oppression. It annexed to the crown the first-fruits and profits for one year of every spiritual benefice, from archbishoprics down to very small benefices, and a yearly tenth of the same. Commissioners were to search for the value of every benefice. The charge of collecting the tenths was thrown upon the bishops. In consideration of these yearly payments a fifth part of the enormous fine, levied in consequence of the alleged præmunire two years before, was remitted.

The act for suffragan bishops was also passed in this late session of 1534. Twenty-six towns were named for the sees of as many suffragan bishops, who might be appointed at the request of diocesans requiring assistance in their episcopal duties. About half that number of diocesans accepted this relief in the five years which followed the passing of this useful act. Under the old system suffragans without sees had been frequently appointed, with titles generally taken from some distant foreign town, by those diocesan bishops who chose to have them. The title of bishop of Sidon, for instance, had been given to a succession of suffragan bishops who assisted the archbishops of Canterbury. The bishop of Negropont was the suffragan of York. The obscure Reonen (an Athenian town) gave a name to the assistant to the bishop of Salisbury. The general idea of this act was to assert the absolute independence of England of all foreign churches by doing away with the very name of continental sees which acknowledge the obedience of Rome, in the case of these suffragan or coadjutor bishops. The practice of appointing these bishops "in partibus," as it is termed, as assistants to continental bishops in communion with Rome, is still preserved abroad.

The titles named in this act, in many well-known instances, have been revived in our own day in the case of the lately-appointed suffragan bishops. The twenty-six towns named in this act are as follows: *Thetford*, Ipswich, *Colchester*, *Dover*, *Guildford*, *Southampton*, Taunton, Shaftesbury, Molton, *Marlborough*, *Bedford*, Gloucester, *Leicester*, *Shrewsbury*, Bristol, Penrith (Llandaff), Bridgewater, *Nottingham*, Grantham, *Hull*, Huntingdon, Cambridge, Penrith, Berwick, St. Germans in Cornwall, and the Isle of Wight. The towns in italics have in late years been taken as the titles of bishops suffragan appointed at the request of diocesans requiring aid for their large and increasing sees. Two of the number — Gloucester and

Bristol — have been constituted separate dioceses.

At the beginning of the year 1533, Cranmer had been appointed archbishop of Canterbury. Warham had died at the close of 1532. Before the end of 1534, the severance of the Church of England from Rome was completed by the formal giving up by Cranmer of the style and title of legate; an office which had been inherent in the arch-see of Canterbury since the days of William of Corbeuil, in the early part of the twelfth century. Cranmer commanded in Convocation that the title of "legate" should be disused, and the word "metropolitan" inserted instead of it.

Not to interrupt the sketch of the great anti-papal acts of Parliament which heralded the Reformation in England, we did not mention a very memorable martyrdom which took place in the year 1533; memorable because the writings of the martyr, an almost unknown scholar when in pain and agony he uttered his testimony, had in after-years some influence on the thoughts and conclusions of the English reform leaders.

John Frith had been a pupil of Gardiner at Oxford, and had, on the invitation of Wolsey, joined the new and stately Oxford foundation of Cardinal College, afterwards Christ Church. There he became an ardent student of the forbidden Lutheran literature, and as a suspected heretic was imprisoned. Subsequently released by the orders of the liberal-minded Wolsey, he betook himself to Flanders, and became the friend of Tyndale. We soon hear of him as one of the members of the secret society of Christian Brethren. This society numbered in its ranks many earnest and God-fearing men, who were pained and thoroughly dissatisfied with the state of religious affairs in England and on the Continent; but mingled with these good and earnest men were not a few turbulent spirits who loved change and revolution for their own selfish ends, and who gave this secret society the colour of hostility to the state. Frith was betrayed, the story says, by his own associates. He came into direct collision with the then chancellor, Sir Thomas More—a bitter enemy of Lutheranism and the "new" teaching. An interchange of pamphlets took place on the subject of the nature of the sacrament, More upholding the mediæval orthodox teaching concerning transubstantiation; Frith putting forth generally the doctrinal teaching which has since been generally accepted in our church and set forth in her formularies. To More's "letter impugning the erroneous writing of John Frith against the blessed sacrament of the altar," Frith replied in an exhaustive tract, or book, "on the sacrament."

This was a most learned and lucid refutation of the doctrine of transubstantiation, and was the storehouse of references and deductions from which Cranmer afterwards so largely borrowed. Indeed, the words with which, in the Book of Common Prayer, "the Order of the administration of the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion" closes, are the words of Frith, who perished at the stake in 1533: "The natural body and blood of our Saviour Christ are in Heaven, and not here, it being against the truth of Christ's

natural body to be at one time in more places than one."

Frith has been well termed the most genuine martyr of the Reformation. "We may admire the greatness of the man who first died for freedom of conscience, and in sweet and touching words justified himself in laying down his life upon that ground." It was this great theologian who first suggested to the Church of England, that it was a supreme act of tyranny to make all dogmas equally binding. He denied, for instance, the common opinion concerning purgatory, but added, "Nevertheless I count neither part a necessary article of our faith, necessary to be believed in on pain of damnation, *whether there be a purgatory or not.*" Of the more important and hotly-disputed dogma of transubstantiation he wrote in similar language: That this "should be a *necessary* article of the faith, I think no man can say it with a good conscience, although it were true indeed."

There have been, and are, uncounted thousands in our Church of England who have never heard of Frith; but his holy thoughts have permeated the views and teaching of our best and truest divines. These holy and humble men condemn the dogmas of purgatory and of transubstantiation, and many other disputed articles of faith taught in the mediæval schools of theology; yet they would be as far as possible from pretending their belief in the eternal damnation of those who held these articles. Our church wisely and righteously makes a broad distinction between the fundamental articles of belief and those non-fundamental dogmas which may be held or rejected without incurring eternal condemnation; not so Rome. "The cause of my death," wrote this true martyr, "is this—because I cannot in conscience swear that our prelates' opinion of the Sacrament (that is, that the substance of the bread and wine is verily changed into the flesh and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ) is an undoubted article of faith, necessary to be believed under pain of damnation." Again, with great lucidity he writes: "Now, though this opinion *were true* (which thing they can neither prove by Scripture nor doctors), yet could I not in conscience grant that it should be an article of the faith necessary to be believed, for there are many verities which yet may be no such articles of our faith. It is true that I lay in irons when I wrote this, howbeit I would not have you to receive this truth for an article of our faith, *for you may think the contrary without danger of damnation.*" Such wise charity, in questions not fundamental, has been the glory and strength of the Church of England since the Reformation.

We have a letter which Cranmer, the new archbishop, wrote at this time to his friend Hawkins, the English ambassador in Germany. It is deeply interesting to read now the light words with which the man who played subsequently so great a part in the English Reformation, dismissed the awful tragedy of which the sad hero was Frith; Frith, from whose writings he afterwards learned so much, learned those deep truths, for which in the end he, too, chose to die! "Other news we have none notable," he writes, "but that one Frith, which was in the Tower in prison, was appointed by the king's grace to be examined before me (and others), whose opinion was so notably erroneous that we

could not despatch him, but were fain to leave him to the determination of his ordinary, the bishop of London. . . . He thought it not necessary to be believed as an article of our faith that there is the very corporeal presence of Christ within

him one Andrew, a tailor, for the same opinion; and thus fare you well."

Frith and Andrew Hewitt, the poor tailor, whose general answer to the questions put at the trial was that "he thought as Frith thought," went quickly to their

FRITH GOING TO MARTYRDOM.

the host and sacrament of the altar, . . . and surely I myself sent for him three or four times to persuade him to leave *that imagination*. But for all that we could do therein, he would not apply to any counsel. Notwithstanding, now he is at a final end with all examinations, for my lord of London hath given sentence and delivered him to the secular power, where he looketh every day to go unto the fire. And there is also condemned with

martyrs' crowns at Smithfield, where, alas! the too true story tells us, Frith's cruel sufferings were prolonged. "Twenty years later another fire was blazing under the walls of Oxford, and the hand which wrote those light lines above quoted was blackening in the flames of it, paying there the penalty of the same *imagination* for which Frith and the poor London tailor were with such cool indifference condemned. It is affecting to know that Frith's writings

were the instrument of Cranmer's conversion."*

During the year 1535 there was no session of the Parliament we have termed the Reformation Parliament, which opened in 1529 and ran on until the spring of 1536, and which, from the importance of its legislation, will be ever memorable in the annals of our country. In this year the king appointed his favourite and confidential minister, Thomas Cromwell, vicar-general in things ecclesiastical. It was a new title and a new office, imitated, but on a very different scale, from an ancient church office. Cardinal Wolsey had been vicar-general of the Pope in England. It was also usual for a bishop to have a vicar-general in his diocese. The new vicar-general represented the "Supreme Head of the Church." A commission was now appointed by the king to visit all churches, metropolitical, cathedral, and collegiate; all monasteries and hospitals; priories, dignities, offices—in a word, all places ecclesiastical, secular, and regular; to inquire into the lives and conversation of all presidents and prelates of the same, of whatever rank and dignity, and of all who dwelt in or held office in any of the places specified in the commission. The chief of this all-powerful commission was the new vicar-general, who was to nominate other commissioners to assist him.

The powers entrusted to Cromwell and his subordinates on the commission were enormous. Those whom in the course of their visitation they deemed culpable, they might deprive or suspend. They were empowered to make fresh statutes and ordinances. They might hold synods, chapters, and convocations, over which they were to preside. They were to hold elections of prelates, and indicate who should be elected. The great work of this powerful tribunal was the suppression of the monasteries in England, which was carried into effect in the course of the next five years. It will be interesting to glance at the life-story and character of the famous and bitterly-hated man who stood at its head, and who worked such havoc in the magnificent and stately edifice of the still powerful mediæval Church of England.

Strangely different portraits have been drawn of this powerful and able statesman. Of those drawn from contemporary sources, cardinal Pole, who represents the Roman view, frequently in his biography of Cromwell styles him "the messenger of Satan," occasionally the "man of sin," the monster of England, a wretch of low birth, brutal insolence, and atheistic morals. In more chastened language, this estimate of the great minister has been held by one school of writers down to our time. On the other hand, a different school of portraiture is represented by Foxe, whose strong anti-papal instincts led him to look gently, if not with absolute approval, upon all the high-handed ruin that was accomplished when Cromwell was minister. Comparing him with the distinguished statesmen of the age, he does not scruple to write of him thus:—"If there was more of human learning in More and Gardiner, there was, it seems, in Cromwell a more heavenly light of the mind, and more prompt and perfect judgment, together with a more heroical and princely disposition."

* Froude: "History of England," chap. v.

In our own day and time, with all the advantages of abundant material out of which to form a just estimate, our leading historians are still completely divided. Canon Dixon, in his most thoughtful and accurate history, "can see no greatness in him either of mind or soul: he was simply a servant." Bishop Stubbs, more cautious, considers him the greatest and most famous of Henry's ministers, but alludes to his character as being even more mysterious than his master's, dwelling especially on his "mysterious unconscientiousness;" yet while evidently viewing his character and policy with strong disapprobation, considers that during that stormy period from 1535 to 1540, Cromwell was the real hero of the hour. Froude, on the other hand, exhausts his rhetoric in a panegyric of this "Malleus Monachorum"—the hammer of the monastic orders; and while allowing that "a long list of solemn tragedies weigh upon his memory; that he was the fierce executor of fiercer laws; that his was an unflinching resolution which neither danger could daunt nor saintly virtue move to mercy; that those who, from any motive, noble or base, pious or impious, crossed his path, he crushed, and passed on over their bodies," he pleads, at the same time, "that his aim was noble, that the object he was pursuing—the excellence of which, as his mind saw it, transcended all other considerations—was the freedom of England and the destruction of idolatry."

The earlier years of this life, which was destined so powerfully to influence the fortunes of the English church, and whose work will ever remain a dark blot on the story of the English Reformation, are surrounded with the mist of uncertainty. His was undoubtedly a wild and stormy youth. We hear of his being obliged—still young—to leave England, and to wander abroad in Italy and other places, where not improbably he took part in those unprincipled campaigns, in one of which Rome was stormed and sacked. Returning to England, his marriage brought him some fortune, and as a woollen dealer he amassed a fair competence. Subsequently he was brought in contact with Wolsey, the then all-powerful chancellor. Wolsey was struck with his talents and capacity for work, and employed him as his agent in visiting and breaking up the smaller religious houses, which the Pope had granted for the foundation of the new college There is no reason to doubt but that his conduct to his master, when he fell into disgrace, was noble and chivalrous; indeed, Cromwell's fidelity, first to Wolsey and then to Henry, was the brightest spot in his strange and complex character. It is unfair to belittle his conduct to the fallen chancellor, which is spoken of in warm and grateful terms by Wolsey's devoted and loving personal attendant, Cavendish, to whose memoir we owe so many and such interesting details of the latter days of the great cardinal. It was probably this chivalrous devotion to his fallen minister which favourably influenced Henry.

At all events, the king soon took Cromwell, who had been trained, as the king well knew, by the ablest statesman of the age, into his confidence, and rapidly promoted him in his service. He became successively chancellor of the exchequer, secretary of state, lord privy seal and great chamberlain, and, most important

of all, vicar-general in matters ecclesiastical. Later he was created Earl of Essex. In Parliament he took precedence of the nobles of every rank, by virtue of his ecclesiastical title of king's vicar-general. His career has been well described as "that of a slave at once constituted grand vizier in an Eastern despotism, rather than that of a minister of state promoted in a constitutional government, where law, usage, and public opinion check the capricious humours of the sovereign." *

The work of havoc and destruction carried on between the years 1535–40, in which period Cromwell was virtually sole minister, will be related in its place: here we are briefly summarising the history of Cromwell. In 1540 the all-powerful vicar-general fell. His fall was even more sudden than his marvellous elevation. Various causes, as will be seen, contributed to Cromwell's ruin. The royal disappointment in the matter of the person of Anne of Cleves, the new queen, is usually given as the occasion of Henry's fatal anger. But there were other and deeper reasons at work, closely connected with the Reformation storm, which made the vicar-general and his policy utterly distasteful at that moment to the imperious monarch; and the world was suddenly startled by the news that the all-powerful Cromwell, the most despotic minister who had ever governed England, had paid for his actions, variously estimated, with his life.

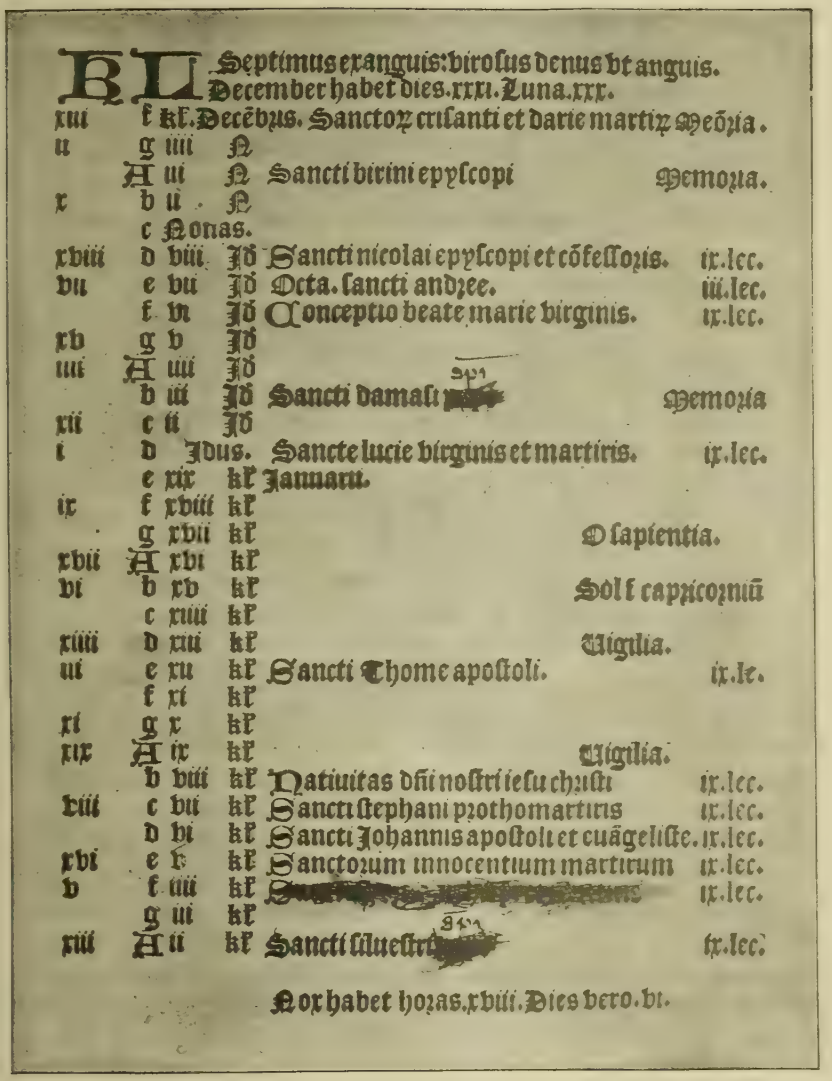
The parliamentary engine of attainder was employed against Cromwell. No voice save the pitiful Cranmer's was raised in his favour. The subservient Parliament then sitting, quickly did the king's will, and Cromwell, without trial, was sent to the block on Tower Hill, unpitied and unmourned, to receive the dread guerdon of a traitor. He was emphatically not a good man—self-seeking, avaricious, merciless, the instrument of a mighty wrong; all this and more may fairly be predicated by the unbiassed historian of this strange and brilliant statesman. But he was no traitor; faithful and loyal to the end, he had simply done too thoroughly the will of the great despot who sat on the throne of England. Much, however, has to be related before that scene took place on Tower Hill which closed Cromwell's life.

Once more we take up the story of the year 1535, which witnessed his appointment as vicar-general. In the same year, acting under Henry's directions, the lord chancellor Audley issued a commission for ascertaining the true value of the first-fruits and annual tenths of all sees and benefices, which Parliament, in the last session of the preceding year, 1534, had ordered to be paid to the crown. To this commission is owing the famous document so often quoted, known as the "Valor Ecclesiasticus" of Henry VIII. The "Valor Ecclesiasticus" was a schedule of the whole of the revenue of the church property in England. It has been well described as a fair, though hardly a friendly survey. The following brief notes on this interesting and most weighty state paper will be useful.

It shows, first, that there had been no marked change in church property for above two centuries and a half. This deduction is arrived at by a careful ex

* Lord Campbell: "Lives of the Chancellors."

amination of the revenues of the Church as shown in the document called the "Taxation" of Pope Nicholas, made in the reign of Edward I. Indeed, considering the large increase in the revenue of the whole kingdom since that date, though the revenues of the church and the monastic orders set forth in the



Septimus exanguis: birotus denus vt anguis.
December habet dies. xxxi. Luna. xxx.

xxi f kl. Decēbꝰ. Sanctoꝝ crisanti et darie martiꝝ Meõria.
u g iiii N
A ui N Sancti birini epyscopi Memoria.
x b ui N
c Nonas.
xviii d viii Jō Sancti nicolai epyscopi et cõfessoris. ix. lec.
viii e vii Jō Octa. sancti andree. iii. lec.
f vi Jō Conceptio beate marie virginis. ix. lec.
xb g v Jō
iiii A iiii Jō
b iii Jō Sancti damasi [illegible] Memoria
xii c ii Jō
i d Idus. Sancte lucie virginis et martiris. ix. lec.
e xix kl Januarii.
ix f xviii kl
g xvii kl O sapientia.
xvii A xvi kl
vi b xv kl Sol ℓ capricorniū
c xiiii kl
xiiii d xiii kl Vigilia.
ui e xii kl Sancti Thome apostoli. ix. le.
f xi kl
xi g x kl
xix A ix kl Vigilia.
b viii kl Natiuitas dñi nostri ieſu chriſti ix. lec.
viii c vii kl Sancti stephani prothomartiris ix. lec.
d vi kl Sancti Johannis apostoli et euãgeliste. ix. lec.
xvi e v kl Sanctoꝝ innocentium martirum ix. lec.
v f iiii kl [illegible] ix. lec.
g iii kl
xiii A ii kl Sancti siluestri [illegible] ix. lec.

Nox habet horas. xviii. Dies vero. vi.

PAGE FROM A HEREFORD MISSAL IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM, SHOWING THE ERASURE OF ST. THOMAS À BECKET'S DAY, AND THE SUBSTITUTION OF THE WORD "BISHOP" FOR "POPE" IN THE CALENDAR FOR DECEMBER.

"Valor" of Henry VIII. show an absolute increase, yet when compared with the revenues of the kingdom, in reality they show a decrease. The exact compilation is stated to be as follows: Under Edward I. the church income was about eleven-fiftieths ($\frac{11}{50}$) of the whole revenue of the kingdom; under Henry VIII. it was about eight-seventy-fifths ($\frac{8}{75}$). These figures are given to enable the student to form some idea of the possessions of the church and the religious houses at the period of the Reformation in the sixteenth century. The property of the church at the period referred to was undoubtedly very large, when everything was taken into consideration—so large as to excite cupidity, and especially in the case of the greater abbeys and cathedrals, where the wealth and magnificence of the shrines were publicly displayed. But there is no doubt that interested parties took pains to exaggerate the extent and value of the church's possessions.

Roughly speaking, there were before the Reformation (1535) 12,474 promotions or benefices of various kinds: 21 archbishoprics and bishoprics, 11 deaneries, 60 archdeaconries, 394 dignities and prebends, 8,803 benefices, 605 religious houses, 110 hospitals, 96 colleges, 2,374 chantries and free chapels. Of course, it must be borne in mind that all exact calculations are impossible, but generally calculating the probable difference in the value of money in the sixteenth and the second half of the nineteenth centuries, the revenues of the Church of England—including the monastic orders—amounted on the eve of the English Reformation to scarcely four millions of our money (£4,000,000). This calculation is arrived at by multiplying the amount of revenue of the church of the sixteenth century by twelve, the value of money then being roughly ten to twelve times greater than at the close of the nineteenth.*

Early in the same year a formal renunciation of the Pope was taken of the bishops. These promised never to take an oath of fealty or obedience to any foreign power; they undertook to maintain the king's cause and quarrel, to observe all the laws which had been enacted for the suppression of the papacy, not to appeal to Rome, or procure from the bishop of Rome any bulls, breves, or prescripts whatsoever. They declared the papacy or Roman patriarchate not to have been ordained of God in holy Scripture, but by human tradition; and they promised henceforth never to call the bishop of Rome by the name of pope or universal bishop, but to call him only bishop of Rome or brother. This was the first document derived evidently from Lutheranism; the titles therein denied to the Roman pontiff were those which had been denied by Luther.

Letters general were also sent to the bishops in the June of 1535, commanding them to preach the sincere word of God and the new title of the king, and to see that their clergy, both secular and regular, did the same every Sunday and feast-day. They were to cause all prayers, rubrics, and canons in mass-books and other books used in churches in which the bishop of Rome was named, to be rased out, "that

* Compare Speed's tables made from the "Valor Ecclesiasticus," quoted and summarised in Dixon, "History of Church of England," chap. iv.

the name and memory of the bishop of Rome, except to his contumely and reproach, might be extinct, suppressed, and obscured." It was ordered, too, that every preacher should preach at least once against the usurped power of the bishop of Rome, and that no man should defend the same; also that for a year no preacher should preach either for or against purgatory, honouring of saints, marriage of priests, pilgrimages, miracles (alluding, of course, to modern miracles), which things had hitherto caused dissension in the realm. These directions and others of less importance seem to have been obeyed by the bishops. We have no account of any opposition.

The same year was memorable also for some terrible executions, including that of Sir Thomas More and bishop Fisher. The persecution of the Carthusians, in the matter of the oath to the supreme head of the church, was recommenced, and a bloody vengeance was exacted. The story of the tragedy of the London Carthusians will ever be told and re-told as an example of the intense earnestness which inspired the more serious souls in the Reformation age. We, who now rejoice in the fruits of the sufferings nobly borne by the Marian martyrs, who enjoy comparative freedom, who are blessed with purer and more primitive doctrines, who worship with the ancient rites purified from mediæval superstition—a freedom, a creed, and rites purchased with the agony of such martyrs as Frith and Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer—must not refuse our tribute of admiration to heroes who died on the other side, very nobly described as "gallant men whose high forms, in the sunset of the old faith, stand transfigured on the horizon, tinged with the light of its dying glory." *

Among the monastic orders the Carthusians were at this period especially respected, owing to the exceptional sanctity of their lives. At the time when the questions of the royal succession and the abjuration of the papal supremacy were fiercely agitating men's minds, the prior of the London Charterhouse, John Houghton, was suspected, not without reason, to be privately exhorting his penitents, and those over whom he exercised influence, to remain firm in refusing to abjure the supremacy of the Pope. The Carthusian prior was a man of great attainments, and of fervid piety. Educated at Cambridge, against the wishes of his family he entered early into the ranks of the secular clergy, and subsequently became a Carthusian monk. In that order he was quickly promoted to offices of trust and dignity. For twenty years before the storm broke, he had served God in "religion." He is described by one who knew him well as "in person short, with a graceful figure and dignified appearance; his actions modest, his voice gentle, chaste in body, in heart humble, he was admired and sought after by all, and by his community was most beloved and esteemed. One and all revered him, and none were ever known to speak a word against him. . . . He governed rather by example than precept, and his subjects were influenced as much by the fervour of his pre-eminent sanctity, as by the burning exhortations he addressed to them in their chapter. He rarely offered mass, but that he was rapt in ecstasy, and poured forth

* Froude.

floods of tears at the recollection of Christ's loving kindness and compassion." * Such was the prior of the London Carthusians, when the oath touching the royal succession, and the headship of the Church of England, was tendered amongst other communities to the English Carthusians.

At first the prior refused, and preferred imprisonment to subscribing to the oath required. But eventually, persuaded by certain "good and learned men," such as Stokesley, bishop of London, and Lee, archbishop of York, that the present controversy was not a lawful cause for which they should expose themselves to death, Houghton and his companions yielded to the king's commandments, and took the proposed oath, with this condition: "so far as it was lawful." Months passed on, and the act giving the king the title of "Supreme Head of the Church of England" became the law of the land. The provisions of the act in question were put into force, and the doomed order were required again to subscribe, *without reservation*.

We possess a singularly vivid account of all that took place in what Froude calls "one of the grand scenes of history, a solemn battle fought out to the death by the champions of rival principles." The author of the recital was one who, as an eye-witness of most of the scenes which he so pathetically describes, is especially worthy of credence. Maurice Chauncey,† who tells the simple story, was a Carthusian monk, and one of the few who gave way under the hard trial, but subsequently bitterly repented that he, unlike his happier companions, had missed the crown of martyrdom. In the earlier chapters of his recital, Chauncey gives "a loving, lingering picture of his cloister life, to him the perfection of earthly happiness. It is placed before us in all its superstition, its devotion, and its simplicity, the counterpart, even in minute details, of accounts of cloisters, when monasticism was in its young vigour, which had been written ten centuries before. St. Bede or St. Cuthbert might have found himself in the house of the London Carthusians, and he would have had few questions to ask, and no duties to learn or to unlearn. The form of the buildings would have seemed more elaborate, the notes of the organ would have added richer solemnity to the services, but the salient features of the scene would have been all familiar. He would have lived in a cell of the same shape, he would have thought the same thoughts, spoken the same words in the same language. The prayers, the daily life, almost the very faces with which he was surrounded would have seemed unaltered. A thousand years of the world's "history had rolled by, and these lonely islands of prayer had remained still anchored in the stream, the strands of the ropes which held them wearing now to a thread, and very near their last parting, but still unbroken." *

In the quiet of the holy house, when the summons came requiring the brethren formally to submit to the royal mandate and to reject the papal authority, prior Houghton called his monks together and bade them to prepare for the worst. Then follows the description of several days of quiet preparation, of mutual exhortation

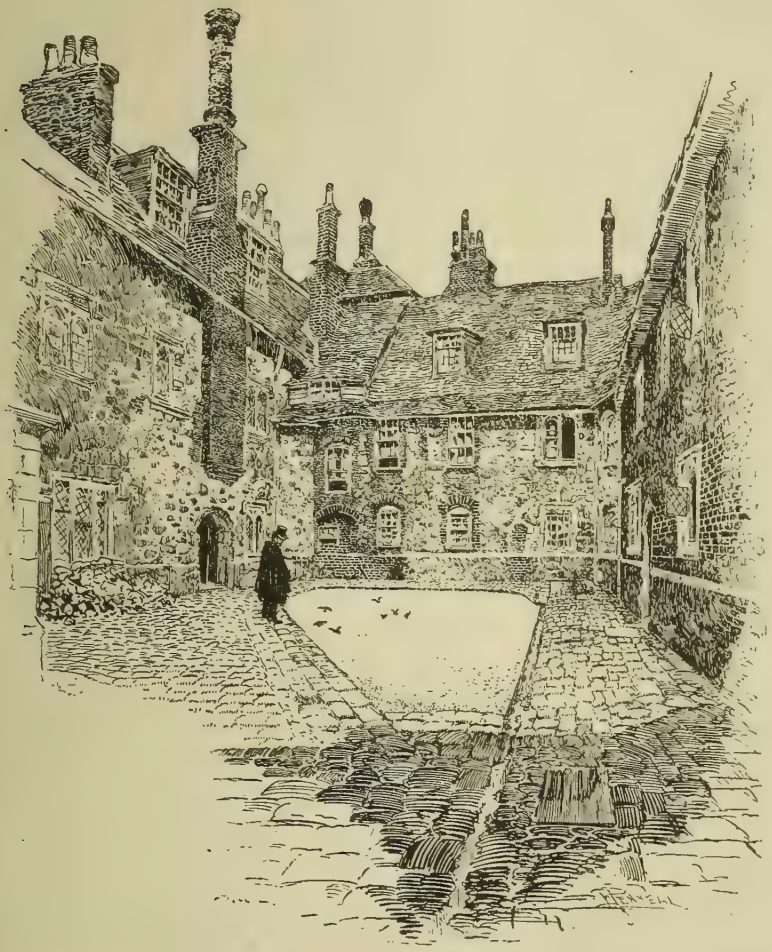
* Chauncey; quoted by Dr. Gasquet, vol. i., chap. vi.

† Froude calls him "Chamney."

* Froude: "History of England," chap. ix.

and confession one to the other. On the third day the mass of the Holy Ghost was sung, and with touching faith Chauncey

into their hearts. And then followed a sweet, soft sound of music, at which our venerable father (Houghton) was so moved



WASH-HOUSE COURT, OLD CHARTERHOUSE.

recalls "how God made known His presence among us. For when the host was lifted up, there came, as it were, a whisper of air which breathed upon our faces as we knelt. Some perceived it with the bodily senses; all felt it as it thrilled

that he sank down in tears, and for a long time could not continue the service—we all remaining stupefied, hearing the melody, but knowing neither whence it came nor whither it went; only our hearts rejoiced as we perceived that God was with us

indeed." * With the prior just then were two other of the English Carthusian chiefs —Lawrence, prior of Beauvale in Nottinghamshire, and Webster, prior of Axholm in Lincolnshire—who had come up to consult with their London brethren on the course of action the order was to adopt in this their hour of trial. "Thus, with unobtrusive nobleness, did these poor men prepare themselves for their end, not less beautiful in their resolution, not less deserving the everlasting remembrance of mankind, than those three hundred who, in the summer morning, sat combing their golden hair in the passes of Thermopylæ. We will not regret their cause; there is no cause for which any man can more nobly suffer than to witness that it is better for him to die than to speak words which he does not mean. Nor in this their hour of trial were they (as we have seen) left without higher comfort." †

The end came quickly enough. The three priors went in person to Cromwell, the then all-powerful minister of the crown, telling him plainly that the order dared not go against what the Catholic church had always held (the fact of the Roman supremacy). They were committed to the Tower, were tried, and condemned as guilty of treason. The three, together with a Brigitite monk, Reynolds, and one John Hale, vicar of Isleworth, were executed at Tyburn in the May of 1535. The details of the execution were singularly horrible. The "religious" were drawn to the place of execution in their habits. They were each offered, as they mounted the scaffold, a pardon if, even at the last moment, they would obey the king and the parliament. Each rejected the offer of life at the price of a guilty conscience. They were hanged, cut down still alive (Houghton in his great agony was able still to utter a prayer), the heart was torn from each sufferer; they were then beheaded and dismembered; the whole of the awful scene being carefully arranged so as to afford a terrible example to "religious" and ecclesiastics of the punishment which would surely follow upon disobedience to the royal command. The arm of prior Houghton was hung up over the archway of the London Charterhouse—a bloody sign intended to awe the remaining brethren of the order into submission.*

But there was no submission to be found among the Carthusian monks. The gallant spirit of Houghton and his brother sufferers inspired the brethren of the order. A few weeks were left to them to reflect; then three more were taken, tried, and executed. With the rest, other measures were adopted. The monks of the stubborn house were dispersed among more pliant communities. Two of them, we read, were involved in the "Pilgrimage of Grace," the story of which is related further on, and were hanged in chains at York. Ten were sent subsequently to Newgate; but no suffering made any impression upon these devoted men. Nine of these prisoners died miserably of prison fever and cruel hardships in confinement; the tenth was publicly executed. Some of the remainder, of whom the writer of the story (Chauncey) was one, went through

* Quoted from the original by Gasquet: "Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries," chap. vi.

† Froude's "History," vol. ii., chap ix.

* *Cf.* Gasquet, vol. i., chap. vi.; Froude: Hist. of Eng., ch. ix.

some kind of formal submission, and escaped abroad.

"So fell the monks of the London Charterhouse, splintered to pieces—for so only could their resistance be overcome—by the iron sceptre and the iron hand which held it. The story claims from us that sympathy which is the due of their exalted courage." *

The trial and death of the Carthusian monks sent a thrill of horror through Europe. The death of cardinal Fisher and More filled up the cup of indignation at Rome, and the insulting words of the acts directed against the supremacy of Rome, followed by the stern measures adopted by Henry to enforce the statutes, such as the erasure of the prayers in which the name of the Pope appeared, were avenged by Pope Paul III. in perhaps the most terrific instrument ever issued from the Roman chancery. The language of that bull of interdict and anathema, was indeed terrible. The king of England was pronounced accursed. When he died his body was to remain unburied; his soul, blasted with anathemas, would be cast into hell; while the lands of his subjects who remained faithful to him were laid under a interdict, their children were disinherited, their marriages illegal, their wills invalid. All the subjects of the king without exception were absolved from their allegiance. The entire nation, under the dread penalty of excommunication, was commanded no longer to acknowledge Henry as their sovereign. The clergy, leaving a few of their number to baptise the new-born infants, were to withdraw from the accursed land, and return no more till it had submitted. The awful anathema was for the time, owing, it is said, to the remonstrance or the intercession of Francis I., king of France, suspended. Three years later, however, in 1538, when by the continued destruction of monasteries, shrines, and sacred images, hereafter to be related, and above all by the outrage on Canterbury and its revered saint, St. Thomas Becket, the king of England had dared the worst, the dread bull of excommunication and deposition was finally launched.

But it fell in strange silence. It was disregarded in England, and on the Continent no one seems to have paid much heed to it. The power of England was too great to be assailed by any faithful servant of Rome. So utterly did the scathing papal anathema fail in its purpose, so harmlessly fell the bolt from Rome, which was intended to wither Henry and his advisers, that men have even asked whether the instrument in question was ever formally promulgated at all!

* Froude.

CHAPTER XLVI.

SUPPRESSION OF THE LESSER MONASTERIES.

Iniquity of the Suppression as carried out by Henry VIII.—Cromwell's Visitation of the Universities—Visitation of the Lesser Monasteries in 1535—The Commissioners—The Vicar-General—The King—All the Lesser Monasteries granted to the Crown by the Parliament of 1536—The Charges of Immorality—The King's "Declaration" or Black Book—The "Comperta"—Obvious Inconsistency of the Accusations—Absence of Confessions—Subservience of the Parliament—Testimony of the Pensions—The Act itself Vindicates the Large Houses—Political Motives for the Suppression—Its Method—Statistics—Popular Revolt in Lincolnshire—Suppression by the King—The "Pilgrimage of Grace"—Intrigues of Cardinal Pole—Henry's Vengeance.

IT would be impossible for the unbiassed historian to advance any convincing pleas for the purity of Henry VIII.'s motives in the carrying out of the suppression of the monastic orders in his realm. Those among us—and they form the large majority of the thoughtful and cultured in our land—who are thoroughly persuaded of the immense advantage which the Reformation as a whole brought to our church and country, look with the gravest disapprobation on the great confiscation which took place, and on the means used to bring this suppression and confiscation about. Reformation was imperatively needed in the church, in her doctrines and teaching, in her forms and ceremonies, in her government, and in the means she used to maintain and to spread her influence among the people. In the majority of cases, in the houses of the monastic orders reformation was even more imperatively needed than among the so-called secular clergy. More even than reformation was needed here; complete, changed conditions were required, new aims, new ideals, new work, were wanted, for it is indisputable that the mediæval monastery had outlived the period of its usefulness.

But reformation and change, adaptation to new conditions of society, are very different from destruction. And it was destruction, not reformation; it was utter ruin, not well-considered change and wise reconstruction, which passed over that mighty monastic system which had existed and flourished for so many centuries, which had conferred such enduring benefits upon society, especially during the earlier Middle Ages. Its possessions, most of its lordly buildings and priceless treasures, its ministers—very many of them devoted and earnest servants of the church, very many of them men holy and humble of heart—were simply overwhelmed in that mighty wave of destruction called the suppression of the monastic orders, and appeared no more.

England and her church indisputably owes much to Henry VIII.—not a little, indeed, to some of his advisers. The fair historian must grant this, must acknowledge the great debt; but in the matter of the suppression and confiscation of the monasteries, as it was actually carried out, he can deal out little but words of condemnation and regret. The instruments he chose for his work were evil—

unmistakably evil; the methods he pursued to attain his object were manifestly unfair and absolutely unjust. The way, too, in which he disposed of most of the enormous property which, by means of these bad men and evil methods, he became possessed of, can only be characterised as shameful, selfish, utterly unprincipled. Comparatively speaking, very little of the splendid inheritance handed down by the piety and thrift of past generations was devoted to any good and useful purpose. It was for the most part recklessly appropriated by those who had no shadow of claim to it, squandered, and finally lost.

To veil the shameful iniquity of the transaction, grave charges were brought against some of the monastic houses and their inmates—charges in the majority of cases utterly unproven. These accusations were skilfully used so as to blacken most unfairly the reputations of the entire body of monastics and friars. And so it has come to pass that a great wrong, knowingly or unknowingly, has been done to a multitude of men, many of whom—perhaps the great majority—according to their lights, seem to have done their duty faithfully.

WOLSEY'S GATEWAY, IPSWICH. *Photo: Poulton & Son.*

This was not all. As time went on, successive historians have assumed the terrible guilt of the monastic orders as proved. Writers who with good reason have admired and prized the work of the English Reformation, thinking that the story of the downfall and "deserved" ruin

of the monastic orders was a useful contribution to their memoir, have without investigation repeated again and again the unhappy but often quite untrue recital; and so it has come to pass that the story of the supposed wrong-doing, and of the crushing punishment which followed the accumulated sin of the monks and nuns of England, has taken its place among the "Credenda," among the things taught as absolutely true to every English boy and girl. The writer of this history, while yielding to no one in his profound conviction of the inestimable benefits which the Reformation has brought to England and her most ancient church, feels that the grave recital, instead of suffering, will immeasurably gain in the estimation of all serious men, by the frank confession of this grave and irreparable error.

So deeply had the conviction of the guilt of the "Orders" sunk into men's hearts, that it is only in the last few years that the English monk has found defenders bold enough to speak a word in his defence. But recent study has at last stirred up among our countrymen a suspicion that a cruel injustice has been done. This suspicion has now found bold and open expression. Dr. Gasquet, the Roman Catholic historian, naturally a partisan, in glowing language denounces the cruel falseness of the charge, and the terrible nature of the fatally destructive punishment; openly ascribing to the royal author of the charge, and the execution of the punishment, a miserable passion for plunder, as the ignoble motive alike of charge and punishment. The careful and painstaking nature of his work, and the historical weight of the evidence he brings to bear on his important study of the monasteries and their suppression, will ever win for Dr. Gasquet the respectful attention of all serious historians of the Reformation period, even when they find it necessary to differ from some of his conclusions. Canon Dixon, an Anglican writer, in his exhaustive history of the period, after fresh examination of the evidence for and against the religious orders in the England of the sixteenth century, virtually comes to the same conclusions respecting the unrighteousness of the cruel suppression as the Roman Catholic scholar, and in his summary asserts that even under the changed conditions of the age, they were doing fairly the work for which they had been founded. Mr. Green, who certainly cannot be suspected of any undue partiality for mediæval forms of religion, in his cold and measured language, writing on the suppression of the religious houses, and the charges upon which the great ruin was based, says: "The character of the visitors, the sweeping nature of their report, and the long debate (in Parliament) which followed on its reception, leaves little doubt that the charges were grossly exaggerated."

It is, indeed, difficult to credit Henry VIII. with lofty motives in this matter of the confiscation of the monastic property. As a statesman of no ordinary capacity, trained by his great minister Wolsey, the king could not help seeing that much of the monks' work was done. The education of the people was no longer in their hands. The conservation and multiplication of books had passed altogether from the monastics, since the invention and marvellous development of the printing press.

Bishop Stubbs, indeed, does not hesitate to speak of "the incurable uselessness of the monastic orders in the time of Wolsey." The perpetual danger which the presence of the "Orders," devoted heart and soul to Rome, would have been to England after the abolition of the Roman supremacy —a danger thoroughly understood by the statesmanlike Henry VIII., is discussed a little further on, and really constitutes the best *apologia* for the king's action. A complete recasting of the monastic system, of the monk's work and office, was indeed imperatively needed; and not improbably in the first instance Henry satisfied his conscience by purposing to employ the larger portion of the revenues he proposed to confiscate for urgent state purposes, such as national defence; for more practical religious objects, such as endowing new bishoprics; and for education, such as the establishment of colleges and schools. Some of these things Wolsey had planned in the day of his power. But the pitiful allotment for these purposes that the king eventually made of the vast property which fell into his hands from the plundered orders, compels us to see in the whole business only a miserable example of greed.

The poor excuses for the suppression made in the days of the lesser and earlier confiscations, when he charged the dispossessed monks with nameless crimes and shameless profligacy, were all silently dropped as time went on; and the confiscation of all the greater monasteries and their vast revenues was carried out by the imperious sovereign with scarcely an effort to throw a flimsy veil of pretended justice over his arbitrary act. But the cruel and sweeping accusations made in the first instances against the smaller religious houses, and upon which the Act of Parliament legalising the suppression and confiscation of the lesser monasteries was based, have never been forgotten, and have served to blacken permanently the character of *all* the "religious," who suffered grievous wrong at the hands of Henry VIII. The wickedness of the monk and nun of the fifteenth century has become one of the articles of common belief among the English-speaking peoples.

Under the enormous powers granted him, the vicar-general, Cromwell, determined, before commencing a visitation of the monasteries, to inquire into the state of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. He appointed for this purpose two commissioners, who afterwards obtained an unenviable notoriety in the great confiscation—Drs. Layton and Leigh. It does not seem that much scope was found for their reforming zeal in either Oxford or Cambridge. In the report on Oxford we read that in several colleges Dr. Layton found lectures well kept and diligently frequented; but nevertheless, he suggested some alteration in the mode of study. A few new lectures were founded in Greek and Latin, while some stern regulations were made in the case of the students of the monastic colleges. From the first, in all his dealings with the monastic orders, a bitter and hostile spirit was unmistakably manifest on the part of the vicar-general, Cromwell. Some Greek and Hebrew lectures were also instituted at Cambridge. Generally, however, in spite of the visitation, the two universities were left practically unharmed.

In the September of this same year, prior to the famous inquiry of Cromwell,

OBVERSE OF THE GREAT SEAL OF HENRY VIII.

the bishops were forbidden to visit any monastery or church during the proposed visitation. The realm in this autumn was divided into districts, and apportioned to commissioners chosen by the vicar-general and appointed under the king's hand and signet. They were men unknown and obscure, and included Drs. Leigh and Layton—who had already been employed in similar work by the all-powerful favourite — the subsequently infamous Dr. London, John ap Rice, Richard Bellasis, and a few more, some of whose names are preserved, but who never attained any sort of reputation beyond the dreary fame attached to this unhappy inquisition.

The closing weeks of 1535, which witnessed the visitation, and the year 1536, are memorable for the suppression and confiscation of all the smaller religious houses, visited or not visited in the course of this commission. Singularly rapid must have been the various visits paid by the commissioners, for before the month of August of the year 1536 was passed the celebrated Act dissolving the smaller monasteries. Under the head of "smaller monasteries" were included all religious houses of monks, canons, and nuns, whose income from all sources did not exceed two hundred pounds annually, equivalent to about £2,400 of our present money. Three hundred and seventy-six communities were dissolved; of these thirty-one were refounded, but such refounded houses continued in existence only a year or two longer. The property of all these monasteries and nunneries was confiscated and given to the king.

In such an inquiry as the one we are

REVERSE OF THE GREAT SEAL OF HENRY VIII.

now busied with, a few words on the aims and character of the chief instruments of the great confiscation are necessary. These

instruments may be divided into three divisions:—(1) the principal and best known of the commissioners appointed by Cromwell to inquire into the state of the monasteries; (2) the vicar-general, Cromwell, himself; and (3) the king, who was the chief beneficiary of the mighty spoliation.

The first is the group of commissioners employed by Cromwell. The principal and best known of these were Dr. Layton, Thomas Leigh, Dr. London, and John ap Rice, Richard Ingworth, suffragan bishop of Dover, and William Petre. The four first-named are by far the most notorious; the last two were only really engaged in the later scene of the dissolution of the religious houses. Gasquet, the Roman Catholic historian of the suppression, represents these men as base and vile; no language is too harsh when he paints their character. Canon Dixon, the Anglican, is scarcely less severe, and even Froude, the apologist of Henry VIII. and all his works, represents them as agents with little scruple or sympathy, and even allows that they received bribes. Dr. London's subsequent career of infamy is too well known to permit of any serious defence in his case.

GATEWAY OF KIRKHAM PRIORY.

Of the others, without endorsing all the bitter words of Gasquet and Dixon, it is sufficient to describe them as mere creatures of Cromwell, as greedy and self-sufficient, as men utterly wanting in any lofty aim or purpose. No serious person could attach much real weight to their words or reports. When we sum up the case against the monastic orders and the friars, it must be on evidence utterly separate from any testimony adduced by these ill-starred and generally discredited partisans.

Of Cromwell we have already spoken. While declining to endorse the too sweeping condemnation of some historians, we cannot but feel that while most able, he was not a good man, though emphatically a very faithful servant of his master, king Henry. He seems honestly to have disliked and mistrusted monasticism and all connected with it, and to have felt that England and her church would be better without monk or friar or nun. But at the same time it cannot be denied that it was his interest to blacken the monastic order, and that his vast fortune, lost together with his life as soon as made, was largely built upon their ruin—a ruin which he was the principal instrument in bringing about. But Cromwell was only an instrument—a servant, a creature. There was one behind him far greater, of whom we must briefly speak.

King Henry VIII. has been justly described* as the main originator of the greatest and most critical changes of his reign—amongst others, of the suppression of the monastic orders and the wholesale confiscation of their property of all descriptions. After the fall of Wolsey, no minister can be credited with any real power or influence in determining Henry's policy. His conduct to one after the other throws strong light upon his relations to his principal advisers. As for Wolsey, his greatest minister, from whom he learned so much statecraft, he ruined him and broke his heart. More he soon tossed aside and beheaded. Cromwell he used as his ready and able instrument; and then when Cromwell's plans and views seemed to cross his own, he at once brought this all-trusted friend and minister also to the block.

The idea of the monastic suppression had long been in Henry's mind. Wolsey first suggested it to the king, when in his far-reaching scheme for church reform he, with the aid of Rome, suppressed some small houses, and used their property for the establishment of educational centres. The idea soon took firm root in Henry's mind. Then came the quarrel with the Papacy—a quarrel which was embittered by two considerations. As a patriotic statesman, Henry was deeply conscious that the assumptions and claims of the Pope were really hurtful to the state as to the church; as a headstrong, arbitrary, passionate man, Henry hated the Pope as the formidable opposer of his divorce. The vast network of monasteries in England the king viewed, and rightly, as a network of fortresses devoted to the Pope. When he finally broke with the Pope, Henry knew that these numerous and powerful monastic communities would be a perpetual menace to the new anti-papal order of things he had established in his realm. Henry and Cromwell felt that the monk would never accept the king of England as the head of the church in place of the Pope.

Then again, Wolsey, his tutor for years in things ecclesiastical as well as civil, had shown him how useless was the monk in the new state of things, and Henry here was an apt pupil; the pupil soon went far beyond his teacher. Wolsey would change and reform, Henry chose to destroy; for destruction here meant enormous gain to himself, and an insatiable desire for spoil became an uncontrollable passion with

* Bishop Stubbs: "Oxford Lectures."

him. At this juncture Cromwell arose, and became his confidant and adviser. With Cromwell were more or less associated the greedy Boleyn family, and when the Boleyn family fell with the condemned queen, the Seymours, who inherited their influence, were even more eager for change and plunder. The advice and suggestion of these evil counsellors suited the king, and the destruction of the monasteries was resolved upon, and effectually and rapidly carried out.

Various have been the estimates which historians have made of the character of the famous tyrant, Henry VIII. To Froude, for instance, he seems a figure at once grand and heroic. By Roman Catholic writers, and not a few learned Anglicans, he is depicted as a monster of lust and greed. To the calm and judicial mind of bishop Stubbs, he appears certainly neither "grand nor heroic," nor yet the monster of lust and greed—"not even as a man more vicious than many sovereigns who have maintained a fair place in history, the unhappy, most unhappy history of his wives having brought upon him an amount of moral hatred which is excessive. No absolutely profligate king could have got into the miserable abyss in which we find Henry VIII. struggling during the latter half of his reign. In morality he was not better, perhaps, than his famous contemporary, the emperor Charles V., but he was much better than Francis I. and Henry IV., both popular heroes of French history. Yet he was a man of unbounded selfishness, passionately desirous of wealth —not perhaps for wealth's sake, but for the additional power which the possession of vast wealth ever gives." The longing for the spoils of the monasteries was no doubt one great factor in his determination to suppress the religious orders. The moral disease which so often accompanies the possession of supreme power, largely affected Henry, and served to destroy his perception of right and wrong; and this moral disease was in Henry's case augmented by the almost total absence of any real check of public opinion.

In any estimate of Henry VIII. the historian must not forget, that from this strange and despotic monarch England and her church, under the Divine power which brings good out of evil, received good as well as evil. Under his arbitrary rule the English Church was freed from the yoke of Rome, retaining all her own proper framework; was delivered, too, from a mass of soul-destroying superstition; obtained the Bible in English, and the use of the chief forms of prayer in the vernacular. Very grandly does this same profound scholar and historian thus sum up his masterly estimate of this great and unhappy king: "I do not attempt to portray him after my own idea, but I seem to see in him a grand, gross figure, very far removed from ordinary human sympathies; self-engrossed, self-confident, self-willed, unscrupulous in act, violent and crafty, but justifying to himself, by his belief in himself, both unscrupulousness, violence, and craft; a man who regarded himself as the highest justice, and who looked on mercy as a mere human weakness. And with all this, as needs must have been, a very unhappy man; wretched in his friends, wretched in his servants, most wretched in his loneliness—that awful loneliness in which a king lives, and which the worst as well as the

best of despots realises. Have I drawn the outline of a monster? Well, perhaps; but not the popular notion of this particular portrait. A strong, high-spirited, ruthless, disappointed, solitary creature; a thing to hate or to pity or to smile at, or to shudder at, or to wonder at, but not to judge." *

The ruin and confiscation was effected, strange to say, by regular and constitutional methods. The obsequious Parliament of 1536 gave to the king all the smaller monasteries which had not above two hundred pounds of yearly income (£2,400 of our money). The equally obedient Parliament of 1539 threw over the destruction and confiscation of many of the greater monasteries, which had fallen after the rising in the north, generally known as the "Pilgrimage of Grace," the shield of the law. "Let the king and his heirs possess these houses for ever," ran the words of the statute. The Act of 1539, which gave these monasteries to King Henry VIII., was also prospective, and looking on to future confiscations, in its provisions legalised the seizure by the king of the possessions of other religious houses as yet untouched. Indeed, Parliament under king Henry VIII. did little more than register the peremptory orders of the sovereign as their own wishes. There was little or no public opinion in this age of despotism to check or even to modify the royal will. If public opinion ever did manifest itself, as in the case of the northern risings in 1536–37, it was quickly put down with an iron hand, and its leaders expiated their offence of daring to think otherwise than the king, on the scaffold.

Thus the monasteries, their estates, their treasures, were confiscated at the arbitrary will of the sovereign. His advisers, notably Cromwell, a few royal favourites, and the families of his successive queens, Anne Boleyn and Jane Seymour, were undoubtedly sharers in the guilt of the shameful act, and became recipients of a considerable portion of the plunder; but the real author of the terrible mischief was the king himself, and he was also the chief beneficiary of the vast plunder which resulted from it.

The terms of the act alleged that the monastic houses which were under that value, and houses which contained less than twelve religious persons, were the abodes of "manifest sin, vicious, carnal, and abominable living." The Parliament knew that all this vicious living was true, for the king had made to them "a plain declaration" of it, and the king knew it to be true, "as well as by the accounts of his late visitations, as by sundry credible informations." The number of monasteries which were suppressed, and their possessions confiscated by the crown forthwith, by the operation of this Act of Dissolution, is variously stated. Stow gives it at three hundred and seventy-six. This number is fairly accurate, but it includes generally the houses which fell between Michaelmas, 1535, and Michaelmas, 1537.

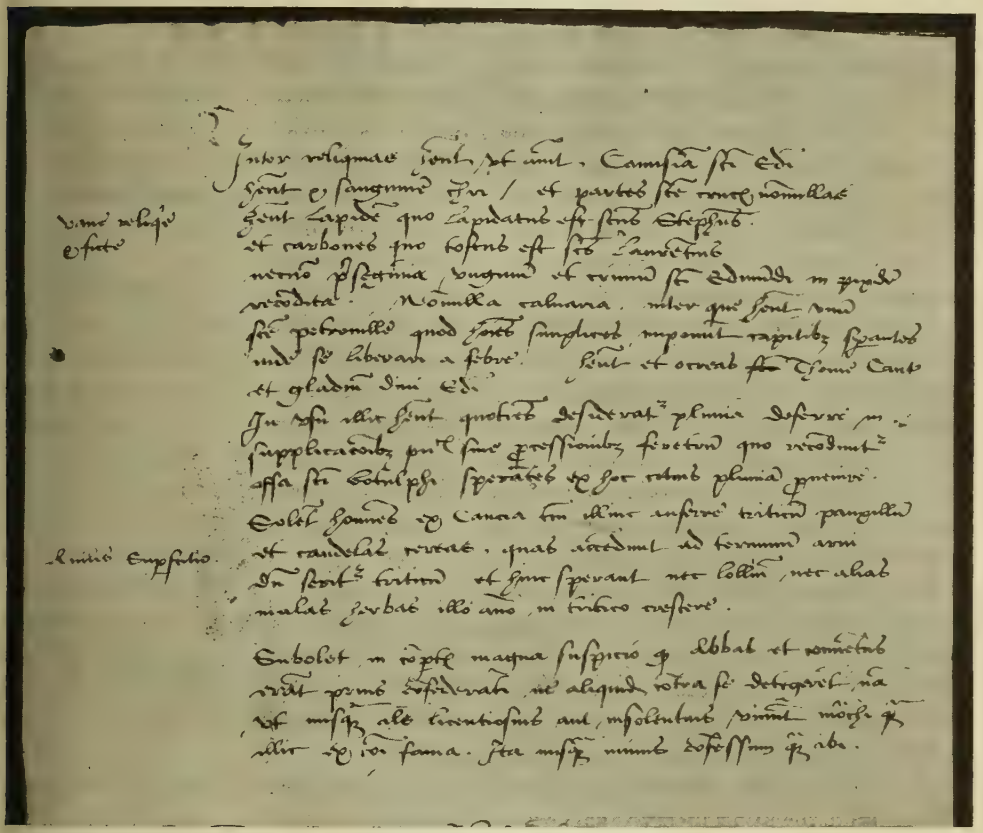
This, a comparatively speaking small suppression and confiscation, was, however, only the prelude to a very much larger operation of the same kind, which followed immediately after in the years 1538–39–40.

* Bishop Stubbs: "Oxford Lectures," No. xii.

It seems to the unimpassioned historian, calmly reviewing even the first great Act of spoliation, a tremendous conclusion for the king and his obsequious Parliament to have come to, with only the reports before

evil life and conversation of the monks and nuns of England has been mainly built; a story, alas! which has sunk deep into the hearts of Englishmen.

The Bill for suppressing the little mon-



PORTION OF A PAGE OF THE MS. AT THE RECORD OFFICE, KNOWN AS "COMPERTA" (*see p.* 106).
(*The portion reproduced contains charges of superstition against the monastery of Bury St. Edmunds.*)

them of a few commissioners, whose position and character were certainly open to question—of commissioners, too, who had only been at work for weeks! And yet it is upon the extraordinarily rapid work and report of these officials—Drs. Leigh, Layton, and London, and a very few others of less prominence—that the story of the

asteries was preceded by a "Declaration" made to Parliament by the king of the reports of the visitors, or a digest of them, which was apparently read openly in both Houses. This document, from the dark nature of the disclosures it held, has obtained the name of the "Black Book." It is from bishop Latimer, probably an eye-

witness of the scene, that historians have taken their well-known description of the "thrill of horror" with which the Parliament heard the king's description of the manifold iniquities of abbots, monks, and nuns; but the words of bitter irony with which the good bishop qualified his description of the thrill of horror are not so well known. "When their enormities," wrote Latimer, "were first read in the Parliament House, they were so great and abominable that there was nothing but 'Down with them!' but within a while the same abbots were made bishops for the saving of their pensions."

This "Declaration" or "Black Book," whatever it was, is not now in existence; it disappeared not long, perhaps directly, after it had been used. The common tradition that it was destroyed in the reign of Mary, is baseless. The only documents which we possess concerning the original statement of the presumed guilt of the religious houses, which led to their suppression, are two manuscripts which bear the simple title of "Comperta" (Facts discovered). These MSS. agree in the main one with the other; only in one part is there any real difference. Each of these MSS. is divided into two parts, of which the former is the same in both, and refers to one hundred and twenty monasteries, nearly all situated in the province of York. The second part in one MS. refers to twenty-four "houses," nearly all in the diocese of Norwich; in the other MS. the second part is concerned with ten other monasteries in the same diocese. It seems probable that there were other "Comperta" besides the fragmentary ones we possess; for Bale, the well-known bitter and intemperate controversialist, who died in 1563, in one of his prefaces gives a quotation which seems to come from a set of lost "Comperta." The reports concern some of the greatest houses in England, such as Battle Abbey, and Christ Church and St. Augustine's, Canterbury.*

These "Comperta" were very possibly the originals upon which the "Declaration" or "Black Book" was founded. At first reading they are terribly damaging to the character of the religious houses. On examination, however, they present a cut-and-dried appearance, following a very rigid and a very summary method of detailing the guilt of the doomed monastic communities. In them all, the method is the same. The name of the house is given first; then follows a list of the religious persons it contained, ranged under the same dreary heads. Some are enrolled as adulterers, some as incestuous, some as guilty of unnatural crimes; others are thieves or traitors. Of the innocent there was no classification; nor is it possible from these documents to discover the proportion they bore to the guilty, since the total number of the dwellers in a house never appears.

The "Comperta" contain lists of names; whence are these derived? The monasteries, small and great, seem to have made no confessions. *One only has ever been produced* with any admission of moral guilt—that of the Cluniac house of St. Andrew at Northampton—and that solitary instance is tainted with signs of unreality, for the

* See Canon Dixon: "History of the Church of England from the abolition of the Roman Jurisdiction," chap. v., where a detailed account of the "Comperta" is given.

result of this "confession" was that the monks of St. Andrew received pensions—all but one, who was promoted to a living! A vague belief exists that the monasteries made numerous confessions. If these could have been produced and published, they would have been indeed grave pieces of accusation, but no one ever saw these pretended acknowledgments of guilt. The few documents which do exist, which might be construed as confessions, belong to certain religious houses, which in the years 1538–39, under the strong pressure exerted by the royal commissioners, voluntarily surrendered; but emphatically it must be repeated, that they contain no acknowledgment at all of moral turpitude.

Again, the "Comperta," with their damning but apparently stereotyped accusations, are strangely at variance with the *letters* of the visitors, some of which are still extant. These speak well or indifferently of about half of the houses they are known to have visited. They are "vivacious or solemn, according to the temper of the writer," but they seldom mention any of the monks by name, much less give lists of them. They contain, it is true, some very few evil stories, and these Mr. Froude, in his well-known graphic description, has given as samples of the more ordinary experience of the royal commissioners. *But there are no more.* So different, indeed, are the letters of the visitors which we possess, from the damning document which is said to have been read in Parliament, that Canon Dixon* concludes with certainty that the document in question — the "Declaration" or "Black Book"—came not immediately from the hands of the visitors at all, but from the hands of Cromwell and the king.

The Parliament, before whom the "Declaration" was read, is tersely described by bishop Stubbs* in the following terms:—"Henry had clearly got a Parliament on which he could depend"; and, again, "the king appointed the Speaker; in the House of Lords the king exercised the same right when the chancellor (in all cases chosen by himself) was not a peer. The result was that the Speaker, instead of being the defender of the liberties of the House, had often to reduce it to an order that meant obsequious reticence or sullen submission." The same historian writes of the condition of the famous Parliament, in which the dissolution of the greater monasteries was accomplished, as "abject"; and, again, "Henry used his Parliaments merely to register his sovereign acts, . . . receiving the thanks of the Commons for his most arbitrary acts." Hallam, writing of the obsequiousness and venality of Lords and Commons in this reign, says: "Both Houses of Parliament yielded to every mandate of Henry's imperious will; they bent with every breath of his capricious humour, they were responsible for the sanguinary statutes, for the tyranny which they sanctioned by law, and for that which they permitted without law." †

And yet even that obsequious Parliament, thus described by our most serious historians, was not by any means convinced of the truth of Henry's and Crom-

* "History of the Church of England," chap. v.

* "Oxford Lectures" (Lecture XII.); Constitutional History, chap. xxi.

† "Constitutional History of England," vol. i., p. 51, quoted by Dr. Gasquet.

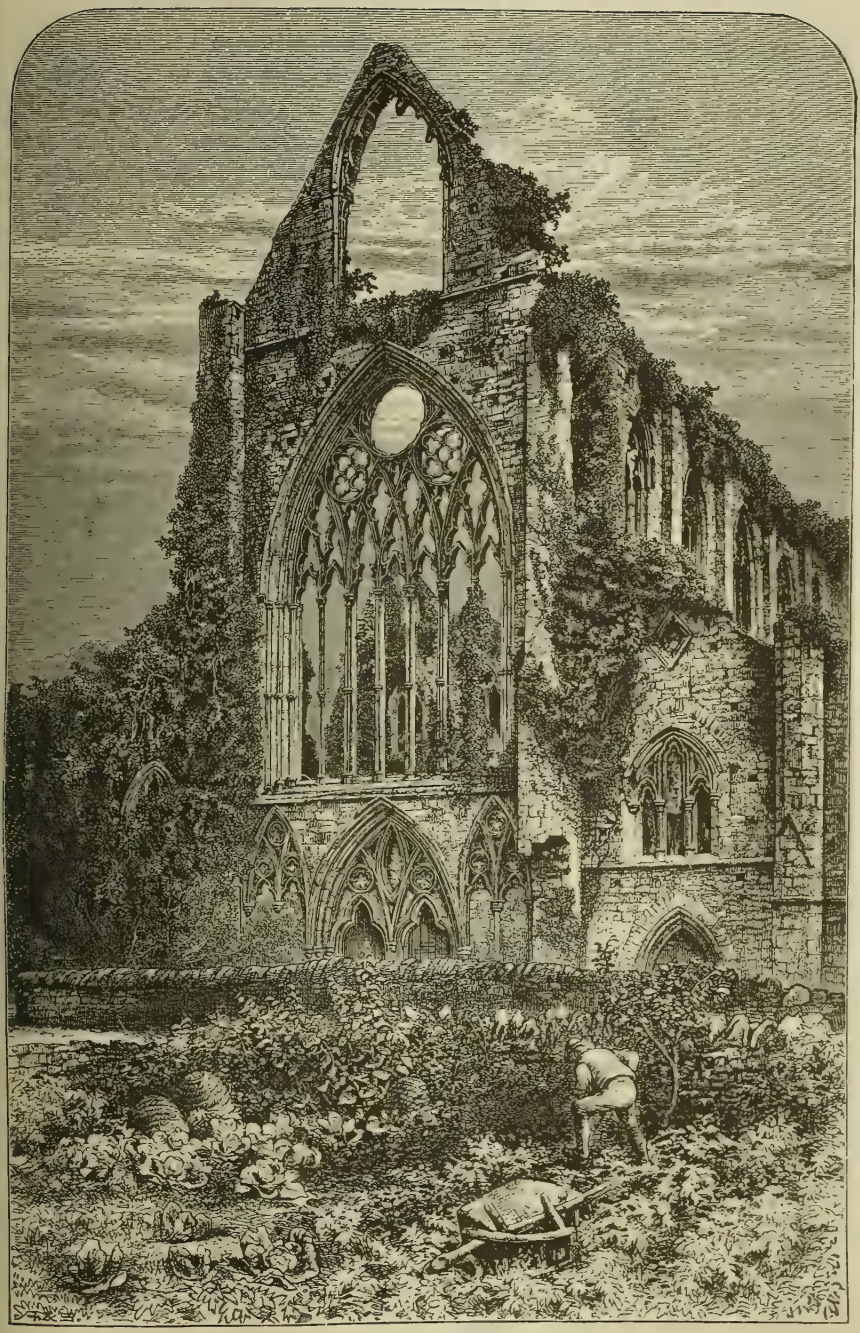
well's description of monkish enormities; for Sir Henry Spelman—who, as Dr. Gasquet in his exhaustive, though perhaps over-coloured picture tells us, without doubt gave the traditional account of the passing of the bill giving the lesser houses to the king—says, "It is true the Parliament gave these (the lesser monasteries) to him, but so unwillingly (as I have heard) that when the bill had stuck long in the Lower House, he commanded the Commons to attend him in the forenoon in his gallery, when he let them wait till late in the afternoon, and then coming out of his chamber, walking a turn or two among them, and looking angrily on them, first on the one side and then on the other, at last 'I hear' (saith he) 'that my bill will not pass; but I will have it pass, or I will have some of your heads,' and without other rhetoric or persuasion returned to his chamber. Enough had been said, the bill passed, and all was given him as he desired." *

Nor apparently were Henry and Cromwell themselves convinced of the truth of the awful allegations so formally and so publicly made against so many of the "religious." For out of the names which appear in the "Comperta" lists of the "religious" charged with immorality, some two hundred and fifty in number, more than a third can positively be identified as having received *pensions* upon the dissolution of their houses, which would scarcely have been the case had their accusers really believed in the accuracy of the scathing accusations. Among the nuns these curious statistics are even more remarkable. Only some twenty-seven nu in all are charged with vice, and of the seventeen are known to have been aft wards pensioned. One very remarkal case deserves special mention. The abb of Langdon in Kent, the subject of one the well-known three or four "stock stories repeated so often as examples of t usual condition of monastic houses, w described by the visitor as most immor and "the drunkenest knave living." Th abbot was subsequently recommended the king's officers for a pension, which w granted him by the Court of Augmentati for life, or until such time as he receiv "a fitting ecclesiastical benefice." * N indeed were all the houses mentioned the "Comperta" accused of moral turp tude. They all, however, shared the sam fate, being suppressed and their proper confiscated by the crown.

But the most singular proof of t iniquity of the great confiscation is deriv from the words of the preamble to th famous act suppressing the smaller house those which had not above two hundr pounds a year. In the preamble to th act in question occur words as follows: "The king's most royal majesty, bei supreme head on earth under God of th Church of England, daily studying ar devising the increase, advance, and exalt tion of true doctrine and virtue in the sa church to the only glory and honour God, having knowledge that the premis be true as well as by the accompts of h late visitations as by sundry credible i formation, *considering also that dive great and solemn monasteries of this real wherein, thanks be to God, religion is rig*

* "History of Sacrilege," p. 206. Spelman was born in 1562, less than thirty years after the event.

* *Cf.* Dr. Gasquet, vol. i., pp. 352-363.



TINTERN ABBEY.

well kept and observed." The preamble then goes on to say that these great and solemn monasteries, not possessing their full number, should receive certain of the dispossessed persons from the smaller houses. Within four years of this admission by the king, all the "great and solemn monasteries," for which Parliament thanked God, were also swept into the same net of confiscation with the little houses! None were spared. Their churches were taken—many of them ruthlessly ruined; their houses were destroyed; their possessions were claimed by the king, and the monks and nuns were driven out!

Attention has been especially called by Dr. Gasquet to the silence of the "old and contemporary chroniclers Hall, Stow, Grafton, Holinshed, and Fabian, as to the alleged vicious life practised in the cloisters of England." There is no doubt but that the charges, largely manufactured in the first instance for the purpose of providing a sufficient excuse for the great spoliation, have been repeated by successive historians without sufficient examination; some of these writers perhaps thinking that the great cause of the Reformation in England would be helped by maintaining this plea for an unrighteous act, an act some of us now think is the darkest blot in the whole course of events which, on the whole, have worked such beneficent results in the Church of England. Burnet's history was the great storehouse from which most of the so-called facts were drawn. Hume adopts Burnet's narration and deductions, and, in many places, his very words. In our own days men like Professor Seebohm, with some slight modifications adopt without inquiry the same manufactured version. Mr. Froude brilliantly works up the same materials into his lucid and most interesting history, which in this part is one long and able, but alas! untruthful, apology for his hero Henry VIII. At last the spell was broken by Mr. Green, to whom readers of history of all sorts and conditions owe so great a debt. His sketch of the suppression of the monasteries most unfortunately is singularly meagre; the question evidently did not interest him, and he dismisses it in a few lines. But even this curt and not very accurate notice is sufficient to show that the eminent historian was gravely dissatisfied with the popular estimate of the high-handed and unrighteous act of Henry VIII. and his all-powerful minister, Cromwell. He deems, as we have seen, the charges made against the monks "grossly exaggerated"; and again, in the reference to authorities in the same work we read, in the section dealing with Thomas Cromwell, 1530–40: "Mr. Froude's Narrative History of England (vols. I., II., III.), though of great literary merit, is disfigured by a love of paradox, by hero-worship, and by a reckless defence of tyranny and of crime. It possesses during this period little or no historical value." * Recent scholarly works of Anglican as well as of Roman Catholic writers, with their exhaustive investigations into original documents, have placed the whole question on a new and really historical basis, and the serious student of the future will have to dismiss as absolutely unhistorical the old familiar stories of the

* "History of the English People," chap. vi. sec. vi.

monstrous and unheard-of guilt of the monk and nun of the religious houses of England, at the epoch of their suppression and confiscation.

While, however, deploring the awful waste consequent on the rude and cruel methods adopted by the king and his servants, and mourning over the irreparable loss to the church of so vast a property, which indisputably belonged to it and which might have been so usefully and beneficially employed for the welfare of the people and the spread and development of true religion and education, it will be seen, as the story of the church is unfolded, that the terrible ruin of the monasteries and so many of their noble churches, and the deplorable wasting of their property, in no wise permanently affected the continuity of the Church of England. This great error only affected the church as the loss of a valuable province affects the status of a powerful nation. It was a lamentable and regrettable loss—nothing more. But we have now to give some brief account of the ruin worked during the years 1536, '37, '38, '39, and '40, the years of the suppression of the monasteries.

The course of events had no doubt been carefully planned out and arranged in the busy and skilful brain of the Vicar-General, Cromwell, who, thoroughly comprehending what was in Henry's mind, too faithfully constituted himself the instrument of carrying out his master's wishes. And here it is only just to repeat that, although cupidity and greed were strong factors in Henry's determination to compass the ruin of the religious orders, another factor must be credited as working powerfully in the mind of the despotic king. Henry was indisputably a great statesman and an earnest reformer. As a statesman he felt that the fatal and ever-growing influence of Rome was a serious drawback to the rapidly expanding power of his kingdom. As a reformer he was conscious that the perpetual and all-embracing interferences of the Italian church with the affairs of the Church of England lay as a dead-hand upon all efforts of reformation. If the power of Rome were allowed to continue, no real reformation in doctrines which were, after all, novelties, and in practices which were even by the most devout and earnest men of the age deemed superstitions, was possible. Owing to various reasons, the principal of which have been already alluded to, Henry knew well that the *monasteries* were the great strongholds of Romanism in the country. Their destruction, then, from this point of view, appeared in the light of a patriotic act. Alas! that this patriotic side of the transaction was disfigured by such shameful cupidity; so disfigured, so marred, that the serious historian is even tempted to ignore, if not altogether to deny, the nobler factors which were probably also working in the royal mind when the great suppression was determined upon.

Elaborate preparations were made by the Crown for the gathering in and harvesting of the rich plunder which was looked for from the confiscation of the monastic lands and other possessions. Everything was done with a careful show of legality, and almost the last measure passed by the Parliament which gave to Henry VIII. the so-called lesser monasteries, was the creation of the "Court of Augmentations."

So elaborate was the machinery of this court, and so highly paid were its chief officials, that it seems more than probable that the king and Cromwell were meditating a further and important development in confiscation; were looking forward from the first to a plunder far more valuable than anything which could be hoped to have resulted from the dissolution of the lesser and poorer religious houses. The duties of this important newly created court were to deal with all lands and movables coming into the possession of the Crown through the suppression of the religious houses. The Court of Augmentations consisted at first of a chancellor, a treasurer, two legal officers, ten auditors, seventeen receivers, and others. The salaries were very considerable, the chancellor receiving £750 a year (some £9,000 of our money) and the other officials in proportion. As will be seen, in the next four or five years enormous property passed through the hands of these men. A fresh Commission was immediately nominated to examine into the revenues of the monasteries, and to arrange for the immediate dissolution of all which fell beneath the limit of income fixed in the Act of Parliament. Before the close of the year 1536 large sums had already been paid into the treasury of the Court of Augmentations, and many monasteries had already been desolated.

The system by which suppression was carried out was generally the same. Six royal commissioners, with a retinue of servants, presented themselves at the doomed house. Questions were put. Rigid inventories were made of all plate, jewels, and other goods and property. No more rents were allowed to be received. The very bells of the church and the lead which covered the roofs were scheduled. Everything, even the poor furniture of the cells, was sold.

The number of "houses" which fell after the passing of the act of 1536 was, as we said, about 362 to 376. Roughly, two thousand monks and nuns, rather more than less, the monks being of course largely in the majority, were ejected from their homes. In addition to these, some nine or ten thousand dependent servants, farm labourers, and others connected with the monasteries then dissolved, were deprived of their means of livelihood. The annual value of the confiscated estates was probably about £8,000. The plate and jewels and the proceeds of the sales of lead, bells, furniture, and even buildings has been reckoned at £100,000. These amounts, it must be borne in mind, must be multiplied by ten or twelve to arrive at the present value of these sums. But although the plunder was very large, nothing like these amounts found their way into the king's treasury. Corruption existed everywhere, and vast sums were wasted and made away with, before the Crown was enriched by the confiscated spoils.

Of the dissolved communities about fifty-two—the exact number is uncertain—were almost immediately refounded by the king; only, however, to fall again in the subsequent sweeping confiscations. Of these fifty-two refounded houses, curiously enough, several had been among the number of those gravely defamed in the "Comperta," and in more than one case a superior incriminated by the visitors was re-appointed in the new foundation!

HIDING TREASURE AT THE SUPPRESSION OF A MONASTERY.

(From the picture by James Cooke.)

It has been a matter of surprise that the nation bore so calmly this high-handed and cruel act of sacrilege. We have already alluded to this, pointing out the difficulty of exciting public opinion at this period, in addition to which it must be remembered that the confiscation was carried out under the immediate sanction of the obsequious and submissive Parliament, and directly under the direction of a monarch who was practically absolute, and who brooked no opposition to his will. Yet in spite of these reasons, which may be fairly alleged as accounting for the general apathetic acquiescence, there was a moment in Henry VIII.'s reign when his throne was in danger owing to a burst of popular indignation; when a formidable revolt of well-nigh half his kingdom threatened to overturn his government. The insurrection, commonly known as the "Pilgrimage of Grace," gives some indication of a popular feeling usually supposed to have been absolutely apathetic and careless in the matter of the suppression of the monasteries; but in the end this abortive though dangerous rising gave an impetus to the progress of the "suppression," and afforded a colourable pretext for enlarging the already broad limits of the Parliamentary sanctions to the confiscation. Before the popular rising known as the "Pilgrimage of Grace," only the so-called "lesser" houses were swept away; but directly after the rising the confiscation of the greater communities began, under the pretext that they had been concerned in the northern treason.

The late spring and summer of 1536 had witnessed the extraordinary rapidity of the operations of the royal commissioners. House after house, whose property came under the limitation of the act, fell. Yorkshire and Lincolnshire especially were affected. The spectacle of so many monks and nuns and their numerous dependents rendered homeless, the distress of the poor who had long been succoured and helped in many ways by the various religious communities, the sacrilegious destruction of many churches, so long the object of veneration and love, stirred up a general discontent; and before the close of the harvest season of 1536 a tumult, excited in Louth against the action of the commissioners in the case of a small Cistercian nunnery in the neighbourhood, gave the signal for what rapidly became a general outbreak. The rising spread from one town to another. Dr. Mackerel, the abbot of Barlings, an important house of Præmonstratensian canons, was at first conspicuous as the principal leader of the insurgents. A small force under the Duke of Suffolk was despatched by the king to disperse these rebels against his authority, and a royal proclamation was put forth excusing the action of the confiscating Commission, which had so stirred up men's minds in Lincolnshire.

Some of the king's words in this proclamation are remarkable when read in connection with subsequent events. "Ye speak," wrote the king, "of the suppression of religious houses, but the religious houses were given to us by Act of Parliament; *none are suppressed where God was well served*, but those where most vice, mischief, and abomination of living were used; and that doth well appear by their own confessions, subscribed by their own hands in the time of our

visitation." This public proclamation ill accords with Henry's subsequent action, when the great houses where, according to the king's own showing in the Act of Parliament, as here, "God was well served," were also suppressed and confiscated, the innocent and the guilty (supposing they were guilty) suffering alike!

The prompt military demonstration of the king, and his words showing the absolute legality of his acts—nothing having been done outside parliamentary sanction—put an end to the Lincolnshire outbreak. The tumultuous forces of the rebels, numbering, it is said, some 60,000 persons in different districts, dispersed somewhat sullenly, partly persuaded by the king's words, partly overawed by his soldiers. About a hundred rebels were arrested for after-examination, among whom was the abbot of Barlings, who had been the conspicuous figure of the rising; the rest received the royal pardon.

As the suppression of the monasteries went on, however, the smouldering discontent flamed up again and spread more rapidly, the important county of Yorkshire becoming seriously disturbed. The same causes which excited the men of Lincolnshire were at work through all the northern counties. These causes were well detailed subsequently by Robert Aske, who was afterwards known as one of the principal leaders of the rebellion. "Men's hearts much grudged," wrote Aske in his subsequent narrative to the king, "with the suppression of the abbeys by reason the same would be the destruction of the whole religion in England; and their especial great grudge is against the lord Cromwell, being reputed the destroyer of the Commonwealth." "He did grudge against the statute of suppressions, and so did the whole country, because the abbeys in the north parts gave great alms to poor men and laudably served God. By reason of the said suppression the divine service of Almighty God is much diminished, great number of masses unsaid, and the blessed consecration of the Sacrament now not used and showed in those places, to the distress of the faith and spiritual comfort to man's soul. The temple of God is now razed and pulled down, the ornaments and relics of the church of God unreverently used, the tombs and sepulchres of honourable and noble men pulled down and sold. No hospitality is now in these places kept." "Also the abbeys were one of the beauties of this realm to all men and strangers passing through the same. Also all gentlemen were much succoured in their needs, with many their young sons there assisted, and in nunneries their daughters brought up in virtue." Thus, in the one formidable rebellion of the reign of Henry VIII., the causes of the armed resistance to the king's will were clearly in the main ecclesiastical. The destruction of the abbeys and the monastic communities was felt to be a grave blow to religion, a hardship to the poor, and an injury to the nation.

The details of this insurrection, known as the "Pilgrimage of Grace," are well known, and we only touch on them in relation to our story of the monastic suppression. It was just as the Lincolnshire rising was being quelled, about October in this same year (1536), that a widespread confederation of gentry, clergy, and people was being formed in Yorkshire under that name. A lawyer of fair lineage, but

comparatively an unknown personage, named Robert Aske, rather against his will, was raised by popular acclaim to the headship of this confederation. The reasons which generally actuated them have been given in Aske's own words; the object of the revolt is briefly set out in the proclamation issued by the rebel leader. "Evil-disposed persons," it declared, "being of the king's council, have incensed his grace with many new inventions, contrary to the faith of God, the honour of the king, and the weal of the realm. They intend to destroy the Church of England and her ministers; they have robbed and spoiled, and intend utterly to rob and spoil the whole body of this realm. We have now taken this pilgrimage for the preservation of Christ's church, of the realm, and of the king." On entering York the first act of Aske, the chief of the insurgent army, was to fix a proclamation on the doors of the cathedral inviting all monks and nuns dispossessed from their houses to report themselves, with a view to their immediate restoration to their monasteries.

The Yorkshire revolt spread with extraordinary rapidity. In the ranks of the insurgents were soon to be found the heads of a very large proportion of the principal northern families. Thirty thousand men, well armed and equipped, in an incredibly short space of time were under arms, with the cognisance of the "five wounds of Christ," the symbol chosen by the Pilgrimage, broidered upon their pilgrim badges. Although these formidable insurgents professed loyalty to the king, and only insisted upon the repeal of the hated church acts and the dismissal and punishment of guilty ministers, Cromwell being especially aimed at, yet when once such a power becomes dominant in a nation, the gravest changes are at once imminent; and there is no doubt but that at one time the throne of Henry was in danger.

But the Tudor sovereigns were ever at their greatest in moments of extreme peril, and the skill and courage of Henry VIII. in these critical days are not the least among the evidences which we possess of the commanding genius of this strange, masterful sovereign. Very soon he gathered together a dependable force of some 50,000 men. Strong reinforcements were sent to his generals in the north. Heralds were sent into the cities and towns of the disaffected districts to tell the king's version of what he had done in the matter of the monasteries. Negotiations were opened with the leading rebels. A general pardon was promised, and certain popular concessions to the people were offered; but in church matters he declined to yield to any pressure. He, however, volunteered to summon a Parliament at York in the following summer, when all misunderstandings between the king and his subjects should be cleared up.

On the part of the rebels there seems to have been no definite plan of action, and no one master mind arose to guide and direct their proceedings. Neither in rank nor in ability was Robert Aske equal to the position of chief, and jealousies among the rebel chiefs weakened and divided their counsels. Delays and negotiations contributed to weaken the cause of the malcontents; the army of the Pilgrimage of Grace gradually melted away, while the forces of the king grew every day stronger. Aske himself was received into royal favour,

and sent for to the court to consult with the king ; and thus without bloodshed the terrible danger, which for a time threatened Henry, was averted, and the abortive was, however, a third act of the eventful drama of the revolt, which had still to be played out. The principal agent in this miserable third act was one, concerning

ASKE AFFIXING HIS PROCLAMATION TO THE DOOR OF YORK CATHEDRAL.

reaction against the royal measures left the sovereign more powerful than ever.

Thus before the eventful year 1536 closed, the curtain fell on the second act of the revolt of Englishmen against the suppression of the monastic orders. There whom we shall hear much in our future history. Reginald Pole, a kinsman and in his youth a favourite of king Henry, had in the matter of the divorce thrown in his lot with Rome, and then, as the bitter enemy of the English king, was regarded

with high favour at the papal court. Rome had been deluded by wild rumours touching the magnitude and success of the Pilgrimage of Grace, and Pole was raised to the dignity of a cardinal by Pope Paul III. at the close of the year 1536. The young cardinal, invested with the dignity of legate, set out for England (which he never reached), imagining that he would find there a victorious faction ready and eager to dethrone Henry VIII. and prepared to restore England to the obedience of Rome. On his journey he received at Lyons the melancholy tidings of the utter failure of the "Pilgrimage of Grace," and learned also that he himself had been proclaimed a rebel, and that a price was set upon his head. He was obliged at once to quit the friendly soil of France; but from the neutral territory of Cambray, for some months he fanned the slumbering discontent which still smouldered in the north of England.

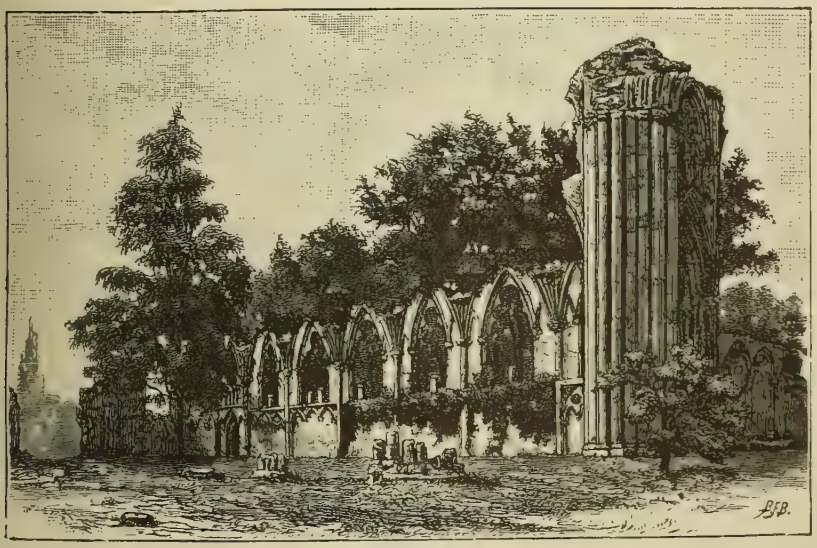
Affairs in the disaffected districts, however, now wore a very different complexion from what they had presented in the early days of the "Pilgrimage of Grace" revolt. A strong royalist force was now in the field; the more important towns were occupied by Henry's garrisons; the chief leaders in the late rising were known to have made terms with the king; and Aske, the leader, was even supposed to have been taken into his confidence. But in spite of these unpromising prospects of any successful renewal of hostilities, fresh outbreaks of popular indignation—aroused by the continued suppression of the religious houses—did break forth. There can be no doubt but that Pole's mission from Rome strongly influenced men's minds at this juncture; and it is evident from his letters to the Pope, that he maintained an active correspondence with England.* The new outbreak was not a general one, however; it was spasmodic, and confined to certain northern districts, and without apparently any concerted plans, and was quickly damped down. Sir Francis Bigod, a Yorkshire gentleman, headed the new attempt at revolt; he was taken prisoner by the king's forces, and very soon after we read of the arrest of the leaders of the once formidable "Pilgrimage of Grace." It is difficult to ascertain what special fresh offence they had given, since they had laid down their arms and submitted to Henry's authority.

Nothing could have happened more opportunely for Henry's designs, however, than this new and ill-advised attempt at insurrection. What in the first place was evidently a national outburst of feeling, was now coloured with the suspicion of Roman intrigues; and Henry was enabled to appeal to patriotic motives as a pretext for the terrible severities which disfigured the history of the year 1537. Martial law was proclaimed, and seventy-four persons of various degrees among the clergy and laity of the north were hanged. But the vengeance of Henry was far from being appeased by these wholesale executions. The Lincolnshire prisoners connected with the first act of the northern rising, who had been since their arrest languishing in confinement, were brought to trial, and under the new developments of the great rebellion, nineteen of the

* Froude: "History of England," chap. xiv., A.D. 1537.

prisoners were executed. Among the victims of the king's cruel severity were several illustrious prisoners who had been more or less mixed up with the earlier scenes of the revolt—such as the abbot of Barlings and Lord Hussey. The fate of the principal leaders of the "Pilgrimage of Grace" was next decided upon, and the abbots of Fountains and Jervaulx, Lord Darcy, Sir Thomas Percy, Sir John Bulmer, Robert Aske, and others—prominent advocates of the persecuted and harried monastic orders—were hanged or beheaded as felons. When this bloody vengeance had been taken—to use the words of Henry's apologist—the insurrection which at one time seemed so formidable, "sank down into rest."

This sketch of the "Pilgrimage of Grace" and other disturbances in the Northern counties, is given simply to show that the high-handed proceedings of king Henry, and of his minister Cromwell, were viewed with grave, even in some cases with a passionate disfavour. The subsequent rising in the West, and the demands of the Western insurgents early in the reign of Edward VI. (1549), bear a similar testimony. Still, on the whole, the acquiescence of the nation—perhaps a sullen acquiescence—in the suppression of the monastic orders, bears out what has been already said, that deep into the hearts of Englishmen had sunk the conviction that the real work of the monasteries was done.



ST. MARY'S ABBEY, YORK.

CHAPTER XLVII.

THE FINAL CONFISCATION OF ALL MONASTIC HOUSES.

Effect of the Northern Rebellion on the Monastic Suppression—Magnitude of the Confiscation—Political Motives—The Friaries—Their Poverty—The Convents—Their Place in Female Education—Destruction of the Shrines—The Great Monasteries—Enforced "Voluntary Surrenders"—The Legalising Act of 1539—Losses of the Suppression—In Books—Works of Art—Churches and Buildings—Amount of the Spoil—Terrible Waste of the Property—Small Portion restored to any Religious Purpose—Consequent Poverty of Benefices—Loss to the Poor—To Education—Indirect Benefits from the Suppression—The Un-English Character of Monasticism—Deliverance from Rome and from Mediæval Superstitions.

THE disastrous ending of those northern risings recounted in our last chapter, undoubtedly had a great effect upon the progress of the great monastic confiscation. The Act of Parliament had especially limited the suppressions of monasteries to those houses which possessed revenues under a certain amount. It only contemplated the destruction of the so-called "smaller" religious communities. The more important houses were generally included under the terms—"great and solemn monasteries where (thanks be to God) religion was right well kept and observed." The original act never contemplated *these* being confiscated. But the immediate result of the "Pilgrimage of Grace" was that not a few of the larger and more important communities fell; some because the abbots or priors had been openly concerned in the late rising; others which had taken no open part in the great rebellion were forced to surrender upon suspicion of complicity in the acts or designs of the insurgents. This course of action broke the spell which at first seemed to protect the larger and wealthier monasteries, and paved the way to the general and universal confiscation which shortly followed.

Even the apologists of the suppression confess the shameful injustice of these proceedings. Thus Burnet argues, "How justly soever these abbots were attainted, the seizing of their abbey lands was thought a great stretch of law, since the offence of an ecclesiastical incumbent is a personal thing, and cannot prejudice the church." Among the monasteries which fell after the northern rising, accused of complicity in the rebellion or suspected as being more or less involved in the acts of the insurgents, were the abbeys of Barlings, Jervaulx, Whalley, and Kirksted, the priory of Bridlington with its splendid minster church, and a very little later the great abbey of Furness in Lancashire, whose abbot was thought to be incriminated with the northern rebels. There was now absolutely no one to oppose the king, no public opinion, no Parliamentary feeling. Parliament was ready to pass any acts Henry might desire for his purpose.

Photo: Green Bros., Grasmere.

FURNESS ABBEY.

An enormous, almost incalculable plunder seemed to wait for him to stretch out his hand to gather it in.

FURNESS ABBEY.

The king had already persuaded himself that the destruction of the smaller monasteries would conduce to the advantage of religion. So able and astute a man of course saw through the venality of the instruments employed by Cromwell as commissioners, and no doubt clearly saw, too, that the accusations were grossly exaggerated and largely false. But he was convinced of their uselessness as communities, and he chose to believe that their property would be better used if in his hands. It did not take much to convince him by a similar reasoning that the "great and solemn monasteries where religion

was right well kept" were, after all, cumbering the earth. Every monastery, large and small, was also in his eyes a stronghold of hated and dangerous Rome, and the vision of the enormous plunder which would be his if the great houses were suppressed, decided the general course of his future action. From the day when the lives of Darcy, Aske, and the crowd of other rebel chiefs of the north who had dared to oppose his will were sacrificed, and the great rebellion finally put down, the suppression of the greater and more valuable houses began to be carried out with as little delay as possible. The work of ruin only took about three years from the date of the last executions of the leaders of the fatal "Pilgrimage of Grace," A.D. 1537–40.

In considering the magnitude of the revolution in the condition of England which the suppression of the monastic orders brought about, the difference in the actual population of our country in the years 1536–40 and in the closing years of the nineteenth century, must ever be borne in mind. In the sixteenth century these numbers were considerably below four millions. In the last years of the nineteenth century thirty millions would be a fair estimate. So when the friaries were dissolved, an event which took place a few months after the close of the rising in the north (in the autumn of 1538), and eighteen hundred men, whose life-work lay mainly among the poor, were dispersed, an enormous gap was necessarily made in religious ministrations among the people.

In the sixteenth century there were in England about two hundred friaries, divided as follows:—The order of St. Francis had sixty; of St. Dominic there were fifty-three; the Austin friars had forty-two; the Carmelites thirty-six houses. There were besides these a few communities of Trinitarian and other less important orders. The houses of the friars were built in or near the more important towns. With some rare exceptions in such centres as London and York, the houses and the churches of the friars were generally poor and insignificant. They possessed but few farms and manors, and their churches, beyond the sites, which were in some cases valuable, contained little which could increase the hoard in the royal treasury. The hope of plunder can scarcely have been a factor in the royal mind therefore, when the suppression of the friaries was resolved upon. It was rather the persuasion that these men were as a rule devoted to the papal system, and bitterly hostile to the new state of things in England, which probably moved Henry and Cromwell to decree their immediate dissolution. The suppression of the Mendicant orders, it must be remembered, followed close upon the termination of the northern rebellion, the latter phases of which had been closely connected with Roman intrigues carried on under the influence of cardinal Pole. "The eighteen hundred English friars," to use the words of their own Roman Catholic apologist, Gasquet, "formed part only of a vast army which possessed battalions in every country, and which was governed by a supreme commander, dwelling in a foreign country, and generally beneath the very shadow of the papal throne. Their very poverty tended to make them independent of crown control; the friars were free to choose or accept an

appointed superior without the king's (or the bishop's) consent or licence."

The friaries had been left alone when the dissolution of the smaller and poorer houses was carried out. Their deep poverty had preserved them. The policy of spoliation had little to gain from their confiscation, and the considerable popularity which was still enjoyed by the Mendicants among the lower orders of the people, also no doubt in some degree protected them. It would have been a great risk to have run for a very little gain. So the friaries remained untouched. But the northern rebellion, and the open interference of Rome, to a large extent altered the royal policy. There was strong suspicion that as a body the friars were playing among the people of England the part of vehement partisans of Rome; and seeing that the deliberate policy of Henry had definitely cut the bonds which bound the Church of England to Rome asunder, such a procedure as the suppression of the friaries—confessedly sadly fallen off from their original earnestness of aim and purpose—under certain conditions, would have admitted very strong pleas of justification. But the miserable circumstances of the suppression of these poor communities were such as must effectively bar any such pleas; the same miserable greed and appetency on the part of the king and his commissioners for vulgar plunder, characterised the suppression of these numerous but very poor houses, as we have noticed, and shall have further to notice in the case of the more wealthy churches and houses of the Benedictines, and other monastic orders.

Two or three contemporary, and in some cases official notices will best show the extreme poverty of the friaries, and the circumstances which accompanied their suppression in the year 1538. Richard Ingworth, bishop-suffragan of Dover—who was conspicuous as a royal commissioner in the later scenes of the confiscation, and who has not left behind him the villainous reputation for covetousness and worse, which characterised so many of his colleagues—writing to Lord Cromwell, 1st April, 1539, says that in the north of England he has received for the king twenty-six friaries, "the poorest houses that ever he went to." Again, the same bishop Ingworth says: "I have received to the king's use twelve houses of friars (situated in the northern midlands). They were all in poverty, and little left, scarce to pay the debts. In these houses the king's grace shall have but the lead . . . and twenty-four bells, such as they be, and of every house a chalice" (of silver). In the twenty-six houses of friars in the north which Ingworth dissolved in the early months of 1539, he obtained little except the worth of the sacred vessels and the lead of the roofs. In Scarborough he reports that the friaries were so impoverished, that to pay their liabilities the very stalls from the church and the screen-work had to be sold. "So that nothing was left but stone and glass; and all that the king can expect to get is the lead off the roof and very poor chalices."

How roughly and cruelly the commissioners went to work in the case of these poor houses and simple churches of the friars, is best described in such reports as Dr. London's. "At Reading," writes

this sacrilegious man, "I did only deface the church, all the windows being full of friars" [he was alluding apparently to the stained glass], "and I left the roof and walls whole for the king's use . . . I sold the ornaments and the cells in their dormitory. At Aylesbury I did only deface the church." At Warwick, he says, he only broke the windows of the friars' church; and again he adds: "I never pulled down any house entirely, but so defaced them that they could not be used again." Writing of his work at Oxford, this infamous commissioner speaks of the friars' copes and vestments: these he considered "pretty," and so he took them. The rest of their possessions he deemed practically valueless. On the whole, the value of the spoils of the friars, swept into the royal treasury, was very small. Only the sites and, in some cases, the buildings were valuable. Situated often in the heart of great towns, the spaces on which the buildings were erected were much sought after, and the crown, by disposing of these, made considerable profit. Instances of such sales are given from Lincoln, Grimsby, Reading, Worcester, and other places.

The dispossessed friars were treated harshly and without consideration; only a very small sum was given them on their being turned adrift into the world. In very rare instances, a small pension was granted.

Considerable misapprehension exists on the subject of the convents of nuns, all of which, without exception, shared in the common fate of suppression between the years 1536–1540. Much doubt exists in the general mind as to the number of these nuns, as to their possessions, as to their occupations, and, lastly, as to the charges brought against them—charges which are supposed to have brought about the dissolution of their houses.

At the time of the great monastic confiscation in England, there were, all told, about one hundred and forty convents owned by nuns;* of these, rather more than half belonged to the Benedictine order. They were scattered over all the counties, a preponderating number being in Yorkshire. These contained in all roughly about 1,560 nuns—this is, of course, exclusive of the dependents and tenants and various farm servants and others. Some 850 of these nuns were Benedictines. These English convents were mostly insignificant in numbers and their property was but small. Indeed, in the report of the commission which examined, for the purposes of the destroying Act of Parliament of 1536, into the resources of the various communities, it appears that only eighteen out of the one hundred and forty women's houses possessed property above the Parliamentary limit of £200 a year. The Cistercian houses seem to have been singularly destitute of resources. They were twenty-six in number, and in all these only one was reported as having more than the £200 income, and in many of the communities the yearly income was even under £50. In the first months of the suppression in 1536, the king was not rigorous in insisting upon the surrender of many of these poor female communities. But the

* *Cf.* Dr. Gasquet: "Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries," chap. vi.

mercy thus shown only continued a very little while. The nunneries of England were all ruined and confiscated before the year 1540–1 had run its course.

SPOLIATION OF A SHRINE.

As regards the fair fame of these houses, all involved in one common ruin, on referring to the extant "Comperta," which embraced the communities of some thirteen counties, only twenty-seven nuns in all the convents which were visited are charged with vice of any kind; and as we have already remarked when speaking generally of the charges brought against the monastic orders, even of these seven-and-twenty, all but ten can be identified as subsequently receiving the royal grant of a pension—a fact which pretty well disposes of the reality of the charges brought against at least seventeen of the twenty-seven accused. Thus, arguing from the

very reports themselves, prepared by hostile and somewhat unscrupulous commissioners, the fair fame of the English nuns at the period of the Reformation suffers but little, when a careful investigation is made of the facts as we learn them from contemporary documents.

As regards their occupations, there is no doubt but that the nunneries had long been, and when the hour of their suppression sounded, were still, in many cases, great educational homes. Robert Aske, the leader of the northern revolt, has been already quoted as urging, among the Yorkshire grievances consequent upon the dissolution of the religious houses, "that those nunneries were suppressed in which the daughters of Yorkshire gentlemen were brought up in virtue." Dr. Gasquet does not hesitate to say, and his assertion is no baseless one, "that in the convents the female portion of the population found their only teachers, the rich as well as the poor, and the destruction of these religious houses was the absolute extinction of any systematic education for women during a long period."* At the convent of Winchester, for instance, the list of the ladies being educated within the walls at the time of the suppression shows something of the nature of the work which was going on in a Benedictine nunnery in 1538–9. The same writer quotes an interesting passage on the educational work of the English nuns in a Wiltshire convent, by an eye-witness. "There the young maids were brought up where they had examples of piety and humility and modesty and obedience. . . . Here they learned needlework, the art of confectionary, surgery, physic, writing, drawing." Without supposing that all the one hundred and forty female religious houses were thus usefully occupied, there is no doubt that not a few of them were centres of female education; and these were all swept away by the same wave of ruthless destruction which overwhelmed the whole monastic system.

Very few, however, of the convents thus destroyed were rich enough to bring any great amount of spoil to the royal treasury. Only here and there among the confiscated houses was there a wealthy one. As an instance of such, we may cite Barking, perhaps the most ancient and historical. From this great nunnery came a rich hoard of priceless plate into the king's hands. The plate weighed, it is said, 3,000 ounces. Among the treasures of Barking was a monstrance weighing sixty-five ounces, enriched with a precious beryl. Here, too, were found many costly vestments of gold and tissue, so beautiful that they were specially reserved for the king's use. The whole story of the suppression of the nunneries is a very sad one, and little excuse can be found, even by Henry's apologists, for this high-handed act of royal tyranny.

One feature connected with the suppression—the destruction of relics, shrines, and images to which some special sanctity was attached—requires special notice. Among the grave abuses in religion and popular religious worship which were swept away in the course of the Reformation in England, the misplaced reverence and devotion to relics and images,

* "Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries," chap. vi.

which had led to so much imposture and childish superstition, will ever hold a prominent place. What was, however, done in the course of the suppression by the royal commissioners of Henry VIII., appointed by Cromwell, was so coloured by human passion and greed that it forms an almost repulsive episode in the great confiscation. In reviewing the whole reformation work in England, all sober theologians among us unfeignedly rejoice that these objects of an utterly misplaced devotion were removed. But the circumstances under which they were swept away in the course of the monastic suppression in the years 1536–1540, are deeply regrettable.

The age which especially loved to multiply these curious objects of devotion was the Crusading period. The armies of the Cross obtained from the Greeks—often, no doubt, at a great price—relics, consisting of fragments of bones, portions of the dress, a few drops of the blood of some famous and distinguished saints; the value of the relic, of course, depending on the sanctity of the person with whom the relic was connected. Thus the notorious relic of the Holy Blood of Hales, which has been the subject of so many curious explanations and inquiries, was probably obtained by Richard of Cornwall, the founder of Hales, for his house, and it has been suggested with some probability that this Richard, who was king of the Romans, procured at a great price the precious relic, knowing it to have been one of the spoils of the sanctuaries of Constantinople, which had been brought into Germany after the sack of that city by the Latins in the year 1204. To give instances of the estimation in which these curious treasures were held in the earlier Middle Ages, we find such men as the learned and saintly Hugh of Lincoln, deservedly reckoned the foremost English churchman of his day, travelling through France making a collection of relics, of each of which he was careful to require the pedigree. Baldwin, the second emperor of Constantinople, was driven by his necessities to sell the sacred treasures of the imperial chapel. St. Louis of France became the possessor of the most famous of these—the crown of thorns. This he received with all reverence in Paris, barefoot and clad only in his shirt. Bishop Grosseteste, the scholar and statesman who occupies so prominent a place among the churchmen of his age, preached a sermon on the authenticity of the Holy Blood presented by Henry III. to Westminster abbey.

All this was, so to speak, in the days of the childhood of Europe, when able and devout men shared in these strange and curious superstitions. Time went on. The relics multiplied, and, as was only too probable, afforded not unfrequently opportunity for unscrupulous men to play upon the credulity of their fellows. There were not a few relics, when the Reformation storm burst upon the Church of England, which had been unmistakably manufactured for the purposes of gain and deception. Images, for instance, in which skilful mechanism enabled the body of the image to move, the head to bow, the eyes to turn upwards, the arms to open as though in the act of blessing. Such devices to excite special devotion among the uneducated and unthinking masses were, of course, utterly unworthy, and deserved no mercy.

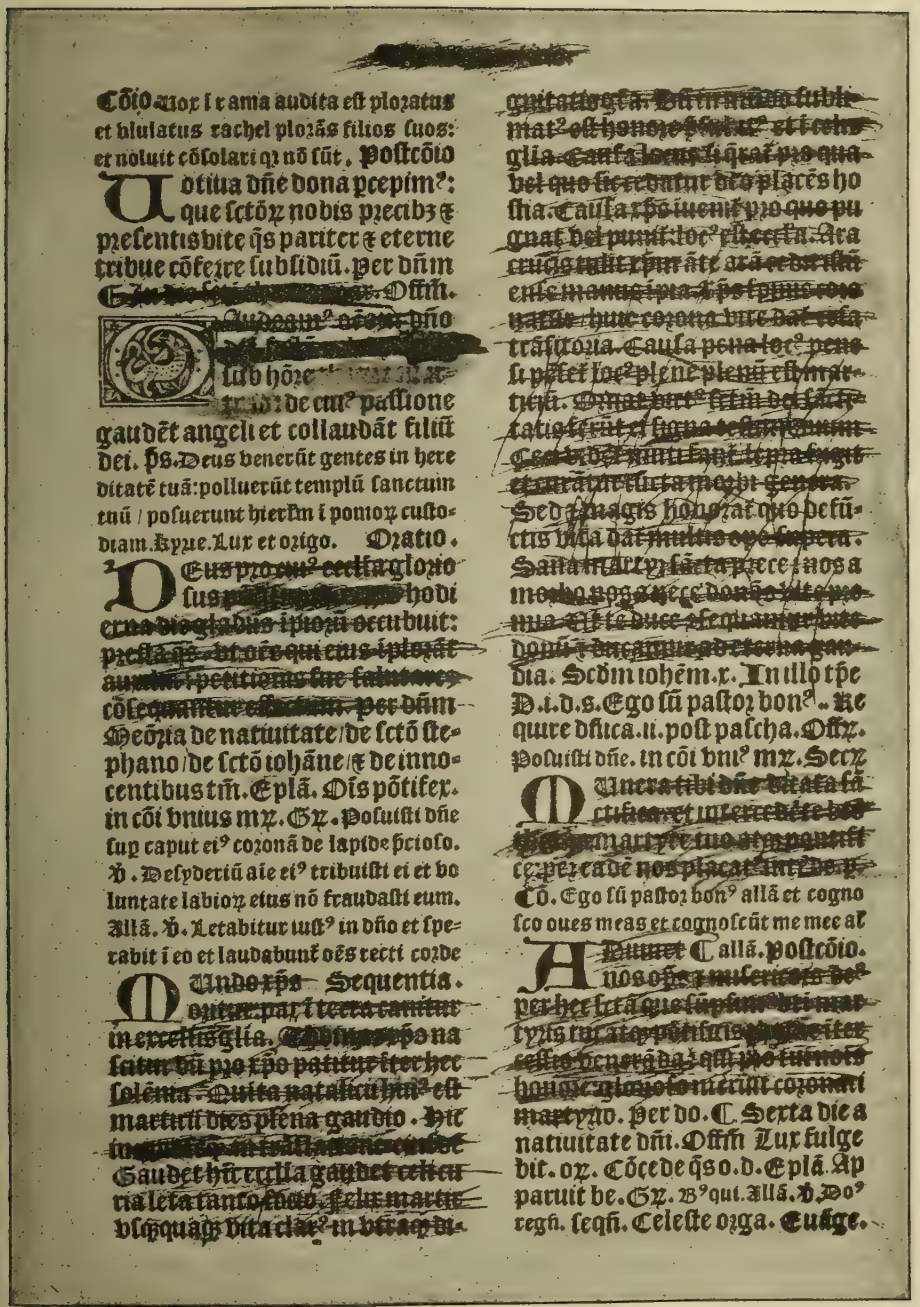
Many, also, of the relics preserved in the monastic churches, such as the wood of the Holy Cross, the milk of the Blessed Virgin, the girdle of St. Mary Magdalene, had before the Reformation become utterly discredited among thinking or educated men. The scorn and indignation of Erasmus and Colet at such pitiful exhibitions have been already dwelt upon, and the feelings of earnest and devout souls like Colet on the subject, were no doubt shared in by very many of the disciples of the new learning.

But the appetite for plunder did not allow the commissioners of Cromwell merely to destroy such images, and to scatter to the winds such relics. There were scattered through the cathedrals and abbeys of England many beautiful and most costly shrines, which contained remains of local saints, undoubtedly genuine remains. "Among the peculiar treasures of the great abbeys and cathedrals were the mortal remains of the holy men in whose memories they had been founded, who by martyrs' deaths or lives of superhuman loftiness had earned the veneration of later ages. The bodies of these saints had been gathered into costly shrines, which a beautiful piety had decorated with choicest offerings. . . . Such dust was looked upon with awe and pious fear." * In the year 1538 directions were issued that every noted shrine should be demolished. The king's officers were ordered to take away the shrine and bones, with all the ornaments of the same shrine, and the shrine was ordered to be destroyed.

As the result of this general order, irreparable mischief was done. To take a few examples: at Winchester the magnificent shrine of St. Swithun's, which for centuries had been the glory of Winchester, was thus despoiled. The official charged with the work writes: "About three o'clock in the morning we made an end of the shrine here; the silver alone would amount to near two thousand marks." The same night he took possession of the cross of emeralds, the cross called "Hierusalem," another cross of gold, two chalices of gold, and some silver plate. On the Sunday morning, when the shrine had been disposed of, the officials charged with the work went round the choir, and stood with their lights before the splendid reredos. There, so runs the account, "we viewed the altar. It will be worth taking down. This done, we proceeded to sweep away all the rotten bones that be called relics." The result of this Winchester desecration of the shrines was 1,035 ounces of gold, 13,886 ounces of silver-gilt, and other treasures! This went into the royal treasury. The beautiful and venerable shrine of St. Richard of Chichester was ruthlessly destroyed, and the commissioners returned an account of 118 ounces of gold with stone enamel and agate, 5,255 ounces of silver, with other precious vestments and treasures. The magnificent and stately shrine of St. Cuthbert at Durham, when destroyed, with the treasures from the cathedral, yielded a yet greater harvest to the spoiler. This was one of the most sumptuous shrines of England, and the value of the treasure taken away was enormous.

The shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury was reputed to be the richest in the world. As an art treasure, canon Dixon does not

* Froude.



PAGE OF A HEREFORD MISSAL, CONTAINING THE SERVICE OF ST. THOMAS OF CANTERBURY, FROM WHICH ALL THE PRAYERS REFERRING TO HIM HAVE BEEN ERASED. (*British Museum.*)

hesitate to call it the glory of England, almost the common property of Christendom, as "on it the princes of Christendom for centuries had vied in laying upon it the most precious products of the mine and of the loom, the fairest works of the most skilful artificers; the offerings of thousands of pilgrims, continued through three hundred years, had been poured in a golden flood upon the church and city of the martyr." In the case of this most costly of the shrines, a special royal mandate was issued, and in the autumn of 1538 St. Thomas of Canterbury was declared a traitor, and it was enjoined that "henceforth his images and pictures throughout the whole realm should be destroyed; that the days used to be festival in his name should not be observed, and the service office and prayers in his name should not be read." The windows of jewelled glass which the church had raised in countless churches in his honour were broken, to the irreparable injury of priceless specimens of one of the loveliest of mediæval arts. All this was done in some way to legalise the appropriation of the treasures of the Canterbury shrine. The plunder of jewels and gold from the shrine and hoard were carried out in two vast chests upon the shoulders of six or eight stalwart men, and the rest of the precious things filled twenty-six carts, that waited at the door to carry away the rich spoil to London. The bare official catalogue of the treasures of this desecrated shrine, thus broken to pieces and carried off, reads like a page out of the fairy tales of the Arabian Nights.

The above instances are conspicuous examples, but only examples, of what was done all over England. All the shrines, many of them rich beyond description in choice specimens of mediæval art—art such as the world had never seen before, and probably will never see again—were ruthlessly destroyed. What was saved for the king, in many cases was simply the gold, the silver, or even the brass, and now and again the jewels which encrusted the shrines; but these constituted an enormous amount of riches. The curious antiquary, the reverent worshipper, the traveller from the great Western Republic, and the new and vaster England beyond the seas, visiting with various feelings the ancient parish churches, the glorious English cathedrals and abbeys, are all alike dismayed and distressed at the ruthless havoc too visible in these venerated homes of prayer—a havoc evidently in large part the work of one generation. The niches emptied of the carved images, the broken tracery, the ruined canopy work, the disfigured shrine of the saint, the desecrated tomb of the illustrious dead, alike bear their sad and solemn witness to an unreasoning, undiscriminating fury which, prompted partly by greed, partly by a fanatic zeal, spared nothing which in the eyes of the destroyers seemed precious to them, or spoke to them of a seemingly misplaced reverence.

To return to the story of the suppression of the monasteries. The year 1537 saw the fall of several of the great houses of religion more or less mixed up, or charged with being mixed up, with the "Pilgrimage of Grace" and the designs of the northern insurgents, and the intrigues set on foot by cardinal Pole and

the Court of Rome. The year following is notable as being the great year of the suppression. It was now clear that the limitation of the Act of Parliament of 1536, confining the suppression to the smaller houses, was to be disregarded. Much had happened to forward this policy. The ease with which so many of the smaller houses had been broken up and their goods confiscated, suggested that confiscation on a yet larger scale could be carried out with equal facility. The large sums which these confiscations had brought into the royal treasury had whetted the appetite for plunder already too manifest on the part of Henry, his ministers, and the many recipients of the royal bounty. The unmistakable position taken up by the monastic orders and their well-wishers in favour of the lost supremacy of Rome; and, lastly, the almost uncontrolled power of the Crown, enormously developed by the complete failure of the northern insurrection—all these circumstances precipitated the general suppression of monasteries, including the great as well as the small houses.

Although no Act of Parliament as yet formally legalised any interference with the estates of the larger houses, the policy of Henry and his ministers endeavoured to shelter this greater confiscation under a thin veil of right and reverence, at least for the forms of law. Every possible endeavour was made in the cases of the greater houses to induce the abbots, priors, and their chapters voluntarily to surrender their churches and treasures, their monastic dwellings and estates. "Willingly to consent and agree," were the terms used by the royal commissioners. We read such directions, issued to the officials in question, as the following, and these were very generally used and carried out: "If they (the commissioners) shall find any of the said heads and convents so appointed to be dissolved, so wilful and obstinate that they will in nowise submit themselves to the king's majesty in manner and form aforesaid (that is, by voluntary surrender of everything), in that case the said commissioners shall take possession of the house and lands, the jewels, plate, and all other things belonging to them." If, on the other hand, they, the abbots and priors, "shall agree and willingly consent to a fair surrender, the said commissioners shall appoint unto the said head and every member of their convent, pensions for the term of their lives, and also give them by way of reward that sum of money for the change of their apparel, and likewise such portions of the household stuff," as they think proper. On the other hand, no pensions or gifts were to be given to obstinate and wilful persons.

These terms induced many surrenders: the promises of a pension and other substantial advantages on the one hand, and on the other a threat (no mere menace) of deprivation of even a scanty means of subsistence, and perhaps further punishment. The doom of the London Carthusians was before their eyes, and was well calculated to allure or to alarm the helpless inmates of monastic houses to compliance with the stern measures of king Henry VIII. But fair promises and cruel threats were not the only means used to procure the surrender of the greater houses. Under the colour of maladministration in

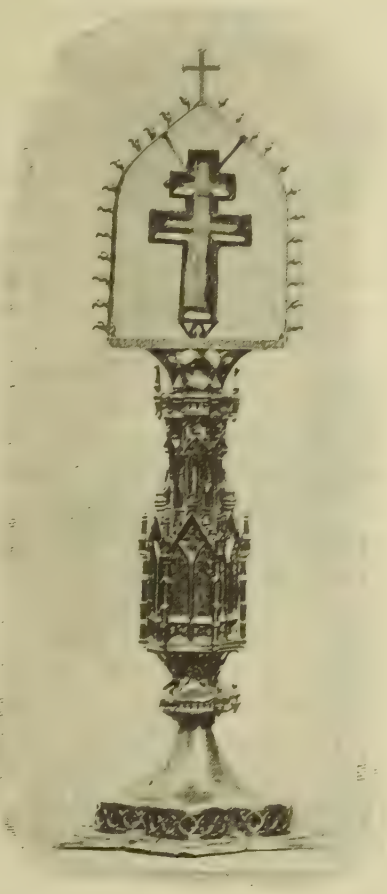
their high offices, under pretence of dilapidations in the buildings of church or monastery, non-pliant abbots were, in certain well-known instances, summarily deprived, and others more amenable to the royal wishes placed in their stalls. So the abbot Clement Lichfield—a man of blameless life and perfect integrity, and withal a great builder—was deposed, and a creature of the king, one Philip Hawford, was placed in the abbot's chair of the mighty and historical Benedictine house of Evesham. Abbot Hawford speedily resigned his great trust into the commissioners' hands, and was at once rewarded for his compliance by an ample pension, and shortly afterwards by the deanery of Worcester. His tomb can still be seen in that fair cathedral, of which he became the head by these unworthy means. The surrender of the great abbey of St. Albans, to take another conspicuous instance, was brought about by a similar proceeding. Only a few months later a still more summary process was adopted in the cases of the splendid and illustrious houses of Glastonbury, Colchester, and Reading. There the abbots, accused of treason, were executed, and their noble abbeys ruthlessly dismantled, and the vast estates and treasures of their houses confiscated. About one hundred and fifty monasteries of monks, under the strong pressure detailed above, appear to have "voluntarily" signed away their property, and by formal deed handed over all rights to the king.

ENGLISH COMMUNION CUP AND COVER OF SILVER, HALL MARK 1573, IN THE POSSESSION OF SIR SAMUEL MONTAGU, BART., M.P.

The number of important and wealthy monasteries suppressed and confiscated by "attainder" in 1537, by "voluntary" surrender and under other and various pretexts in 1538, had now become a formidable and portentous list. More, too, were marked out for immediate suppression. Surely, thought the king, ever punctilious, even in his most tyrannical works, in observing the forms of the law, it were well to procure retrospective Parliamentary sanction for what was done in 1537–38, and prospective sanction for what he purposed in the immediate future to carry out. In the year 1539, therefore, a Bill was drafted by his chancellor, Audley, which should throw the shield of the law over all his proceedings in regard to monasteries, great as well as small.

The Bill in an incredibly short space of

time became an Act. It positively went through the obsequious and obedient Parliament in three successive days. At the third reading the king himself was present. This tremendous act legalising the greatest confiscation ever known in our land, ran as follows: "Freely, voluntarily, under no manner of constraint, have many abbeys, priories, friaries, hospitals, and other religious houses resigned themselves, their lands, their properties, their rights into the hands of the king since the twenty-seventh year of his reign. *Let the king and his heirs possess those houses for ever.* Other religious houses may happen in future to be suppressed, dissolved, renounced, forfeited, given up, or otherwise to come into the king's hands. *Let him enjoy them.*"



FRENCH SILVER-GILT RELIQUARY CONTAINING A PORTION OF THE "TRUE CROSS" (15TH CENTURY). *South Kensington Museum.*

In this Parliament of 1539 the mitred abbots still had a place among the peers of England. Some surprise has naturally been expressed that we possess no record of any protest from any of them against the spoliation of their ancient storied homes. Were they awed by the passionate vehemence of the despotic lord of England, who would brook no opposition to his imperious will? Were they convinced of the utter hopelessness of any plea or argument they might urge in defence of the monasteries? No one can answer these questions, which rise so naturally to the lips of the student of the story of these days of stress and storm. Probably few of the abbots about to be disinherited were present at that Parliament; and the few who ventured to take their seats in the national assembly doubtless had been won to silence by bribes or cowed by threats. It was too late now for useless debate. The ruin of the monastic orders had been decided on. In great part it had been carried out. The Parliament of Henry VIII. had simply to register the decrees of the king of England. His mind was fully made up. No lord, spiritual or temporal, dared to say him nay.

The years 1539–40 saw the end of the matter. Many mourned the irreparable and widely-extended loss occasioned by the ruin of the monasteries in England, but no voice was heard in public deprecating the king's action. The king willed it, and Parliament in solemn session was content to register his sovereign will. The dissentients were cowed by the failure of the northern rebellion, and by the bloody vengeance which had been executed alike on noble and ecclesiastic who had dared to take part in it. The sullen and wide-spread applause, however, which greeted the fall and death of Cromwell, a dread surprise which fell on England as the last of the religious houses was passing into the king's possession, tells us how bitterly the outcome of the works and days of the powerful minister had sunk into many English hearts. The inborn loyalty of the nation to their king visited the great sin of Henry VIII. upon his too-faithful minister: all sorts and conditions of men were pleased to consider the fallen minister as guilty of the great wrong. They were mistaken, perhaps consciously mistaken. The real author of the ruin of the monastic orders, and of the irreparable loss of so much that was venerable and lovely, was one higher and more irresponsible than Cromwell.

Thus one mighty religious house after another fell in the sad years 1538, 1539, 1540. In the majority of the greater monasteries, no attempt was apparently made to excuse the suppression and consequent confiscation by charging the monk owners with immorality, or even with neglect of their self-imposed duties, or with carelessness of the splendid and historic fabric committed to their charge. No shadow of accusation, for instance, seems to have been alleged against the last tenants of such stately prayer-homes as Durham and Bury St. Edmunds, as Evesham or Gloucester.

And now to take stock of the gains and losses from all this suppression and confiscation; and first of the material losses. "The face of the kingdom," writes canon Dixon in an eloquent though melancholy passage, "was changed by this memorable event; foreign nations stood at gaze to behold the course of England. The land was strewn with hundreds of ruins. Stately buildings, churches, halls, chambers, cloisters—a whole architecture, into which the genius of ages and races had been breathed—were laid in dust and rubbish. Vast libraries, the priceless records of antiquity, the illuminated treasures of the Middle Ages, were ravished with a waste so sordid as to have wrung a cry of anguish even from Bale* (the bitter foe of the monks), who thus writes: "*Of the books in the monastic libraries, some were sold to the grocers and soap-sellers, and some were sent over the sea to the bookbinders, not in small numbers but at times whole ships full.*" . . . "*I know a merchantman that bought the contents of two noble libraries for forty shillings apiece—a shame it is to be spoken. This stuff hath he occupied, instead of grey paper by the space of more than these ten years, and yet he hath store enough for as many years to come.* We cannot tell what we have lost."

* Quoted by Canon Dixon, in "History of the Church of England," chap. x.

What to some, perhaps, would appear still more striking waste, was the treatment of the plate, the destruction of the sacred vessels and treasures belonging to the doomed monasteries. Priceless works of the highest mediæval art in gold and silver were destroyed. In the eyes of the commissioners, in perhaps the majority of cases, these represented only so many ounces of metal, and were carelessly broken up and disposed of. The extraordinary wealth of the English churches in such beautiful things excited the astonishment of strangers. An Italian, speaking of England about forty years before the great confiscation, thus writes: "Above all are the English riches displayed in the church treasures; for there is not a parish church in the kingdom so mean as not to possess crucifixes, candlesticks, censers, patens, and cups of silver. Nor is there a convent of Mendicant friars so poor as not to have all these same articles in silver, besides many other ornaments worthy of a cathedral church in the same metal. You may therefore imagine what the decorations of those enormously rich Benedictine, Carthusian, and Cistercian monasteries must be." * Much of this precious work was enriched with gems or enamelled bosses, and was richly chased. Only a few inventories have been preserved of the enormous mass of valuable objects swept into the royal treasury. Besides the ornaments rudely taken from the tombs and shrines of saints, the king's plunder comprised all descriptions of church ornaments, including, besides the objects of sacred art above mentioned, monstrances for exposing the blessed sacrament, crosses, processional and pastoral staves, croziers, mitres, rings, jewelled gloves, cruets, censers, silver dishes of every kind, clasps studded with gems taken from illuminated missals and other service books.

The most gorgeous productions of mediæval embroidery and needlework were also dispersed; the more remarkable being reserved for the king, the rest heedlessly scattered. Copes of gold cloth elaborately worked, coverings for altars, all descriptions of sacred vestments, chasubles, and every description of altar furniture, brocades and stuffs of Eastern origin cunningly worked and embroidered—by far the greater part of these exquisite things, so long reserved for sacred uses, fell into private hands. We read, alas! of private men's parlours being not unfrequently hung with altar-cloths, their tables and beds adorned with copes. "It was a sorry house," we read, "and not worth the naming, which had not somewhat of this furniture in it, though it were only a fair large cushion made of a cope, or an altar-cloth to adorn their windows, or make their chairs appear to have somewhat in them of a chair of state." Some of these spoils were even purchased and shipped to foreign lands.

There are others amongst us who perhaps are more especially touched by the hopeless mischief done in the wreckage of the monastic abbeys and churches, and the graceful piles of buildings which had in the course of centuries grown up beneath their hallowed shade. Here the loss has been simply irreparable. During much of the Middle Ages, men built *as they have*

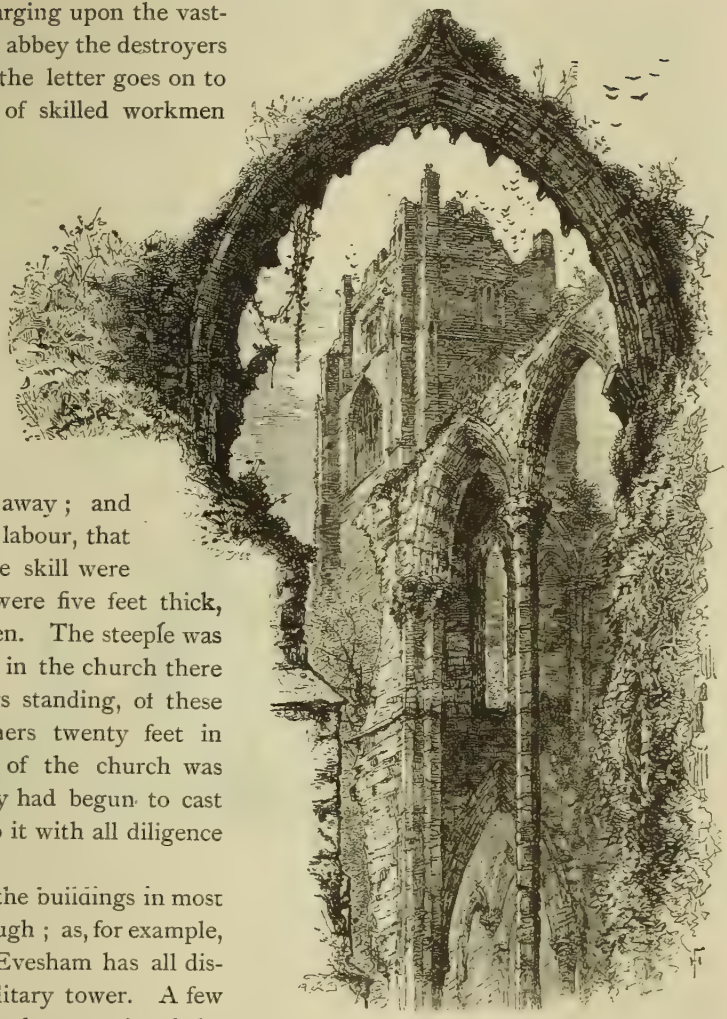
* Camden Society: "Italian relation about England," A.D. 1500. Quoted by Gasquet.

never built since. The stately abbey—the monastic home of prayer—had been the Book of Stone, out of which many generations had been taught. In these stately piles the quaint and varied symbolism, the daring picturesqueness of interior and exterior, the patient and devout work of centuries, failed to appeal to the hearts or heads of these official wreckers; and countless buildings were destroyed *for the sake of the lead which covered the roofs, or the bells which hung in the towers.* Some, unroofed and otherwise dismantled, were left to the wild fury of the elements, and the winds and rain slowly completed the destroyers' work. Often the massive and stately building served as a stone quarry or a builder's yard; and the neighbouring peasant and farmer carried away the stones and pillars as he needed them, for his field-walls or barns. In many cases the orders were peremptory, and an immediate destruction of the buildings of church and monastery followed the suppression of the community. Not unfrequently this was positively a hard and painful task; so massive were the walls, so splendidly and solidly built, were the buttresses and the towers, so enduringly laid, were the solid foundations. The mediæval monk was ever a great builder.

As one instance of this work of destruction—which will show what pains were taken to level to the ground what had taken long years of self-denial and thought and care to build up—we will quote a few lines illustrative of the destroyers' work at the abbey of Lewes. It will serve as an example of what was taking place in a hundred doomed monastic churches. Lewes abbey was a noble and stately edifice, but by no means singular for its magnificence and size. The account is in a letter addressed to Lord

GLASTONBURY ABBEY.

Cromwell. After enlarging upon the vastness and solidity of the abbey the destroyers were engaged upon, the letter goes on to say how a company of skilled workmen from London had been brought down to Lewes—carpenters, smiths, plumbers, etc. To each of these his office was assigned; some hewed the walls about and broke them, the carpenters underset with props what the others cut away; and yet so great was the labour, that *more* workmen of like skill were wanted. The walls were five feet thick, and in some places ten. The steeple was eighty feet in height; in the church there were thirty-two pillars standing, of these some were forty, others twenty feet in height. The height of the church was over sixty feet. They had begun to cast the lead, and would do it with all diligence and saving.



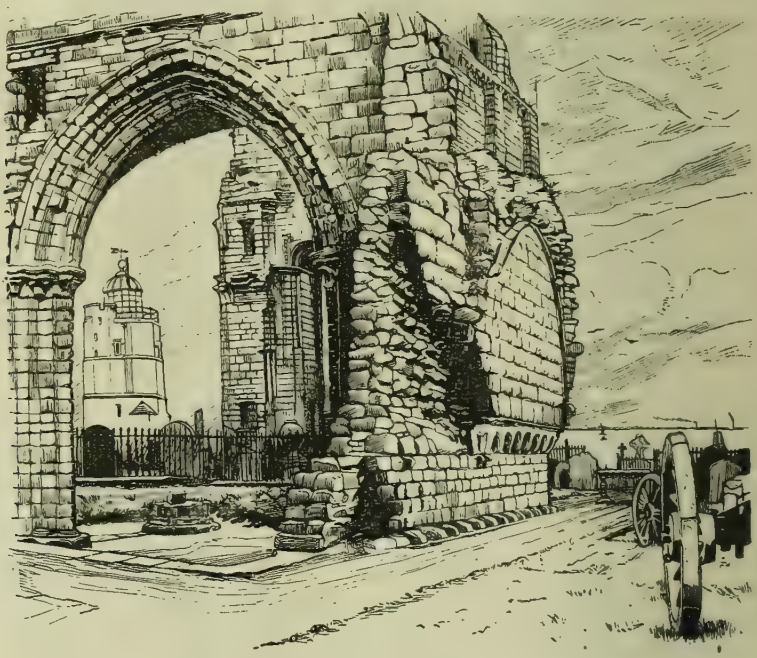
FOUNTAINS ABBEY.

The destruction of the buildings in most places was most thorough; as, for example, the mighty abbey of Evesham has all disappeared save one solitary tower. A few vast fragments are all that remain of the lordly abbey at Reading. The pathetic ruins of Bury St. Edmunds hint—they do nothing more—at the surpassing grandeur of that world-famous pile. The remains of the storied churches of Glastonbury, Tintern, Fountains, Rivaulx, Whitby, Melrose, and a hundred more, in their picturesque and touching ruin, are still in their pathetic beauty the ornaments of the districts of which they were once the living religious centres. Some few, spared by the rare mercy of the destroyers, like the lordly abbey of St. Peter at Gloucester, are still with us; and after three centuries and a half more of wear and tear, in their scarred but still perfect beauty and serene majesty, tell us what kind of

buildings Henry and Cromwell were pleased to level to the ground.

The exact amount of the monastic spoils, reckoned in money, is difficult to arrive at. Gasquet is very cautious in his estimates, generally following the figures given by Speed; he estimates that the fall of the monasteries transferred to the royal exchequer an income of more than two millions a year of our present money, or a capital sum roughly amounting to fifty millions. He adds, however, that what with gratuitous grants, sales of land, and other means whereby the capital value of the plunder was greatly diminished, at no time was anything approaching the sum at which the revenue of the monastic houses was computed, received by the royal treasury. We must remember, however, that vast treasures of gold and silver and gems, and other precious things confiscated by the king, do not appear in any of the formal accounts and catalogues that we are acquainted with; still, when all deductions are made, it is clear that the prize seized by Henry was very great.

And, alas! much of it was wasted, and quickly dissipated. The question is often asked: Then what became of the enormous property thus confiscated? Very much, of course, will never be accounted for; still, the list of the known beneficiaries of the goods of the monastic orders is a long one. Gasquet generally in his lucid summary, although intensely disapproving the whole transaction, is conspicuously fair, and considers that a large proportion of the plunder—rather more than half—which



TYNEMOUTH PRIORY.

was paid into the Court of Augmentation, vent for national purposes, under the heads of coast fortifications, for the purposes of perfectly useless foreign wars, and general military matters; but it must be borne in mind that vast treasures which were confiscated never appeared on the records of the Court of Augmentation at all. Considerable sums for a time were also paid away in pensions to the dispossessed monks and nuns; mainly, of course, to those concerned in the *voluntary* surrenders. In the case of the lesser monasteries, only the superiors were granted pensions. The Mendicant friars as a class received no yearly allowance; the majority were turned adrift, receiving only a small gratuity.

Much of the spoil without doubt was lavishly, even carelessly given away to Henry's courtiers, and to those influential persons who supported his policy. Some powerful men were enormously enriched; among these conspicuous recipients of the royal bounty were Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, the duke of Norfolk, and the earl of Rutland. The Seymours and the Dudleys rank among the chief of these beneficiaries; a long list of persons thus enriched might be made out, not a few of them absolutely unworthy. During the last eight years of his life, canon Dixon computes that Henry gave away about 120 of the confiscated monasteries or sites of monasteries. Even after the king's death there was a great deal of this description of property still in the possession of the crown.

A portion of the confiscated property—but only a small portion—found its way back to the Church. Six new bishoprics and cathedral chapters were founded out of the wreckage of the monastic estates. Of these, Oxford, Chester, Gloucester, Bristol, and Peterborough are still with us as important sees. Some small sums were also given for educational purposes to Oxford and Cambridge; but beyond the comparatively insignificant amount set apart for these religious purposes, the whole sum realised by the dissolutions was spent for secular and private purposes. A considerable amount was also expended on the royal palaces of Westminster, Hampton Court, St. James's, and other royal residences. But after taking all these objects into consideration, immense sums and vast hoards of treasure are unaccounted for, and seem to have vanished. From first to last the suppression of the monasteries, in its conception, in its carrying out, in the disposition of its ill-gotten fruits, is a melancholy story, and will ever remain a dark blot in the chronicles of the English Reformation.

But through the suppression of the monastic orders the Church of England lost much besides mere property. The disappearance of the abbots and priors gravely weakened its influence both in Parliament and Convocation. The voice of a head of a great monastic community had a different sound from the voice of a bishop in Parliament, or of a head of a parish in Convocation. While not separated from human interests, the life of the superior of a religious house allowed the abbot or the prior a leisure for thought and study, so imperatively needed in the hierarchy of a national church—a leisure which can never belong to the chief

pastor of a great diocese, or to the spiritual guide of a parish, with its endless distractions and varied cares. In some respects the Anglican dean of an historic cathedral now fills the place in the church of the extinct abbots and priors. But the deans have no seat in the great council of the nation, and in Convocation they are numerically but a very small body.

A loss, however, that was even more felt in the church than the disappearance of the abbots and priors, was the serious diminution of the numbers of ministers of religion among the masses. The friars, especially of the Mendicant orders, ministered to the crowds resident in towns and cities. Their place has never been supplied. The want has been more and more felt as the population increased ; the numbers of ministers of religion, ever since the suppression of the monastic orders, being totally insufficient for the numbers of the people, of whom they should be not only the priests, but the instructors and teachers.

One, and that a most important, consideration has been too often lost sight of in the great confiscation ; a vast number of the benefices of the church, through "appropriation" [the word is explained later], had become the property of the monasteries. Each of these was served by a vicar, appointed by the monastery which had become possessed of the benefice. The law or custom required that the stipends of such vicars should be increased from time to time as the value of money altered. The bishop of the diocese usually insisted on this regulation or practice being carried out. When, however, the monastery and its possessions passed into lay hands, no such obligation could be enforced ; the bishop had no power over the new lay possessor of the abbey lands. The amount of the income, which was a charge upon the property, payable to the vicar at the time of the dissolution, has since remained a fixed charge. Nothing further could be demanded, although the value of money has so enormously diminished in value. What in the sixteenth century represented a sufficiency—possibly a bare sufficiency — in the nineteenth century has become a miserable pittance. Hence the extreme poverty of so many of the benefices of the church. This appropriation of benefices on the part of the monasteries has been justly stigmatised as an undoubted wrong ; but the religious communities generally supplied—though perhaps not too generously, and often under some compulsion—the needs of the vicar they placed over the parish. But after the dissolution these needs grew more pressing, and the position of the vicars of these "monastic" benefices altered for the worse. It would have been a righteous disposition of some of the confiscated funds to have made some provision in these cases. Alas ! such a thought never seems to have entered into the mind of the king or of his instrument.

This appropriation of parochial churches to religious houses in many cases is of very ancient date. We have records of such being made by the first founders as early as A.D. 800, in the case of the abbey of Crowland by Bertulph, king of Merckland (Mercia). Many such "appropriations" were made by the first founders before the Norman Conquest. At the Westminster synod (A.D. 1200) under

archbishop Hubert Walter, the fourteenth canon ordained "that in any church 'appropriated' by any of the religious, a vicar be instituted by the care of the

Besides the spiritual loss suffered by the people, when so many of their priests and teachers disappeared in the great wave of destruction, the poor especially were severe

IN A MONASTERY SCHOOL.

bishop, *who is to receive a decent competency out of the goods of the church.*" *

losers in other respects by the suppression of the monastic houses. Poverty in manifold ways was relieved by the monks. The burden of sickness and distress of all kinds among the people was helped and made more tolerable by the love and devotion o.

* Compare here—Lord Selborne: "Defence of the Church of England," viii. Hunt: Introduction to "Two Chartularies of Bath Priory." Hook: "Archbishops," ii., 11.

the monastic orders. There is no doubt but that for the *poor*, life was made harder by the dissolution of the monasteries. Many factors must confessedly be taken into account which have come into being since the middle of the sixteenth century, especially the enormous increase of the population; but the problem of poor relief has been as yet only very partially solved, and our philanthropists and statesmen, although they have put forward many theories, have arrived at no definite conclusions here. It must be allowed that no adequate means have as yet been discovered to fill up the void which the "dissolution" occasioned in the question of help to the poor, the sick, and the helpless of our population. The monasteries and friaries were emphatically, with all their shortcomings, a blessing and a comfort to the sick and needy, who are ever with us. Our system of poor-law relief as yet very meagrely and sparingly fills their place.

In *educational* matters the fall of the religious houses was a distinct loss to the nation. By most of the religious corporations throughout the country schools were maintained, in which instruction was given, generally gratuitously, in reading, writing, and singing, and in some of the more advanced arts of the age as well. The name by which these seminaries were generally known was "free schools." The loss of these free monastic schools fell most heavily, of course, upon the poorer classes of the population. "Up to this time," writes Dixon, "the educated class was recruited chiefly from the independent poor, the yeomen, and small tenants. Many even of the great clerks of this age, from Wolsey to Latimer, were the sons of, comparatively speaking, poor men. I does not seem to have been the custo that the sons of the gentry should go t college. *They* passed usually from th monastic seminaries to the court or th castle. After the great revolution of whic we have been speaking, the universities mor and more were resorted to by another an a higher class. The poor had less chanc after the fall of the monasteries, of educa tion than they had before it." Most o the schools, writes Gasquet, alluding t these monastic seminaries at this time were closed, and in addition the suppor afforded by the religious houses to pro mising young clerics pursuing their studie at the universities, of course, came t an end, when the orders, from whenc this help to young students came, wer suppressed.

At Cambridge in 1545 the scholar petitioned king Henry for privileges, a they feared the destruction of monasterie would annihilate learning. The dange at Oxford was equally great. In sermon of bishop Latimer, the follow ing words occur, which show how deeply sensible were men like this prominen and earnest reformer of the inevitabl loss to all education and general learn ing, which was the result of the closing of the monastic schools, and of th cessation of the large and generou support hitherto given to students a Oxford and Cambridge by the religiou orders: "It is a pitiable thing to se schools so neglected; every true Christia ought to lament the same. . . . School are not maintained; scholars have no exhibitions. . . . Very few there be that help poor scholars. . . . It would

pity a man's heart to hear of the state of Cambridge—what it is in Oxford I cannot tell—I think there be at this day (A.D. 1550) ten thousand students less than there were within these twenty years, and fewer preachers." The enormous numbers quoted assisted in his counsels. to preserve *something* from this vanishing world of monasticism, which had through so many centuries of its existence worked so hard and so successfully for religion and learning; had relieved so much suffering and want;

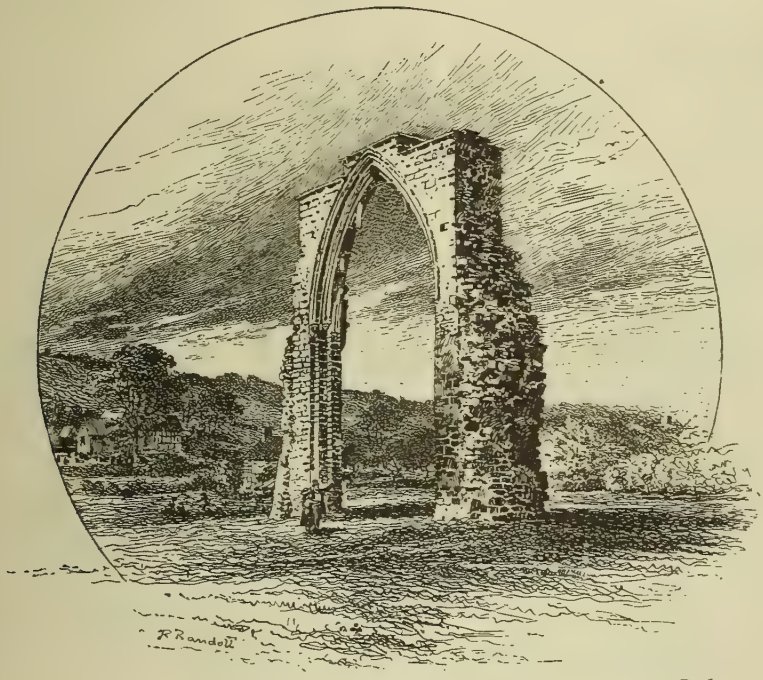


Photo: R. Keene, Derby.

CHANCEL ARCH OF THE ABBEY, DEEPDALE.

by the good bishop savour perhaps of exaggeration. But the fact of the grave decline in students after the "suppression" is indisputable. Another writer thus speaks of Oxford: "Most of the halls and hostels were left empty. Art declined, and ignorance began to take place again."

The chronicler of all these amazing scenes of loss and waste, wonders with a sad wonderment why no real effort was made by the king and the statesmen who had contributed so enormously to art and letters, to education, to agriculture, and even to commerce; whose stately buildings and matchless churches were at once the beauty and glory of England. "If even buildings had been spared because of their grandeur and beauty; if priceless libraries had been cared for and preserved; if the unnumbered specimens of exquisite mediæval art had been tenderly collected and watched over; if a few of the

monasteries had been kept as they were, and filled with men who in passionate earnestness loved the life which in the sixteenth century was viewed so generally with suspicion and dislike—then the revolution would have had a more honest

ever made? Had a statesman arise who, in the storm and stress of the Refor mation, had guided king Henry VIII. int paths of moderation and mercy; had bee far-sighted enough to reject what wa worn-out and useless, and to preserv

KIRKSTALL ABBEY.

appearance." In such language as this, one of the fairest Anglican historians of the suppression* bewails the deplorable tragedy.

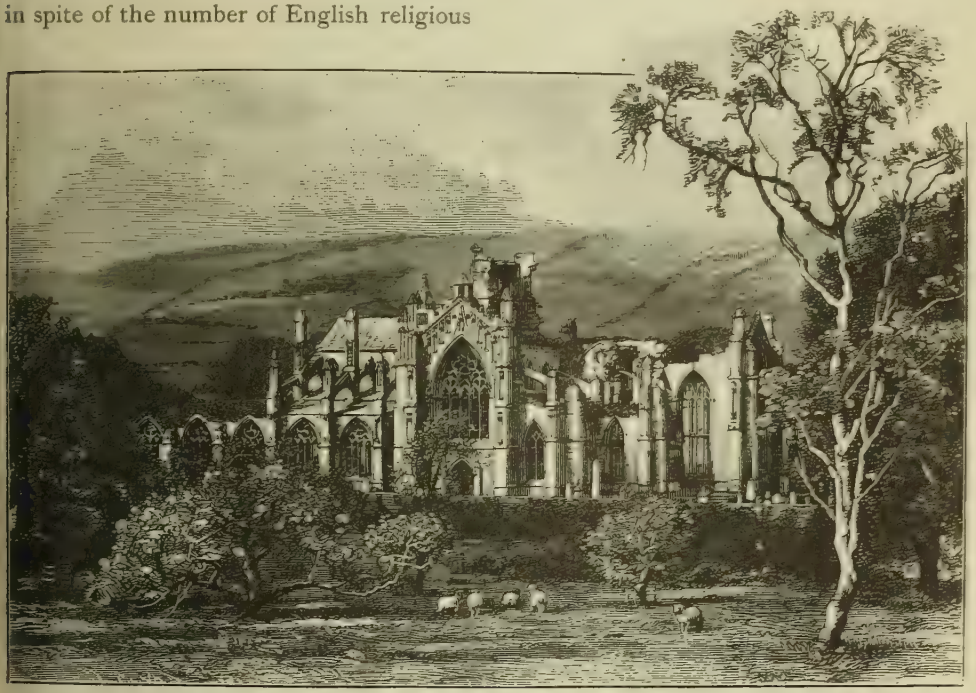
Mr. Froude, in closing *his* version of the sad story, curiously states: "The efforts for the reform of the orders had totally failed." When and by whom, the wondering reader asks, was any such *state* effort

whatever was still living and working—an without doubt when the day of destructio dawned there was much that was wel worth preserving—had such a statesma arisen, and could he have guided the kin to reform rather than to destroy; then perhaps, England would have possessed, a did France in the century following th dissolution of the monasteries, a group o religious societies like that of the Benc

* Canon Dixon.

dictines of St. Maur, where some of the greatest literary work of comparatively modern times was planned and successfully carried out.

But this was not to be. And, after all, it is indisputable that monasticism was un-English. It must be looked upon, in spite of the number of English religious houses, in the light of an exotic, not as of real English growth. As a system it had never found a place in the hearts of the English people. The loved king Alfred, with his intense fervour and passionate religiousness, we know made a strong effort to popularise this monasticism among his people; and we have seen how small an amount of success in this particular attended the efforts of the patriot king. It could never be said to have really flourished in the Anglo-Saxon times —that is, in those days when the princes of the great house of Alfred ruled. It did not appear as a real power among us till after the Norman Conquest. "It came all perfect from abroad, it perished in a moment altogether." Of all the many mediæval monastic orders, there is only one, strange to say, that can boast of English origin: the small and comparatively insignificant group of communities called "Gilbertines" was founded in the twelfth century by an Englishman. No doubt this fact, little noticed by historians as a rule, that monasticism was *un-English*, largely contributed to the ease with which the great confiscation was planned and



MELROSE ABBEY.

carried out in the short space of about five or six years.

Thus the monk fell; and in spite of the splendid work done by many a religious community in the now past Middle Ages, comparatively unpitied. The angry murmurs which we heard in the "Pilgrimage of Grace" and the northern rising, were not the voice of England as a nation. Some, perhaps even many, were grieved at his disappearance, and gravely disapproved of the high-handed and harsh measures of the king and his famous minister, Cromwell, to whom public opinion chose to ascribe the royal policy in the matter. But, on the whole, the nation sullenly acquiesced in the great wrong. Had the English people really cared, never would even the despotic and self-willed Henry have carried out his purpose.

On the other hand, two important, though indirect, results of the suppression of the monasteries must not be forgotten. With deep truth once wrote a wise and far-seeing historian of Henry VIII.,* alluding especially to this darkest chapter in the life of the great Tudor king: "I do not conceal from myself that under the Divine power, which brings good out of evil and overrules the wrath of man to the praise of God, we have received good as well as evil through the means of this 'majestic lord who broke the bonds of Rome.'" Nothing save the suppression of this mighty network of fortresses, each garrisoned with its faithful papal force, could have effectually and permanently broken the chain of this iron bondage. No statute, no act of Parliament, however stringent, but what would have been evaded after a time, had the religious orders continued to guide the education and to influence the hearts of the people. Their traditions, their vast power, the principles which guided their life and work, were all too closely bound up with Rome and the papal supremacy, for them ever to acquiesce in a separation from the Roman obedience. The Church of England never had become the beneficent, world-wide religion which knits together so many of the Anglo-Saxon race; the world-wide church capable of indefinite expansion, and of adaptability to all sorts and conditions of men, dwelling in different climes and under such different conditions—had it not finally broken off its unnatural subjection to an Italian church. And this final and necessary severance would have been impossible, had the monastic orders continued to flourish and to work among us.

And yet one more benefit indirectly came to the Church of England through the ruin and fall of the monasteries. It is well known that the religious houses were the chief seat of many of the grossest mediæval superstitions. It was in their churches and abbeys that the large majority of sacred, and in not a few cases the so-called miraculous images and relics were preserved. It was the unhappy heritage of an ignorant and superstitious past, it is true; but it was a heritage which the monastic orders of the sixteenth century still guarded with the most jealous care, and surrounded with an extreme reverence: a care and a reverence which showed no sign of abatement, or even of that caution which the strong light shed by the new learning on all such

* Bishop Stubbs.

things should at least have enjoined. There were few religious houses, great or small, that were without one or more such objects of a misplaced devotion—objects that were celebrated in the neighbourhood, sometimes far beyond the immediate neighbourhood, as being efficacious in the cure of disease, or prompt in the aid of childbirth, and other favours procurable by prayer from Heaven. Many of these were no doubt impostures, used too often for the sake of vulgar gain; others genuine in the sense of being what they were said to be, but invested by their guardians with supposed supernatural powers utterly false and unreal. Pilgrimages to such houses and shrines, prayers addressed to such idols — for they were nothing more—

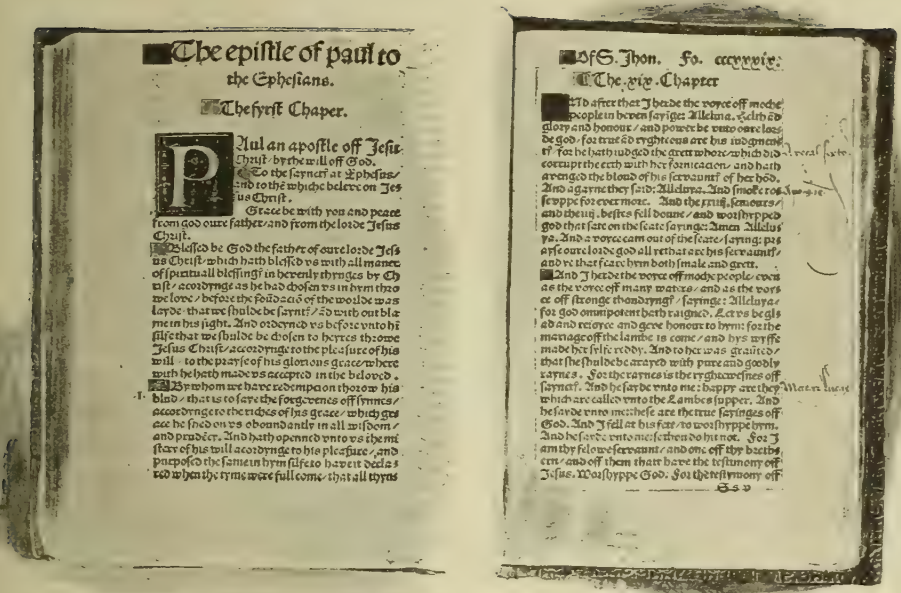
TINTERN ABBEY.

occupied a foremost place among the soul-destroying errors swept away by the English Reformation. From various reasons—from custom, from long-established tradition, in some cases no doubt from ignorance, too often from reasons suggested by the love of gain and profit, the dwellers in the monasteries, as a class, upheld this wrong and foolish idol cult.

The fall of the orders, and the ruin of their churches and houses in every part of the land, dealt a death-blow to this worn-out mediæval superstition. Never had it been possible to have weaned the mass of the people from their unreasoning belief in, and attachment to, these popular objects of worship, if they had not witnessed such scenes as the pillage and desecration of world-famous shrines—such as that of St. Cuthbert, at Durham; St. Edmund, king and martyr, at St. Edmundsbury; and St. Thomas, in his gorgeous resting-place at Canterbury. The ruin of the precious shrine, the scattering to the winds of Heaven of the remains of the blessed saint, sank deep into a thousand thousand hearts; and the memory of these stern and repulsive acts rendered possible the subsequent work of the English reformers, when they expunged for ever from the liturgies of the English church every vestige and trace of that worship of the creature which belongs alone of right to the Creator. In England the sainted and worshipped relic, the miraculous and adored image, really vanished, when the monastic orders disappeared.

ARCHWAY AT EVESHAM

(*This and the Bell Tower are the sole remnants of the Monastery of Evesham.*)



The epistle of paul to the Ephesians.

The fyrst Chaper.

Paul an apostle off Jesus Christ / by the will off God. To the sayntes / at Ephesus / and to the whiche believe on Jesus Christ. Grace be with you and peace from god oure father / and from the lorde Jesus Christ. Blessed be God the father of oure lorde Jesus Christ / which hath blessed vs with all maner of spirituall blessinge / in hevenly thynges by Christ / accordynge as he had chosen vs in hym thro we lorde / before the foudacio of the worlde was layde / that we shulde be sayntes / & without blamein his sight. And ordened vs before vnto hi silfe / that we shulde be chosen to heires thorowe Jesus Christ / accordynge to the pleasure of his will / to the prayse of his glorious grace / where with he hath made vs accepted in the beloved. By whom we have redempcion thorow his blod / that is to save the forgevenes off synnes / accordynge to the riches of his grace / which ys ese he hath shed on vs aboundantly in all wisdom / and prudece. And hath opened vnto vs the mi stery of his will accordynge to his pleasure / and purposed the same in hym silfe to have yt declared when the tyme were full come / that all tyngs

of S. Jhon. Fo. cccxxxix.

The xix. Chapter

And after that I herde the voyce off moche people in heven sayinge: Alleluia. Salvacion & glory and honour / and power be vnto oure lorde god. For true & rightevous are his iudgmentes / for he hath iudged the great whore / which did corrupt the erth with her fornicacion / and hath avenged the blood of his servauntes of her hod. And agayne they said: Alleluya. And smoke roseth scheweth for ever more. And the foure & twenty elders and the iiij. beestes fell doune / and worshypped god that sate on the seate / sayinge: Amen Alleluya. And a voyce cam out of the seate / saying: praise oure lorde god all ye that are his servauntes / and ye that feare him both smale and great. And I herde the voyce off moche people / even as the voyce off many waters / and as the voyce off stronge thondringes / sayinge: Alleluya / for god omnipotent hath raigned. Let vs be glad and reioyce and geve honour to hym: for the mariage off the lambe is come / and his wyffe made her silfe redy. And to her was graunted / that she shulde be arayed with pure and goodly raynes. For the raynes is the rightewesnes off sayntes. And he sayde vnto me: happy are they which are called vnto the Lambes supper. And he sayde vnto me: these are the true sayinges off God. And I fell at his fete / to worshyppe hym. And he sayde vnto me: se that thou do it not. For I am thy felowes servaunt / and one off thy brethern / and off them that have the testimony off Jesus. Worshyppe God. For the testimony off

PAGES FROM THE SECOND EDITION (1525) OF TYNDALE'S NEW TESTAMENT.
(*From the Copy in the Baptist College, Bristol.*)

CHAPTER XLVIII.

FURTHER PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION TILL THE DEATH OF HENRY VIII.

Conservative Measures—The Ten Articles—Three Sacraments only recognised—Toleration of Ceremonies and Images—The "Institution of a Christian Man," or "Bishop's Book"—Influence of the Bible—Tyndale's Translation—His Martyrdom—Authorisation of the Bible in English—Successive Versions—Dominating Influence of Tyndale's—Efforts towards Union between German and English Reformers—Ecclesiastical Parties in England—Reactionary Policy of the King—The Act of the Six Articles—Persecutions under the Act—The "King's Book" of 1543—Its Partial Return to Mediævalism—The Primer of 1545, with Prayers in the Vernacular—Progress towards a Public Liturgy—Archbishop Cranmer—Change in his Views—Ridley, and his Influence upon that Change—Apparent Remarkable Change in the King Himself—Return of these Changes to Primitive Doctrine—Death of the King.

DURING the six years (1536–40) which witnessed the momentous suppression of the monastic orders, the Reformation work in England had made but slow progress. In ecclesiastical matters the absorbing interest of the great confiscation had occupied the thoughts of the absolute king and his advisers. In some respects this revolution, so harshly carried out, positively for a time delayed the progress of the Reformation, especially in doctrinal matters. For this there was

good reason. So great a change as that occasioned by the complete sweeping away of the monastic orders, and the appropriation of well-nigh all their goods, alarmed and terrified most quiet, reflecting men; especially as the "suppression" had been immediately preceded by the breaking off of all communion with Rome, with which the Church of England had been connected for many centuries by such intimate bonds. The severance from Rome was finally and irrevocably completed by the entire destruction of the monasteries and the friaries, which were inextricably mixed up with Roman interests. When they had disappeared, the last link which united the Church of England with the Pope was broken.

But these tremendous changes alarmed and terrified the nation generally. It was not, as we have seen, that any widespread or deep attachment existed on the part of the English people for the monastic system. Their feeling was, on the whole, that of indifference. But still the greatness of the change, and the cruel and selfish way in which it was carried out, created an uneasy feeling of unrest, of nameless dread respecting what was coming next. This was recognised by the king and his advisers; perhaps unconsciously shared in by the great worker of the changes himself. To counteract this feeling of uneasiness, few other reforms were taken in hand; rather measures were adopted to reassure the country that, in spite of the war waged with the "orders" and with Rome, the realm still remained steadily faithful to the ancient Catholic traditions of faith and practice. The old faith was to remain untouched; nay, more, it should be reaffirmed. This was the meaning of those formularies of faith which were published at the period of the suppression under the king's authority.

For centuries the church had put out no such profession of faith. The formularies used in England and in western Christendom had been those of far-back days, put out and sanctioned by the early councils of the church. Now and again in the Middle Ages a fresh doctrine received a sanction, as did that of transubstantiation at the fourth Lateran council under Pope Innocent III. in 1215, or that of the "immaculate conception of the Blessed Virgin" at the council of Basle in 1439, though both these sanctions, for different reasons, were disputed. But the ancient creeds of the church were never formally reaffirmed. They were so universally received that no reaffirmation was necessary.

The first confession of faith of the English Reformation, carried through Convocation by Cranmer, claims the authority of the whole clergy, and was issued to the church in the name of the king. It is known as the "Ten Articles." It is, on the whole, intensely conservative in all really important matters, and is coloured throughout by the considerations advanced above; the principal one being the strong desire of the king and his advisers to show that the Church of England, in spite of the suppression of the monasteries which was being rapidly proceeded with, and severance from the Roman obedience, was still to all intents Catholic in every sense of the word—that nothing was really changed either in faith or practice. Yet there was much in the "Ten Articles" that showed the influence of the Reformation. While

the old articles of the faith were reiterated in the strongest language, to many of the minor points a *caveat* was appended, showing the strong influence of Lutheranism as expounded by the great German theologian, Melancthon, for whom king Henry showed much partiality.

The confession was divided into two parts, one treating of things belonging to salvation, the other dealing with ceremonial observances. All the opinions which had been condemned by the Councils of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon, were condemned here. In the matter of the Sacraments, the influence of Lutheranism and the new learning was apparent. Three only—baptism, penance, and the sacrament of the altar—were expounded. Auricular confession was reaffirmed as necessary. In the sacrament of the altar the doctrine of transubstantiation was absolutely reaffirmed. In the last of the "Articles" on things necessary for salvation, "Justification," the Lutheran influence was very marked. Justification was explained as "remission of sins and our acceptation or reconciliation into the grace and favour of God."

The second division of the "Ten Articles" treated of ceremonies. Here was still more marked the influence of the Reformation. Little was changed outwardly, but a *caveat* was appended here and there, which warned the people from trusting too implicitly in the virtue of symbols and ceremonies. The "Articles" here taught that images rightly held their places in church, especially images of Christ and our Lady, that they might be the kindlers and stirrers of men's minds; but as for reverence done to them, such as through censing of them and kneeling to them, the article taught that the reverence so shown was not to the image but to God, and for His honour. Prayer might be offered to saints in heaven everlastingly living, whose charity was ever permanent—prayer to them as intercessors; an example of such prayers, characterised by due reserve and caution, was given: "All holy angels and saints in heaven pray for us and with us unto the Father, that for His dear son, Jesus Christ's sake, we may have grace of Him and remission of our sins, with an earnest purpose to observe and keep His holy commandments." In this form prayers to a saint might be offered.

With the same reverent caution the more prominent rites and ceremonies current in the church were dwelt upon. The old vestments were still to be used, and the many ceremonies hallowed by long and reverential use were to be continued. Not a few of these had been of late sharply criticised. They were not, however, to be contemned and cast away, but to be used and continued as things good and laudable. Then followed the *caveat*—"to put us in remembrance of those spiritual things that they do signify, not suffering them to be forgot, but renewing them in our memories from time to time; but none of these ceremonies have power to remit sin, but only to stir and lift up our minds to God, by whom only our sins are forgiven."

The doctrine of purgatory was dwelt upon, but guardedly. Christian love seemed to suggest that prayers might be said by the survivors for souls departed; and alms might be given for masses, that they might be delivered from some part of their pains. But the place where the departed souls

were, was left uncertain by Scripture; these things were left to Almighty God. Abuses which were current under the name of Purgatory, however, such as the power of the bishop of Rome to deliver souls from pain, were to be put away.

The following year, 1537, witnessed the publication of the second English confession. The same influences were at work which occasioned the putting out of the Ten Articles of 1536, viz. a feverish desire to assert the changeless Catholicity of England, in spite of the tremendous changes in ecclesiastical affairs which were so rapidly taking place. Indeed, in one important particular, a retrograde movement (from the reformer's point of view) is observable in this second English confession. The men of "the old learning" had power enough to cause to be inserted in the second confession the four doubtful sacraments of Confirmation, Matrimony, Orders, and Extreme Unction, which in the Ten Articles were unnoticed; thus restoring the mystic number of the seven sacraments. With this notable exception, no very important alteration appeared in the new publication. It was drawn up evidently with extreme care; and Mr. Froude does not hesitate to characterise it as "in point of language beyond question the most beautiful composition which had as yet appeared in English prose."

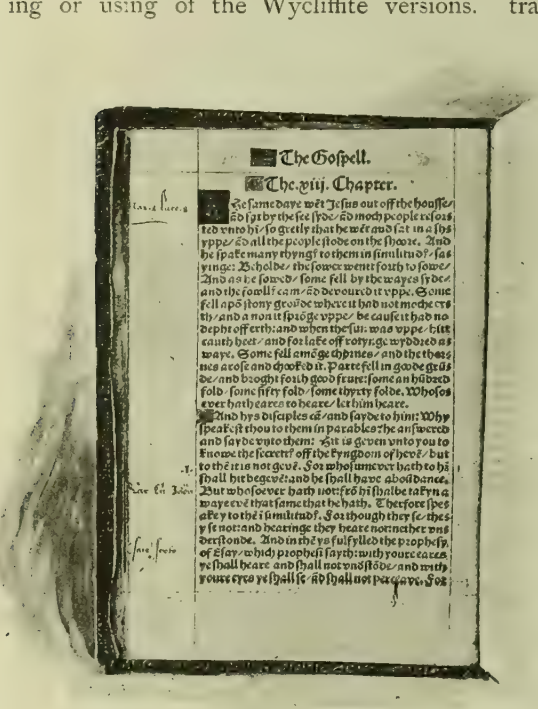
This quasi-authoritative document went out bearing the signatures of the two archbishops, of all the diocesan bishops, and of twenty-five doctors; who wrote in the name of all others, the bishops, prelates, and archdeacons of the realm. It was, however, never formally passed by Convocation, but was printed in the king's press. It bore the title of the "Institution of a Christian Man," and became generally known by the name of "the Bishop's Book."

Among the causes which, slowly but quietly working, stirred up among the people a desire for a widely extending reformation in doctrine and practice, was the publicity given by the printing-press to the Bible, especially to the New Testament. Men saw for themselves, how wide was the difference between the teaching and the doctrines of the Founder of Christianity and His disciples, and the teaching and doctrines of the mediæval church; how much was pressed upon them as of vital importance, regarding which no hint was given in the original Christian manuals of faith. It is, however, a mistake to suppose that the Bible had never been translated into English in far back days. Even in very early times, men like Aldhelm and Bede, and, later, Elfric, had been industrious translators of the sacred writings. But the extreme scarcity of books, and the comparative rarity of men who could or who cared to read, sadly narrowed the circle of Englishmen, outside the ecclesiastical world, who were acquainted with the text, even of the New Testament. In the fourteenth century, Wyclif and his disciples, as we have seen, busied themselves in translating and in transcribing copies of their versions of the Bible. Archbishop Arundel and his school intensely disliked all the reforming efforts of Wyclif and his followers, and he was supported by the dominant party of the day in the state, who (with some justice) regarded the

TYNDALE TRANSLATING THE BIBLE.

(From the painting by Alexander Johnston. By permission of the Art Union of London.)

Lollards as tainted with dangerous revolutionary projects. The result of this dislike was seen in the well-known "Constitution" of that prelate, which forbade any man making new translations of the Scriptures, and even denounced any reading or using of the Wycliffite versions.

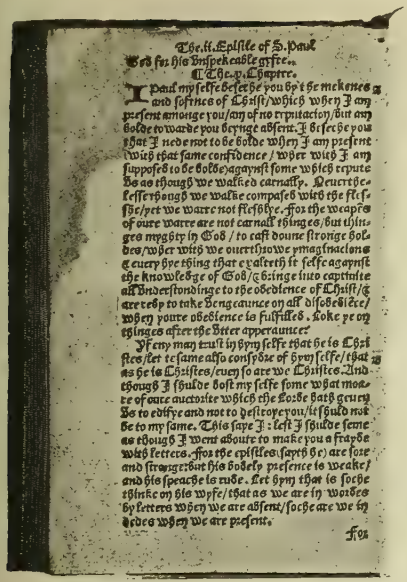

The Gospell.

The.xiij. Chapter.

THE PARABLE OF THE SOWER (MATTH. XIII.).
(*From the Second Edition*, 1525, *of Tyndale's New Testament. Baptist College, Bristol.*)

The effect of the edict was largely to stop any study of the divine word among the people for about a hundred years.

As might have been expected, the printing-press brought about a change. The man whose name will be for ever associated with the work of popularising the Scriptures among the English people was one William Tyndale, a restless and ardent Oxford student. We trace his somewhat uncertain career from Oxford, and later from Cambridge to Gloucestershire, where he was for some time a tutor in a private family. Thence to London, where his purpose to produce a new English translation of the New Testament was matured; from London—he was however, coldly looked upon by Tunstall the bishop, and the church—he betook himself to Wittenberg and there, it is said, under the immediate direction of Luther, he carried out his great design of producing an English version of the Gospels and Epistles, aided by some ardent reformers from his own country. His new English translation of the sacred book was printed on the Continent. The first editions of his famous New Testament appeared as early as 1525. Subsequently the Pentateuch in English was added to the New Testament, and afterwards the historical books of the Old Testament, and the Psalms and Prophets. At length the whole canon was translated and published in separate portions either by Tyndale himself, or under Tyndale's immediate direction and supervision. In the ten years following 1525 an inexhaustible stream of these volumes poured from the foreign printing-presses into our island—as Fox quaintly expresses it, "Copies of the New Testament came thick and threefold into England"—where they were circulated among the people by thousands. They were proscribed and forbidden, but the



The.ii. Epistle of S. Paul
vnto the
Corinthians.

God for his vnspeakeable gyfte.

¶ The.x. Chapter.

I Paul my selfe beseche you by the mekenes & softnes of Christ/which when I am present amonge you/am of no reputacion/but am bolde towarde you beynge absent. I beseche you that I nede not to be bolde when I am present with that same confidence/wher with I am supposed to be bolde/agaynst some which repute vs as though we walked carnally. Neuertheles/though we walke compased with the flesshe/yet we warre not fleshly. For the weapons of oure warre are not carnall thinges/but mighty in God/to cast doune stronge holdes/wher with we ouerthrowe ymaginacions & euery hye thing that exalteth it selfe agaynst the knowledge of God/& bringe into captiuite all vnderstondinge to the obedience of Christ/& are redy to take vengeaunce on all disobedience/ when youre obedience is fulfilled. Loke pe on thinges after the bitter appearaunce.

If eny man trust in hymselfe that he is Christes/let him of himselfe also consydre of hymselfe/that as he is Christes/euen so are we Christes. And though I shulde bost my selfe some what more of oure auctorite which the Lorde hath geuen vs to edifye and not to destroye you/it shuld not be to my shame. This saye I: lest I shulde seme as though I went about to make you afrayde with letters. For the epistles (sayth he) are sore and stronge/but his bodely presence is weake/ and his speache is vyle. Let hym that is soche thinke on his wyfe/that as we are in wordes by letters when we are absent/soche are we in dedes when we are present.

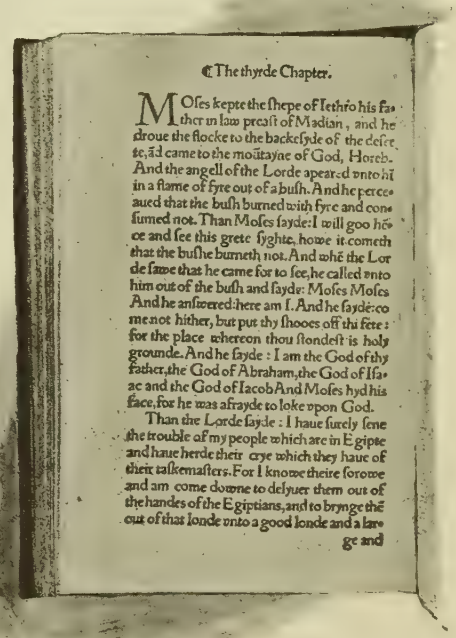
For

*

PAGE FROM TYNDALE'S NEW TESTAMENT OF 1534, CONTAINING THE CURIOUS ERROR "LET HYM THAT IS SOCHE THINKE ON HIS WYFE" (FOR "THIS WYSE") (2 CORINTHIANS X. 11). THE BLACK LETTER READS—"**thinke on his wyfe**" FOR "**thinke on this wyse**," WHERE THE A.V. READS "THINK THIS." (*Baptist College, Bristol.*)

opposition only increased the enormous circulation.

These early editions of Tyndale's work were condemned formally by Convocation as heretical; as among the books of the "Mala dogmata." They were, whenever they could be found or bought up by the bishops and authorities, burnt. On first thoughts, such an action on the part of the clergy would seem simply inexcusable, almost incredible; but it must be remembered, that every one of the little volumes issued by Tyndale contained a preface, and was accompanied by notes, coloured with very intemperate and bitter denunciation of the bishops and clergy, the monks and friars, the rites and ceremonies of the Church. This was the unhappy practice of the day. In a lesser degree the biblical works of the great Erasmus were also disfigured with similar polemical and vituperative comment. It can therefore hardly be a matter of surprise, considering the bitter and hostile matter which the little volumes containing the translation of Tyndale, further contained by way of exposition of the divine words, that they were regarded as a source of danger to the Church as then constituted in England. It was, of course, owing to the wild and



¶ The thyrde Chapter.

MOses kepte the shepe of Iethro his father in law preast of Madian, and he droue the flocke to the backeside of the desert, and came to the mountayne of God, Horeb. And the angell of the Lorde apeared vnto hi in a flame of fyre out of a bush. And he perceaued that the bush burned with fyre and consumed not. Than Moses sayde: I will goo hoce and see this grete syghte, howe it cometh that the bushe burneth not. And whē the Lorde sawe that he came for to see, he called vnto him out of the bush and sayde: Moses Moses And he answered: here am I. And he sayde: come not hither, but put thy shooes off thi fete: for the place whereon thou standest is holy grounde. And he sayde: I am the God of thy father, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac and the God of Iacob And Moses hyd his face, for he was afrayde to loke vpon God.

Than the Lorde sayde: I haue surely sene the trouble of my people which are in Egipte and haue herde their crye which they haue of their taskemasters. For I knowe theire sorowe and am come downe to delyuer them out of the handes of the Egiptians, and to bringe thē out of that londe vnto a good londe and a large and

PAGE FROM THE FIRST EDITION OF TYNDALE'S PENTATEUCH, 1530, CONTAINING EXODUS III. (*Baptist College, Bristol.*)

bitter denunciation contained in the prefaces and notes, that Tyndale incurred the vehement and relentless hostility of such men as Warham and Wolsey, and, chiefest of all, of Sir Thomas More.

Marred and disfigured though it was by these unhappy comments, however, the

TITLE PAGE OF THE SECOND EDITION OF COVERDALE'S BIBLE, 1537.* (*Baptist College, Bristol.*)

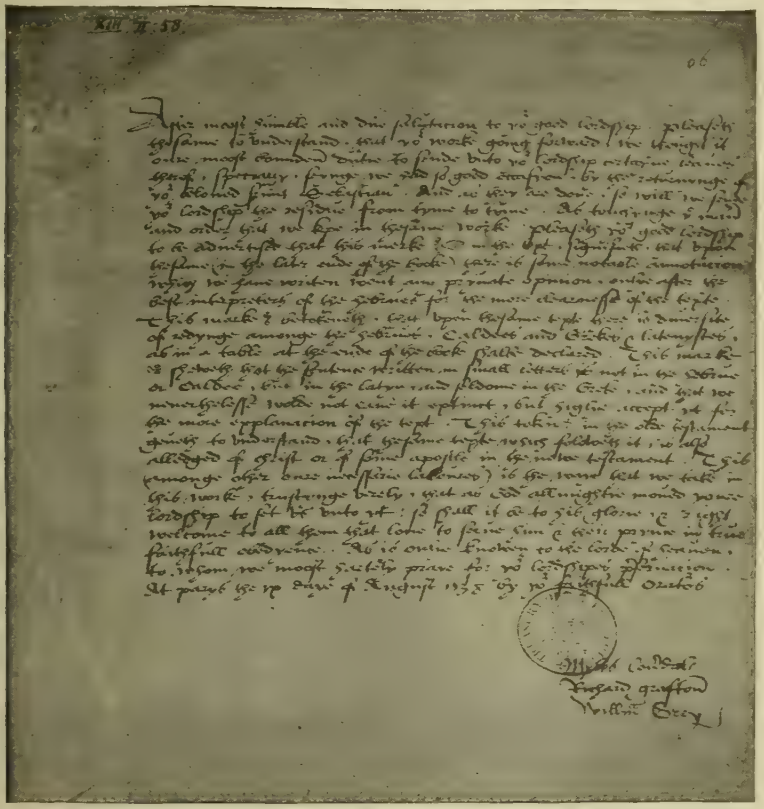
translation of Tyndale was a right noble work; and it has formed the basis of all the subsequent English versions. His comments—product of that age of storm and stress—have dropped away; but the great translation, the real work, remained. It showed to the English folk, in a way they had never seen before, "the saintly figure of the Christ, the object of all love, the pattern of all imitation." The English New Testament, the work of Tyndale, did more than anything else to prepare the hearts of our people for the future reformation which in the end swept away image and relic, ceremony and form which stood between them and the divine figure of the Christ. Writing of the "authorised version" of the New Testament, the learned company of the revisers, in 1881 bore this singular testimony to Tyndale's work. "The (English) translation was the work of many hands and of several generations. The foundation was laid by William Tyndale. His translation of the New Testament was the true primary version. The versions that followed it were either substantially reproductions of Tyndale's translation in its first shape, or revisions of versions that had been themselves almost entirely based on it."*

In one of his eloquent passages Mr Froude thus writes of the reformer and his enduring work: "Of (Tyndale's) translation, though since that time it has been many times revised and altered, we may say it is substantially the Bible with which we are all familiar. The peculiar genius which breathes through it, the mingled tenderness and majesty, the Saxon simplicity, the preternatural grandeur, unequalled and unapproached in the attempted improvements of modern scholars all are here, and bear the impress of the mind of one man — William Tyndale. Lying, while engaged in that great office under the shadow of death, the sword above his head and ready at any moment

* This was the first folio Bible printed in England.

* Preface to the revised version of the New Testament, printed in 1881 for the universities of Oxford and Cambridge.

to fall, he worked under circumstances alone, perhaps, truly worthy of the task which was laid upon him; his spirit, as it were, divorced from the world, moved in a purer element than common air. His saw the salvation for which he had longed, and he might depart to his place. He was denounced to the regent of Flanders; he was enticed by the suborned treachery of a miserable English fanatic beyond the



LETTER FROM MYLES COVERDALE, RICHARD GRAFTON, AND WILLIAM GREY TO CROMWELL, SENDING HIM SPECIMEN PAGES OF THE NEW EDITION OF THE BIBLE ON WHICH THEY WERE EMPLOYED. 1538. (*Record Office.*)

work was done. He lived to see the Bible no longer carried by stealth into his country, where the possession of it was a crime, but borne in by the solemn will of the king, solemnly recognised as the Word of the most High God. And then his occupation in this earth was gone. His eyes town, under whose liberties he had been secure; and with the reward which at other times as well as those, has been held fitting by human justice for the earth's great ones, he passed away in smoke and flame to his rest." *

* "History of England," chap. xii

It was at Vilvorde, a few miles from Brussels, that Tyndale was chained to the stake, strangled, and burned to ashes. The prayer, the last words which tradition says he uttered, was remarkable as well for the spirit it breathed, as for its strangely rapid and literal fulfilment. "Lord," cried the dying martyr, "open the king of England's eyes." Tyndale perished in the autumn of 1536. In the course of the next two years the royal injunction was published by Cromwell, ordering that a Bible in Latin and English should be placed in every parish church in the land.*

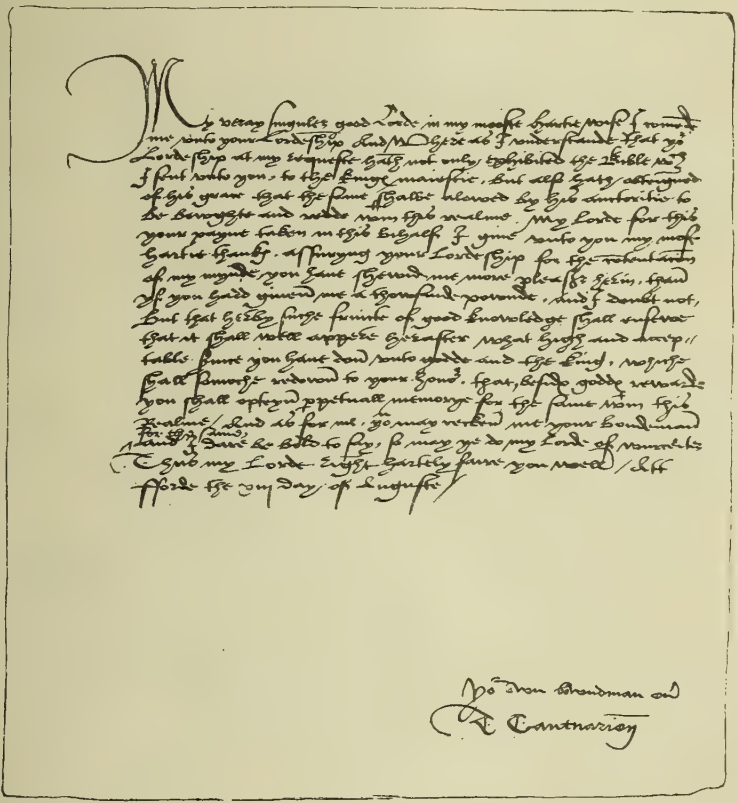
Successive editions of the English Bible, published under the king's sanction, now rapidly appeared. The first of these, by Myles Coverdale, published in foreign parts —"*cum privilegio*"—and dedicated to king Henry VIII., made its appearance in London in 1536. Some, perhaps even a considerable part, of the work seems to have been done by Coverdale himself, who was once an Austin friar, but long converted to the Reformation, of which he was an ardent disciple. Considerable difference of opinion exists as to the precise share taken or influence exercised by Tyndale on this edition of Coverdale. This was the first complete English Bible which was permitted to be sold publicly. It appeared in 1536. Although it was not disfigured by the violent language of the notes and prefaces of the forbidden edition of Tyndale, the words of the preface of this Bible, published under royal sanction, give us some idea of the intense bitterness which the theologic disputes of the period had excited in men's minds. After a curious and somewhat confused comparison of the action of the bishop of Rome with that of Caiaphas, the Coverdale edition went on to say that "the bishop of Rome has studied long to keep the Bible from the people, and especially from princes lest they should find out his tricks and his falsehoods, . . . knowing well enough that if the clear sun of God's Word came over the heat of the day, it would drive away the foul mist of his devilish doctrines." Three editions appeared of this Bible of Coverdale.

In the following year was published a far more important version of the Holy Scriptures, known as "Matthew's Bible," under the direct patronage of the all powerful minister, Cromwell, and the primate Cranmer; this was dedicated to the king, and published with his "most gracious license." Here in the New Testament Tyndale is reproduced entirely; and his work was also used in the Old Testament as far as the Second Book of Chronicles. The rest of the Old Testament comes from Coverdale, with a few changes. The Bible of Matthew was the first formally "authorised version," and is the true primary version of the printed English Bible.

In 1539 an edition of Matthew's Bible appeared, edited by one Taverner. The text was simply a reprint, but it contained a preface most offensive to the conservative party, who abhorred the excesses of the extreme reformers. In this preface the priesthood was denied; masses and purgatory were ignored; the sacraments were described as nothing but outward signs the Eucharist, especially, as a memorial

*There is some confusion about the exact date of the royal injunction in question, the years 1536 and 1538 being both given.

supper. This violent and un-Catholic preface was described as "a summary of things contained in Holy Scripture." It was supposed that this Bible thus prefaced by Coverdale; but it is remarkable as omitting the prologue and preface and notes. To the second of the seven editions Cranmer himself wrote a preface; hence it

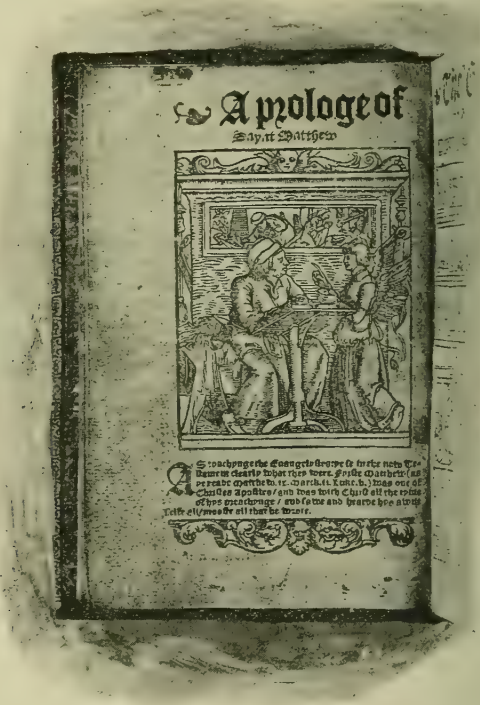


LETTER FROM CRANMER TO CROMWELL THANKING HIM FOR OBTAINING THE KING'S AUTHORITY FOR MATTHEW'S ENGLISH BIBLE. 1537. (*British Museum.*)

was prepared with the connivance of Cromwell.

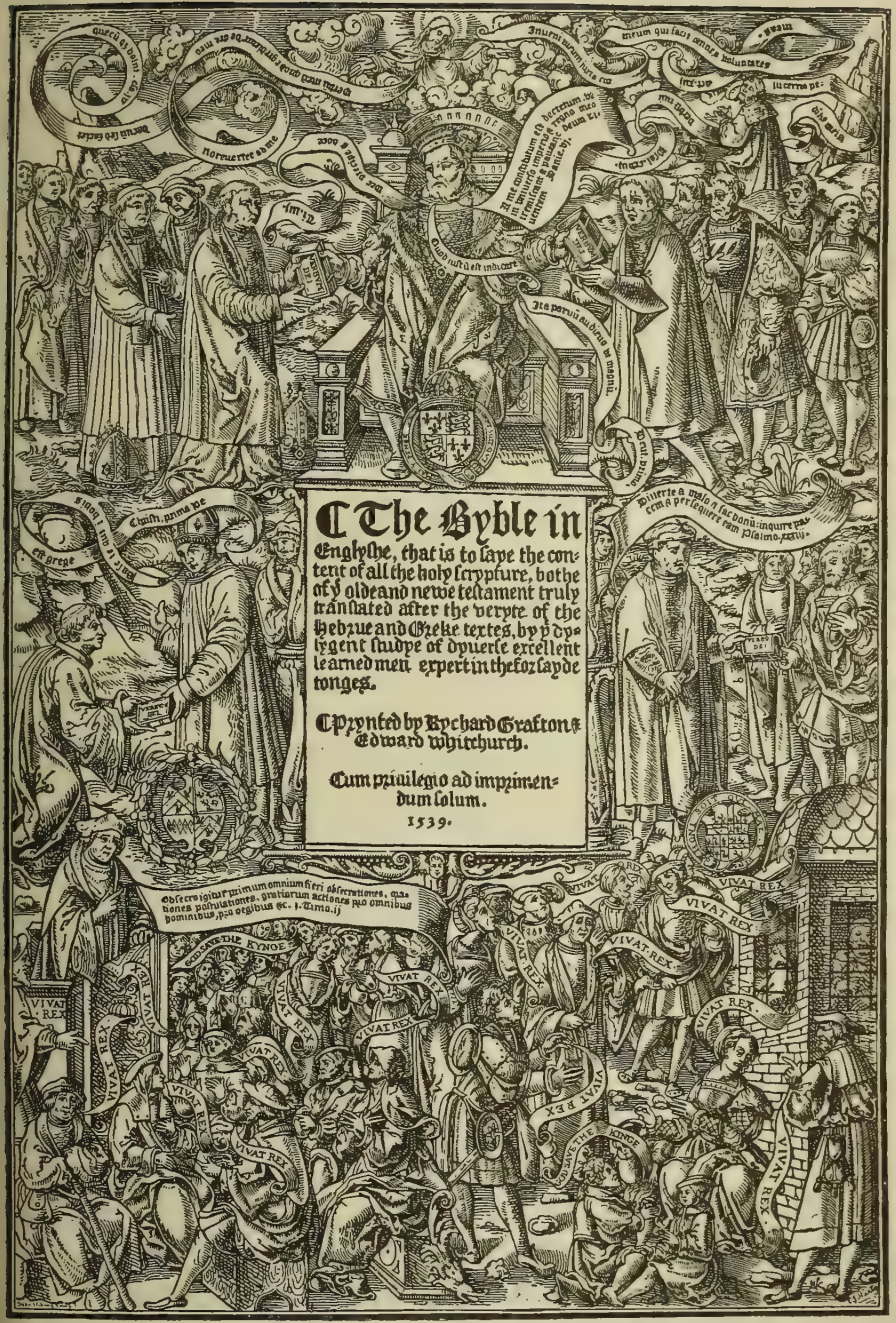
It was immediately, however, followed by a more serious work, under the superintendence of Coverdale. This edition of the Bible, known as "The Great Bible," was nothing more than a reprint of Matthew's, revised and compared with the Hebrew is sometimes termed "Cranmer's Bible," all the six later issues of this famous edition having Cranmer's preface. It is, however, better to preserve the original name—"The Great Bible"—for all the seven editions. They were issued in 1539, 1540, and 1541. Some idea was entertained by the bishops of correcting what they, or

some of them at least, termed blemishes. But it came to nothing, and "The Great Bible," mainly, as we have seen, the work of the martyr Tyndale, was left untampered with. The original editions of the translator, which contained his preface and notes, were prohibited.



BEGINNING OF ST. MATTHEW, FROM THE FIRST EDITION OF "THE GREAT BIBLE," 1538. BROUGHT OUT UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF COVERDALE. (*Baptist College, Bristol.*)

It was thus that the Holy Scriptures in English struggled into universal use. After twenty-seven years, in 1568, a revision of the Great Bible, undertaken, as we shall subsequently see, at the suggestion of archbishop Parker, by fifteen theologians, was made. This was known as the "Bishop's Bible." The first edition bears date 1568; the second 1572. The "authorised version," a retranslation from the Hebrew and Greek by order of king James by forty-seven divines, was made in 1611. This will be specially noticed in its proper place. But in this short, general summary of the history of the English Bible it may be well to anticipate just so much of the story of the "authorised version" of 1611 as to connect that famous translation with the earlier Bibles of king Henry VIII., on which we have been dwelling. The primary and fundamental rule issued to and closely followed by the translators or revisers of "1611" was


¶ The Byble in
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¶ Prynted by Rychard Grafton &
Edward Whitchurch.
Cum priuilegio ad imprimen-
dum solum.
1539.
VIVAT REX
GOD SAUE THE KYNGE

TITLE-PAGE OF THE FIRST EDITION OF THE "GREAT BIBLE," 1539.

expressed in the following terms:—"The ordinary Bible read in the church, commonly called the Bishop's Bible, to be followed, and as little altered as the truth of the original will permit." This rule was strictly observed; and thus we may unhesitatingly affirm that the style, tone, and to a great extent the words, of our time-honoured English Bible were in the main settled once and for all by the reformer and martyr, William Tyndale, who was burnt at Vilvorde, near Brussels, in 1536. Finally, the company of revisers of 1881, in their preface, speak of Tyndale's noble work in the following glowing terms: "We have had to study this great version carefully and minutely, line by line; and the longer we have been engaged upon it the more we have learned to admire its simplicity, its dignity, its power, its happy turns of expression, its general accuracy, and, we must not fail to add, the music of its cadences and the felicities of its rhythm. To render a work that had reached this high standard of excellence still more excellent, to increase its fidelity without destroying its charm, was the task committed to us." *

The earnest desire for Reformation, which so evidently pervaded the nations which sprang from a Teutonic stock, including the larger part of Germany, Denmark, and England, and which had from various causes induced these peoples to make such great changes in their ecclesiastical government, ought naturally, it would have seemed, to have drawn these various peoples together. On first thoughts a union, more or less close, between G many and Denmark on the one side a wealthy, powerful England on the oth ought to have been arranged. This, ho ever, never came about, though attem in this direction were made in the earl phases of the English Reformation. early as the year 1535, when the separati of the Church of England from the Rom obedience became an irrevocable fact, ov tures were made. English ambassadors, the head of whom was Edward Fox, bish of Hereford, held long debates with t German theologians at Wittenberg. Poi of irreconcilable difference, especially the questions of clerical celibacy, the sup of the Lord, and the pontifical mass, arc At one time it was agreed that certa eminent German divines, including t great Melancthon, should proceed to En land to discuss the points of difference, b from various reasons, apparently mai political, the German delegates never cam and for a time all negotiations ceas Melancthon was ever a favourite divi with Henry, and through his influence, we have already remarked, an infusion Lutheran theology was apparent in t "Ten Articles," the first English confessi of faith, put forth in 1536.

The idea of some union of Engla and Germany was revived in 1538, a a German mission, recommended in t strongest terms by Melancthon, arrived England. In fundamental doctrines t Church of England agreed with t Lutheran churches, but it was found i possible to come to any definite agreeme on certain points. These seem to ha been the receiving of the Lord's Supper both kinds, the use of private masses,

* Preface to the New Testament, by the revisers of 1881.

which the priest received for others, and the celibacy of priests. There were other points, too, in the background, of serious moment, in which the English Church, at that time very desirous to show how closely it adhered to mediæval Catholicism, objected to make any change—notably in the question of the sacraments of matrimony, orders, confirmation, and extreme unction. Largely, it would seem, through the influence of bishop Gardiner, the envoys were compelled to depart, after a long sojourn in England, without having done anything towards a union between the Church of England and the Lutheran communities. Cranmer and Cromwell were well disposed to negotiate with such a view, but the king and Gardiner disliked the idea of any modification of the second English confession, as embodied in the Bishop's Book put out in 1537.

Once more an attempt to unite England and Germany was made. In Germany at this time it was apparently felt that a religious compact with the mighty and united England would be of the greatest importance, and the envoys seem to have been prepared for this end to make the most liberal concessions. They would even retain the office of mass if *private* masses were given up. They would admit the doctrine of the Real Presence in the Eucharist ; the point of receiving in both kinds might be left an open question ; holy days and feasts of saints should be allowed, and even invocation of saints, so that it were taught "that Christian men should not convert the same hope to the saints which they ought to have unto God." Even images of Christ and of the saints they did not reject, only the idolatrous adoration of them. On the question of purgatory and pardons, it was the abuse of them that they objected to, the doctrines they were willing to leave undefined. But all the negotiations were futile; no agreement was come to. Were the Lutheran churches in earnest, we are tempted to ask, when they offered such a broad basis of agreement? The envoys even suggested that a modified primacy of Rome might be admitted! Possibly this suggestion really repelled the English king. Political reasons were also present which broadened the rift between the two nations, the divorce of Anne of Cleves amongst them. At all events, the king of England was cold, the negotiations were broken off, and all idea of a union between continental Protestants and the Church of England was given up.

The religious state of England in 1538–9 was somewhat confused. The nation was divided into various parties, and among these the feeling of dislike and even abhorrence one of another ran very high. An outline sketch of these parties will help us to understand something of the king's policy at this period of his reign.

There was the party which still held on to Rome, made up of churchmen and laymen who abhorred the schism with the Papacy. This section of the community was largely recruited from the expelled monastics and by those who sympathised with them. To these, naturally, king Henry was an apostate ; was one who for the sake of greed and gain had sold his church and given up the cherished sacred traditions of centuries. These could see no good for their country in the breaking

off the papal yoke. To return to the old state of things, not a few were ready even to play the part of traitors to their country and its government.

A larger and more important section were Anglicans—to use a word which gradually came into use. These were content to separate from Rome, if only the old doctrinal teaching was rigidly maintained, the old objects of reverence preserved, the old and cherished ceremonies maintained. This party was strictly, rigidly conservative in everything pertaining to the Church, save in the one particular of the Roman obedience. With it the king deeply and strongly sympathised. He would gently reform some of the outward framework; he would make some concessions to the men of the new learning; he would remove the manifest impostures and flagrant frauds which disfigured the old teaching; he would give an English Bible to the people, perhaps hedging in the use of this Bible with some restrictions. But on the whole, the king was rigidly steadfast to the old mediæval paths of religion; as little as possible must be changed, either in doctrine or rites and ceremonies. The majority of the bishops, and most of the leading peers of the old creation who were left in England, felt very much as the king in these matters.

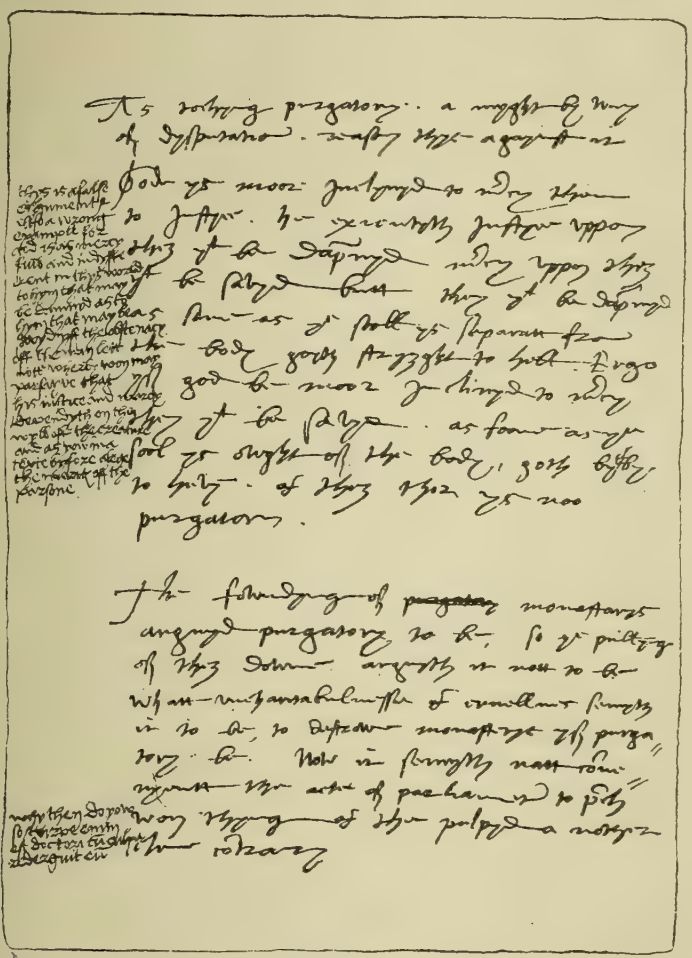
The Lutheran party in the church numbered some very eminent men—such as Cranmer and Latimer; but its definitions of religion were too subtle, too eclectic—to use a term of modern phraseology—for the mass of the English people. These, too, were rigidly orthodox in what we should now term essentials in religion, but were earnest Reformers in their passionate longing to sweep away images, relics, pilgrimages, and what they deemed mediæval ceremonies. They doubted the truth of the doctrine of Purgatory, and misliked all that doctrine involved—pardon, indulgences, and the like. They desired also that permission should be given to the clergy to marry.

Outside these three great parties lay a vast number who cannot be classed, mostly belonging to the people, and roughly denominated "heretics"—true descendants of the Lollards of the preceding century. Some were Anabaptists, some Sacramentarians, some Zwinglians: all more or less affected by the wave of Reformation which was passing over the nations of Europe, many intensely in earnest in their detestation of mediæval superstitions, but generally very ignorant, and utterly incapable of forming any serious and well-balanced judgment respecting the momentous questions which were agitating the Church.*

Cromwell, who for some years had occupied the foremost position among the king's advisers and favourites, and to whom as chief minister intense jealousy, hatred, and fear were attracted, was never a religious man. He was a most loyal servant of Henry, whom he served with a rare fidelity; but was ever the statesman rather than the churchman, caring, on the whole, little for those ecclesiastical matters in which, to his own bitter loss, he was so deeply mixed up. As far as he cared at all for these things, he belonged to the Lutheran party, especially in their hatred of Roman influence, and in their detestation

* *Cf.* Froude: "History of England," chap. xvi.

of all mediæval superstitions. His great work, the work with which his name will ever be associated—the dissolution of the monasteries—was well-nigh complete; and from henceforth his great powers, spent on acquiring this mighty plunder for his master, were not absolutely necessary to the king, whose "Catholic" and conservative policy Cromwell never sympathised with or helped forward. Other political events, notably the failure in the matter of the marriage of Henry with Anne of Cleves, widened the rift which, when the dissolution of the religious houses was accomplished, grew rapidly between the autocratic king and his powerful minister. The end of Cromwell's life and power was at hand.



TREATISE BY LATIMER IN HIS OWN HANDWRITING, CONTESTING THE DOCTRINE OF TRANSUBSTANTIATION. WITH MARGINAL NOTES IN HENRY VIII.'S WRITING. (*British Museum.*)

In 1539 the king became evidently seriously troubled, even alarmed, at the disturbed state of things in England. He had played the part of a reformer to the extreme length he intended to play it. He had cut the English Church adrift from the Roman obedience. After some hesitation he had sanctioned and even enjoined the use of an English Bible. He had strictly defined and limited the worship of saints, which had become almost an idolatry in the church; he had put down the excessive devotion at the shrines of these saints, which had long been a source of grave trouble and uneasiness to men like Erasmus and to more devout souls like Colet. But there king Henry meant to stop.

His miserable policy, however, with regard to the monastic orders, and the hideous scenes of rapacity and vulgar greed which had accompanied the dissolution—the great sin of his life—had borne its fruit. Parties had arisen, as we have seen, bitterly hostile to each other. He had roused the relentless animosity of the Catholic party, and had raised hopes among the more advanced reformers which he never dreamed of realising; while the wilder and more fanatic among the people, whom we have described as lying outside the pale of the more serious of the church parties, emboldened by the secession from Rome, and far more by the monastic suppression and the terrible scenes accompanying it, were by their intemperate words and actions and openly sacrilegious proceedings continually shocking and alarming even the more earnest and devout among the moderate reformers. "Peasant theologians in the public-houses disputed over their ale on the mysteries of justification, and from words passed soon to blows. The Bibles which lay open in every parish church, became the text-books of self-instructed fanatics. The voluble orator of the village appointed himself to read and expound, and ever in such cases the most forward was the most passionate and the least wise. Often, for the special annoyance of old-fashioned churchgoers, the time of divine service (the mass) was chosen for a lecture, and opinions were shouted out in loud high voices, which in the ears of half the congregation were damnable heresy. The mysteries of the faith were insulted in the celebration of the divine service. At one place we read that when the priest lifted up the host, a member of the congregation, a lawyer, lifted up a little dog in derision. Another, who desired that the laity should be allowed communion in both kinds, taunted the minister with having drunk all the wine and with having blessed the people with an empty chalice."*

These and similar outrages created, as may well be supposed, an intense indignation among grave folk; but in spite of this indignation we hear of bishops bearded in their own palaces with insolent defiance, and of Protestant mobs being gathered together to overawe them. Thus the king was confronted, on the one hand, with the Catholic party, extreme conservatives in religious matters, prepared even to become traitors if the old state of things and the Roman obedience could but be brought back; and, on the other, with a fanatic mob of noisy heretics clamouring for the destruction of all religious symbolism and ceremonial uses, dear to the religious and

* Froude: "History of England," chap. xvi.

earnest in the nation. Between these two extreme wings were the important and weighty sections of the community, whom we have characterised as Anglican and Lutheran.

Already in both of the two confessions of faith, which had been lately put out in England, the "Ten Articles" and the "Institutions of a Christian Man," the king had affirmed his Catholic orthodoxy, and his determination to keep the church steadfast in the old paths of Catholic faith and practice in all essential points. In the second of the two confessions he had gone even further than in the first, in the recapitulation of certain less important articles of the Catholic faith, not denied but left unnoticed in the first confession; thereby showing how he was in earnest to change nothing in points he deemed essential. In 1539, disturbed and alarmed at the ever-growing dissensions in the kingdom, Henry, in the course of a royal proclamation, dwelt upon his reasons for wishing that such ceremonies and rites should be observed as were heretofore used in the church.

His words — for the phraseology was no doubt Henry's own — were wise and well thought out. Here and there even a flash of humour lights up the measured and guarded utterances. "Bishops and curates were to instruct the people what ceremonies are, what good they do when not misused, what hurt when taken to be of more efficacy and strength than they are." To this the king adds that, "being careful over all his people, he is as loath that the dull party should fancy their ceremonies to be the chief part of the Christian religion, as he is miscontent with the rash party which hunt down what they list." And again in defence of sacraments and ceremonies, Henry reminds the people how "the old forefathers thought it well that certain occasions might be devised to keep God's will, love, and goodness in memory, and so invented signs and tokens which, being seen of the eye, might put the heart in mind of His will and promises."

After pressing the use of these ceremonies on the church, however, Henry introduced a "caveat," which showed how the wise Reformation spirit was working in his heart. After all, he said, "such things were but means and paths to religion, made to show where Christian people must seek their comfort and establish their belief, and not to be taken as savers or workers of any part of salvation." "Ceremonies," he added, "should be used, and used without superstition." Also very deeply the king seemed to feel the damage to all true religion which was threatened by the wild excesses of reforming fanatics at this time; for in a speech he made to the Parliament, he said: "I am very sorry to know and hear how unreverently that precious jewel the 'Word of God' is disputed, rhymed, sung, and jangled in every alehouse and tavern." And in a proclamation on the use of the Bible, he spoke forcibly against any layman taking upon himself to argue or to expound the mysteries therein contained.

This year, the thirty-first of the king's reign, was especially memorable in the story of the English Reformation for two famous Acts of Parliament, at first seemingly quite contradictory in their purpose. We shall probably never know all that was working in the king's mind; never be fully acquainted

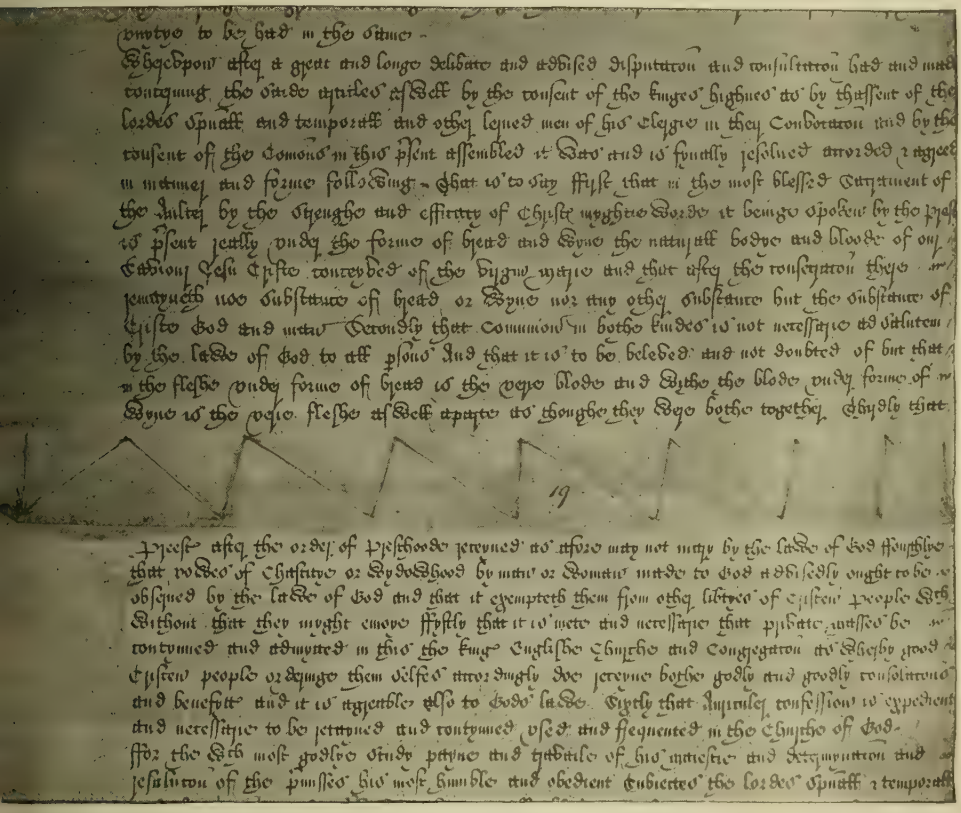
with the secret history of that year. Yet it seems possible, through the apparent contradiction, to see something of what was intended. It was a new Parliament; a house, like those which had preceded it, very subservient to the king. It passed without opposition, even without debate, the act to which we have already referred, which confirmed the surrender of all the religious houses, great and small, that surrendered voluntarily or involuntarily, and which empowered the king to confiscate, if he pleased and when he pleased, all the rest. It was, as Henry's apologist truly phrases it, "The closing scene of a mighty destruction." The same Parliament, almost with the same breath, passed the famous act—the bloody act as it is called—of the Six Articles.

They were both the outcome of Henry's will: the act giving him all the possessions of the monastic orders, and thus dealing the last tremendous blow at the Roman jurisdiction and influence in England; and the Act sternly enjoining—under awful penalties—men to accept the most questionable and disputed mediæval additions to Christian doctrine. The monastic orders were virtually gone; the *fiat* had gone forth to sweep away the remaining communities; the last link between England and Rome was severed as the last of the Roman garrisons in England, the remaining monastic houses, surrendered. The king had got his plunder, and at the same time had swept away for ever that portion of the church which was most faithful and loyal to the Roman obedience; more than ever he thought it necessary, orthodox and conservative as he was, and attached to the essential doctrines of the faith with all their mediæval additions, to assert the changeless Catholicity of England and her church.

We have tried to paint the divided state of the church and the leading characteristics of the parties within it. It was in vain that the king remonstrated, in the terms of the proclamation already quoted. Things grew daily worse, more confused, more embittered, and the king was evidently thoroughly alarmed. He would have nothing to do with Rome. He would have no monastic orders, no standing Roman army in his England; but at the same time he was equally determined that his England should be *Catholic* in the old mediæval sense of the word, with such modifications, perhaps, as the new learning suggested and he approved of. He was resolved that no favour should be shown to the extreme reforming party in the church, whose excesses he abhorred. He would have little to say even to moderate reformers. All this is clear from what subsequently happened. Let the new Parliament devise a scheme and pass enactments which should compose the religious differences in the realm on Catholic and strictly conservative lines. This was what Henry intended.

To carry these wishes into effect, a strong committee consisting of Cromwell, Cranmer, Latimer, and others was appointed, as a committee of religion, to report to the king and the Parliament. They met, it would seem, frequently, but with no definite result. Cromwell, Cranmer, and Latimer, were evidently desirous of recommending measures of reform, not acceptable to Henry's mind. The duke of Norfolk represented the king, and really

cted as his mouthpiece. Henry's chief dviser at this juncture seems to have been the subsequently famous bishop Gardiner, and the substance of the "Six Articles" was placed before Parliament as it was understood by men like Melancthon in Germany and Cranmer in England. Cromwell openly showed his mislike of the king's device, wherewith differences in religion were to be composed; Latimer



ENTRY IN THE STATUTE ROLL AT THE RECORD OFFICE, OF THE PASSING OF THE ACT OF THE SIX ARTICLES.

he basis of an act which the king determined should be the guiding rule of the church.

It was terribly reactionary, intensely conservative. If it became law, it would ndeed show that England was, for the present at all events, to have little to do with Lutheranism or the Reformation as was, of course, bitterly opposed to it; Cranmer spoke long and fearlessly against it; but all was to no purpose. The king had now made up his mind, and, taking his part in the debate in Parliament, showed his intention clearly. His bitter disappointment at the Reformation extravagances, as he regarded them, was clearly expressed.

The result of the debate and of the many conferences held was inevitable, and the act of the "Six Articles" was, in spite of grave opposition, passed. The Six Articles may be summed up as follows:—

(1) The doctrine of *transubstantiation* was affirmed. "In the sacrament of the altar, after consecration, there remaineth no substance of bread and wine," but the natural body and blood of Christ are present under these forms.

(2) That *communion in both kinds* is not necessary to salvation to all persons by the law of God. This gave sanction to a custom—hotly objected to by reformers, but which had prevailed for about a hundred years in the mediæval church—of denying the cup to the laity.

(3) That priests might *not marry*.

(4) That *vows of chastity* once taken by men or women must be observed, and were of perpetual obligation.

(5) That *private or solitary masses* in the church ought to be continued as meet for godly consolation and benefit.

(6) That *auricular confession* to a priest must be retained and continued to be used in the church.

These reactionary Articles—for such they emphatically were, of which the above is a summary—the act declared, must be sternly enforced under the following severe pains and penalties:—Whoever by word or by writing denied the first article, that affirming transubstantiation, should be declared a heretic, and suffer death by burning without opportunity of abjuration, without protection from sanctuary or benefit of clergy; whoever spoke against, or otherwise broke, the other five Articles, any one of them, should, for the first offence, forfeit his property; if he offended a second time or refused to abjure when called to answer, he should suffer death as a felon. All marriages hitherto contracted by priests were declared void, and such marriages had become, since the Reformation spirit had passed over the church, of common occurrence. Archbishop Cranmer, for instance, was married. To refuse to go to confession was felony. To refuse to receive the sacrament was also felony.

The immediate result of the passing of the act of the "Six Articles" is well summarised in the following words:—"On every road, on which the free mind of man was moving, the dark sentinel of orthodoxy was stationed with its flaming sword; and in a little time all cowards, all who had adopted the new opinions with motives less pure than that deep zeal and love which alone entitles human beings to constitute themselves champions of God, flinched into their proper nothingness, and left the battle to the brave and good."*

The opinion of Lutherans and of the German reformers was well expressed by Melancthon, probably the most learned and moderate of his party in Germany, the friend and often the teacher of Cranmer, and to whom king Henry himself had ever listened with respectful attention, and not unfrequently with marked approval. In a letter to Henry, almost passionate in its disapproval of the measure, he implores the king to change his purpose. "If that barbarous decree be not repealed," he wrote, "the bishops will never cease to rage against the church of Christ without

* Froude: "Hist. of England," chap. xvi.

nercy and without pity, . . . and you, O king, all the godly beseech most humbly hat you will not prefer such wicked and ruel oppressions and subtle sophisteries efore their own just and honest prayers. God recompense you to your great reward f you shall grant those prayers."

One of the first results of the new act vas the resignation of bishops Latimer and Shaxton, the two most prominent of the eformer bishops. Latimer, who, however, gain rose to eminence and power, now fell nto poverty and neglect for several years. But while individual cases of persecution re recorded, the general effect of the Six Articles" has been exaggerated. The ct continued in force for some eight years, nd several times was made the instrument f a cruel persecution; but during a large portion of the eight years, its stringent provisions do not seem to have severely pressed. Four distinct persecutions, however, took place under the provisions of his hateful and reactionary statute in 1539, 541, 1543, and 1546. In the first of these s many as five hundred persons (mostly in he metropolis) were indicted for heresy, ut these were after a short time set at iberty. Again, in 1541 commissions were ssued to the bishops and officials to proceed against the heretics. As before, the prosecutions were almost entirely confined o the diocese of London. About two undred were arrested, but only one or wo executions were the result; the others vere released. In Salisbury three men vere burned for matters spoken "against he sacrament," and in Lincoln two more. n 1543 three men were burnt at Windsor s having transgressed against the bloody ct. One of these, one of the singing men of the Windsor choir, is notorious in the history of the time for his public insult to an alabaster image of the Virgin, the nose of which he publicly knocked off. This choirman, whose name, Testwood, has come down to us, was also accused of blasphemy in the course of singing an anthem. In a verse which ran "O Redemptrix et Salvatrix," Testwood was heard changing the "*O*" into "*Non*" and the "*et*" into "*nec*." He with two others were burnt in front of Windsor Castle, the victims enduring their torments with heroic constancy. The king, when the story of their doom was related to him, is said to have exclaimed, "Alas, poor innocents!" In 1544 the "Six Articles" act was so far modified by Parliament that accusations of heresy could only be made on the oath of twelve men or more, and the time was limited within a year of the committal of the alleged offence. The fourth and last formal persecution under the hateful act took place as late as 1546, when several persons suffered at Smithfield. Amongst these was Anne Askew, who was of good birth and highly educated. Much pains were taken and torture inflicted to persuade her to recant, but she was constant, even through the agonies of the rack. Her opinions were apparently those of Frith, of whom we have already written. She was burned with three companions, in the presence of an immense concourse of spectators.

It will be seen from this brief summary that the results of the "whip with six strings," as the act has been popularly called, have been exaggerated, though altogether a good many persons suffered for religion during the last years of king

Henry VIII.'s reign. The actual executions under its provisions were not very numerous; and it only seems to have been enforced with any severity at the intervals of time above quoted, and only in certain districts. The meaning of the detestable act, of which so much has been written, seems to have been—"that the king was roused by an idea that the church, of which he was resolved to be the supreme head, was likely to be overthrown by a torrent of what he considered infidelity and blasphemy, and that he devised and carried such a measure as he thought was suited to check the frightful evil." "Such seems to have been the origin of the act. It was evidently intended to intimidate, rather than to hurt; to pacify the people, rather than to destroy them. . . . It was meant to frighten the people, and it did frighten them." * And during the year 1539 to the first days of the year 1547, when king Henry died, the English people lived more or less under the shadow of this terrible act of the "Six Articles," ever with the fear of a possible prosecution for heresy before their eyes.

During these last years of Henry VIII.'s eventful reign, the Reformation seemingly made little progress in England; in reality, however, considerable steps were taken, which made the work we shall presently have to consider, done in the reign of the boy-king Edward VI., possible. During these closing years it is indisputable that Cranmer, the archbishop, possessed great influence with the king. It is true that the primate was not much at court; but the evident love which Henry felt for Cranmer, and his trust in his judgment, makes it almost certain that nothing in religious matters was done without consultation with his archbishop. On more than one occasion Henry threw the shield of his royal protection over his friend and counsellor, and enabled him to defeat the hostile intrigues which were being continually devised by Cranmer's many enemies. Much of this time was spent by the primate in comparative quiet and retirement and study; and a great and marked change in his views of doctrine evidently passed over the archbishop in the course of these quiet years.

The third English Confession of Faith put out with authority in this reign, made its appearance in 1543. It had been under the careful consideration of a commission composed of bishops and doctors, for some two years and a half. It was the third great formulary of the reign, and was termed "The Necessary Doctrine and Erudition of a Christian Man," being known popularly as the "King's Book." It deals especially with the burning questions of the age, the doctrine of the sacraments, church government, and the authority of the bishop. It has been accurately described as a revision of the first formulary of faith: "The Institution of a Christian Man," generally called the "Bishops' Book," and was, on the whole, more learned in its arguments than the first formulary.

In some respects it was markedly reactionary, notably in the preface, written in the name of the king himself. Here the too free handling of the now public and translated Scriptures is sharply commented

* Dr. Maitland, quoted by Dean Hook: "Lives of the Archbishops—Thomas Cranmer."

upon, and reasons are given for the strange parliamentary restraints which this same year were imposed upon the reading by certain of the uneducated classes of these

MARTYRDOM OF TESTWOOD AND HIS COMPANIONS (*p.* 171).

same Scriptures. "It was not necessary"—so run the words of this preface—"for all to read the Scriptures for themselves; it was sufficient to hear and bear away the lessons taught by the preachers."

In respect of the Sacraments, a higher doctrine was taught than that put forth in "The Bishops' Book." The article on baptism was re-written, and baptismal regeneration was asserted to its full extent. In the Sacrament of the Altar, for the brief article in the "Bishops' Book," declaring the doctrine of the Real Presence, was substituted a long one affirming transubstantiation and receiving in one kind, and receiving fasting. In the exposition of the

Sacrament of Penance, auricular confession was required. The celibacy of the priests, that long-disputed point, was insisted upon. In the "King's Book," however, a distinction was made between the greater sacraments of baptism, penance, and the altar, and the rest of the seven. The expositions of the Ten Commandments were practically the same as in the "Bishops' Book." Several passages against images were, however, added in this last formulary. Generally speaking, whilst a higher doctrine pervaded "The King's Book," and a decided leaning towards mediæval teaching, there is no doubt that there was less of the controversial spirit of the time in it. In commenting upon the petition for "daily bread" in the Lord's Prayer, the "Bishops' Book" had said the Word of God was principally meant, but the "King's Book" added that the sacrament of the altar was meant by the bread for which we ask.

The same reactionary spirit noticeable in this formulary of 1543, was also manifest in the ecclesiastical measures of the Parliament of that year, in which the free use of the English Bible was limited. Tyndale's version, with the notes, prologues, and prefaces, was again prohibited; and it was also enacted that no woman might read the Bible; no artificer, 'prentice, servingman, husbandman, or labourer might read it, either openly or privately, nor teach or preach in the church, on pain of a month's imprisonment. But noblemen and gentlemen might read it quietly in their families; merchants, too, might read it to themselves, and so might ladies. A clause was added empowering the king to alter this act or any part of it at his pleasure.

From the tone of these enactments, ev dently suggested by the king, it appea that Henry was sorely troubled at the wi excesses which were prevalent among i educated and fanatical persons, who to upon themselves to publicly read a expound the Scriptures. It is n however, probable that these painful a severe restrictions placed upon reading t Scriptures were intended to be permane It is not likely that either the king Cranmer—whose influence during the last years of the reign, although it do not seem to have been paramount wi Henry, still was ever weighty and powerf —had any idea other than that of gradual familiarising the people with the Engli Bible; for at the same time (1543) an ord went out that one lesson from the Old a New Testament should be read in Engli in the churches without exposition. (Th lesson, in English, was to be read after t Te Deum and Magnificat.) An announc ment was also made this same year b the archbishop, that all antiphoners, ma books, etc., were to be purged from a mention of the bishop of Rome's nam from all apocryphas, feigned legends, supe stitious orations, versicles, and response that the names and memories of all sain which were not contained in the Scri tures or authentic doctors should b abolished, and put out of the same boo and calendars. A committee of the tw houses of Convocation was to be a pointed to carry this order into effec It does not, however, appear that th order in question was carried out.

The earnest desire of Henry and Cra mer to assist the people in forming true conception of religion, was especial

manifested in their important scheme, which gave the nation in the year 1545, for the first time, a formally authorised book of private prayers and devotion in the vernacular. But these prayers were, with a few notable exceptions, exclusively for private, not for public use. Long before the Reformation period books existed, more or less generally used, for private devotion, containing the offices in English and in Latin, including the Hours, the Litany, the Ten Commandments, the Ave, and other pieces. Some of these books, known as *Primers*, contained as well short explanations or expositions. In the Reformation age, as might have been expected, these primers were multiplied. Two of them that obtained much notoriety deserve mention. Marshall's primer, which was condemned as early as 1530 by Convocation, contained besides the translated prayers many denunciations of "blind idolatry with which the worship of Christians was become depraved." The other of the more famous primers of this age, published by Hilsey, bishop of Rochester, possessed an official character, being put out under the auspices of Cromwell, then the chief minister of the crown. It retains the old Litany, but omitted all the saints named therein, save those that are found in the New Testament. It contained a calendar giving Epistles and Gospels for Sundays and saints' days, which nearly correspond with those now in use.

In 1545 Henry, no doubt under the influence of Cranmer, put out the first authorised primer with the prayers in *English*. In his preface the king stated that "he had bestowed pains to set forth a determinate form of prayer, that men might know both what they prayed and also in what words, and neither offer to God things standing against true religion, nor yet words far out of their intelligence or understanding." All schoolmasters were to teach this primer or book of ordinary prayers, and no other primer was to be taught. Besides the private prayers thus translated, including the "Hours," etc., certain parts of the *public* services were also translated and authoritatively published in English—the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, the Litany, and Bidding prayers, and these were no doubt publicly used in divine service in the year 1545. Other and far more important changes in the public services were, it is clear, under the influence of Cranmer, under consideration, when the king's fatal illness stopped these measures for the moment.

Much towards a reformation in the Church of England had been done, before the sands of that royal life ran out. The dead hand of Rome, which had pressed for so long and with ever-increasing weight upon all church life, had been — thanks to the energy of king Henry VIII.—for ever removed. Many of the more glaring abuses and exaggerations which had gradually grown up in the Middle Ages, had been swept away. Indulgences and pardons belonged to the past; the idolatrous cult of images and relics was well-nigh swept away; the Holy Scriptures were no longer a sealed book; the Bible was gradually becoming the possession of all sorts and conditions of men.

Considerable progress, too, had been made towards the general use of an English liturgy. Books containing authorised translations of the various church services were in the hands of the people; and already some of these prayers were prayed,

PUBLIC EXPOUNDING OF THE SCRIPTURES (*p* 174).

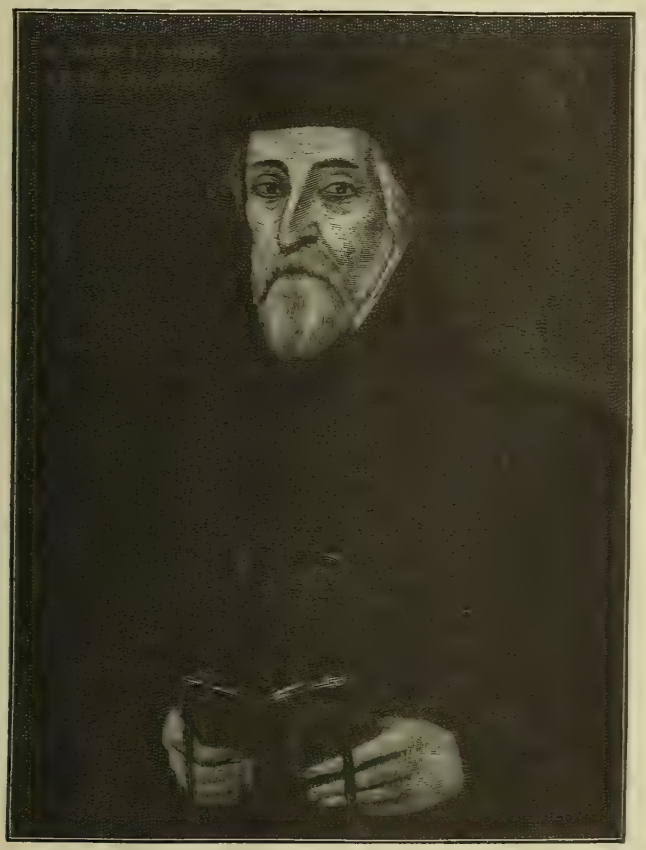
even in church, in the familiar vernacular. It was clear that soon the old familiar but comparatively unknown Latin tongue would cease altogether to be heard in the churches of the land, and that all prayers would be sent up to the Mercy Seat in the well-loved English tongue. But they would be the *same* prayers which had been prayed in the Church of Christ from an immemorial antiquity; and it is this continuity, this changelessness in the midst of change—the language being alo altered—which constitutes the streng and beauty of the service of the Engli Church. They were the very praye which Plegmund in the days of Alfre and Dunstan in the times of Edgar, a

Anselm when the Red King reigne had prayed; only they were to be hen forth uttered in *English*, which all m in our island understood, instead of Latin, the meaning of which only a ve few really comprehended.

A great wrong had no doubt been per trated by king Henry, an awful ruin had be worked, when he destroyed the monaste and wasted their precious treasures. E even out of this act of irreparable misch

nd wrong-doing, by the providence of God, good had already been worked. The *mmediate* result of the ruin and desolation f the monasteries and the abbey churches vas, as we have seen, a partial reaction in

the reformers' work began again among us, after Henry's death, it was largely carried on in a conservative spirit, to which we owe the preservation of so much of Catholic truth in our formularies and ritual.



HUGH LATIMER, BISHOP OF WORCESTER.
(*From the portrait in the National Portrait Gallery.*)

ne Reformation work; a reaction in some espects mistaken, but which prevented ne wild and destructive theories that vorked such permanent mischief in the eformed churches on the Continent being arried out in England. This reaction was breathing-time for England; and when

To one master-mind our church is largely indebted, as well for that which was happily preserved, as for that which was fortunately restored to us. Our picture of the friend of Henry's latter years—of the famous Reformation archbishop—can be no portrait of a great saint, or of a consummate

statesman, or even of a very distinguished genius. Cranmer was none of these. He was an able, honest man; highly gifted; an indefatigable worker; an earnest believer in the great truths of the faith; and, above all, a loyal and devoted Englishman; ever a patient seeker after truth; ever ready to give up what he felt to be mistaken, when he had thoroughly and with vast pains convinced himself of his error. Cranmer was never above learning from other men whose learning he felt was greater than his own; and he was ready to submit his judgment to others, when once he was persuaded that their deductions were right and true. He was a man full of human errors, human weaknesses, human failings; but, in spite of all these, he did a right noble work for the church he loved so well, and in the end died for. The large majority of serious Englishmen will ever cherish the memory of Cranmer, and will honour him as one of the chiefest and most earnest of our reformers.

During the earlier years of his archiepiscopate, Cranmer had apparently little sympathy with the opinions of the more advanced reformers on the burning questions which were agitating men's minds. A quiet reformation of the more flagrant abuses in church government, and a removal of the more pronounced superstitions which disfigured church practices, were the points he especially aimed at carrying out; but at the same time he was resolute in his determination to free his church from the yoke of Rome. He intensely sympathised with the advocates of the new learning in their earnest desire to secure for the people an English version of the Holy Scriptures; and the gift of the Bibl in the vernacular was largely the result o his unflagging efforts. The English Bibl for the people was supplemented, as w have seen, by the gradual introduction o first, private prayers, then public praye also, in the tongue understanded by th masses. That during the sad years of th suppression of the monastic orders, an the shameless confiscation and waste whic followed of so much that might have bee devoted to God's service, he stood b supinely, without apparently venturing t remonstrate with the king, will ever appea a dark blot on his character. Tha others who felt deeply in this matter wer equally timorous or time-serving, is poo matter out of which to construct an apolog for his conduct here. It remains, and eve will, a dark chapter in his life-story.

That he vehemently opposed the pass ing of the "Six Articles" Act is indis putable; but it would seem that his oppo sition was based rather upon intense dislik of the bitter spirit of persecution whic was breathed in the Act in question, tha from any serious dislike to the doctrine enunciated in its provisions. The larg share he took in the composition an subsequent putting forth of the "King' Book," is an ample proof that to the end o Henry's reign he had little sympathy wit what is termed Reformation doctrine; an his conduct after his stern master's death when as the head of the council he ordere a dirge to be sung in all the churches o London; and, assisted by eight other bishops sang himself a mass of requiem, showe that he had not as yet given up his belie in the sacrifice of the mass and in th dogma of transubstantiation.

After the passing of the statute of the "Six Articles," to which he was without doubt adverse, archbishop Cranmer retired a good deal from the turmoil of public life, though he still preserved the confidence and intimate friendship of the king. It was in these years that he especially devoted himself to study, and these studies gradually produced a great change in the archbishop's opinions. Hitherto he had quietly acquiesced in the teaching which the Reformers so vehemently opposed. His private secretary gives us an interesting account of his way of life. Cranmer's usual hour for rising was five o'clock. The first four hours of the day were generally given to devotion and study. He was not in the habit, when he read, of trusting to his memory, but had his commonplace book always at hand, and he usually read standing at his desk. At nine o'clock the primate received visitors, and transacted business till one, the usual hour for dinner. After dinner he would again receive visitors; and by his courtesy and kindness he won the goodwill of all who sought his presence. Then he would enjoy for a time some field sports, in which it was said he excelled; sometimes his recreation was a game of chess. At five he repaired to his chapel for devotion. Between chapel and supper time he again refreshed himself with some outdoor exercise; of supper, we read, he frequently did not partake, although he was always present to welcome his guests. At nine he retired to rest.

During the years of his partial retirement, the famous Hugh Latimer was often his guest and companion; and there is no doubt but that this earnest and devoted Reformer, who, with all his faults, is very dear to Englishmen, exercised considerable influence over him. But his chief friend and counsellor at this time was his chaplain, the learned theologian Ridley. This remarkable man, who has stamped his views indelibly upon the formularies and teaching of the Church of England, was born early in the sixteenth century. His career at Cambridge was most distinguished; he became a Fellow, and, finally, Master of his college (Pembroke). His favourite walk in the orchard, where he would pace up and down committing portions of the Greek Testament to memory, is yet called "Ridley's Walk." Subsequently he travelled on the Continent, studying both at the Sorbonne and at Louvain; and in Germany he became intimately acquainted with several of the leading Reformers. Returning to Cambridge, he again filled various distinguished posts in his university. He came under the notice of Cranmer, of whom he became the intimate friend and counsellor.

Ridley's conversion to the principal Reform doctrines was very slow, and was the fruit of long and patient study. The famous treatise of Ratramn, to which we have alluded before at some length in discussing the doctrines of the Anglo-Saxon church in the tenth century, with its profound learning and unanswerable arguments, were the basis of his views and subsequent teaching on the subject of the Lord's supper. The remainder of his distinguished career is well known, and belongs to English history. Cranmer introduced him to the king, who gave him valuable preferment. Under Edward VI. he was successively appointed to the sees of Rochester (1547) and of London (1550).

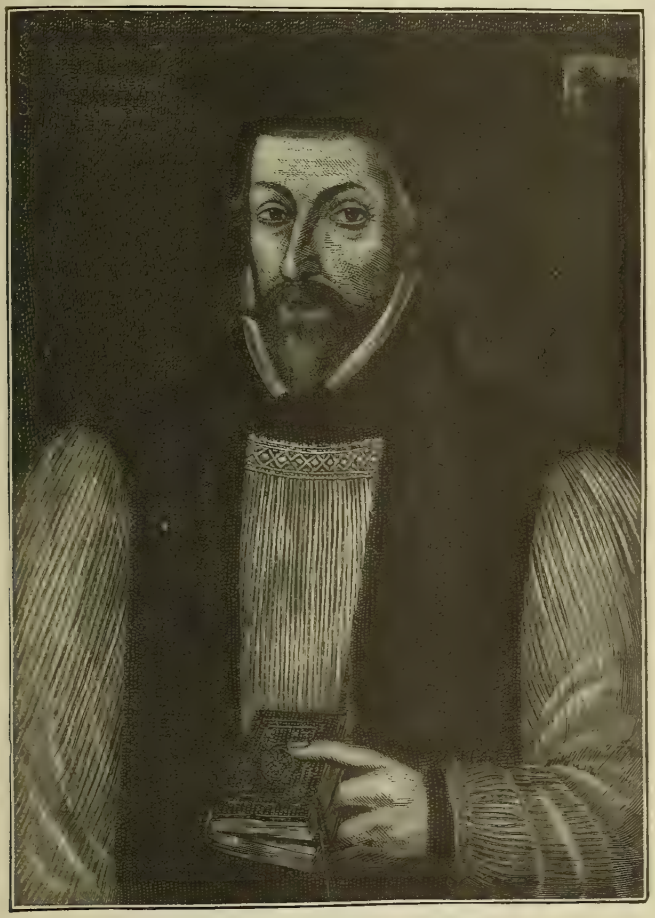
Under Queen Mary he was imprisoned in the Tower, and eventually tried at Oxford, and burnt as a heretic in 1555. He endured his martyrdom with great dignity and courage. Foxe describes him as "wise in counsell, deepe of wit, and very politike in all his doings. . . . In all points so good, godlie, and ghostlie a man, that England may justly rue the loss of so worthie a treasure." Burnet speaks of him as the ablest of the Reformers; he is described as small in stature, but great in learning. Such was the quiet scholar who brought his influence to bear on Cranmer during the last years of Henry VIII.; and Cranmer freely acknowledged his deep obligation to him. It is said that about the year 1545, Ridley communicated to the archbishop what he had discovered in the writings of Ratramn, and that then the two friends set themselves to examine the matter with more than ordinary care.

Many wise theologians in the Church of England would be glad if the Eucharistic controversy had never arisen; glad if, in his abbey of Corbey, Paschasius Radbertus had left the great mystery undefined, as it had ever been in the early ages of the church; glad if Rabanus Maurus the archbishop, and Ratramn the monk, and other learned men, had not been compelled by the alarm stirred up by Paschasius to examine and write on the hard question. But theologians and historians, although they may regret the question was ever stirred at all, are bound to relate the true story. There is no doubt but that Cranmer for years after he became archbishop, took but little interest in the discussion of a dogma which for a long time he regarded as scarcely needing much discussion. The doctrine of transubstantiation he found generally taught in the church, and he therefore received it, as did his sovereign king Henry VIII., without questioning. In the third great formulary, "The King's Book," it is clearly taught.

But the controversy was daily assuming among reformers greater importance. Protestants (we use this term generally for reformers) of all shades were urgent that the mass should be turned into a communion. The mass was regarded by the mediæval church as a sacrifice for the quick and dead. The reformers maintained that it was a communion through which the faithful were united to Christ. They taught that the Eucharist was indeed a sacrifice, but a commemorative sacrifice in which the faithful offered themselves as a sacrifice, a body of persons prepared to serve God in body and soul. The mediæval church regarded itself as offering the Lord Jesus Christ Himself. But if He was to be offered, He must be corporeally present; and He could only be corporeally present by the transmutation of the substance of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ. This dogma Cranmer and Henry VIII. unhesitatingly received when the "King's Book" was put out.

In the last years of the famous reign, the unswerving determination of reformers of all lands and schools to reject this dogma of transubstantiation, weighed sorely on men like Cranmer, and his friend and adviser, Ridley. Ridley devoted himself to the study of the question, and the remarkable treatise of Ratramn, published first in opposition to Paschasius Radbertus some seven hundred years before, decided

him absolutely to throw his lot in this matter in with the reformers. He took the weighty treatise to Cranmer, and the archbishop seems from that day gradually we know were familiar to him, were also probably at this period working in his mind. Slowly, very slowly indeed, the new conviction seems to have forced



NICHOLAS RIDLEY, BISHOP OF LONDON.
(*From the portrait in the National Portrait Gallery.*)

to have changed his old views. Cranmer's words later express this: "Ridley did confer with me, and by sending persuasions and authorities of ancient doctors drew me quite from my opinion in favour of transubstantiation." Frith's arguments, which itself upon him. He cannot be said to have really renounced the dogma of transubstantiation before king Henry's death, because he celebrated mass at the coronation of Edward VI., and sung the mass at St. Paul's on the occasion of the death of

Francis I. of France, a month or two after Henry's death. But that his opinions were already changing is clear, and it even seems probable that Henry himself, extraordinary as it may appear, and fiercely as he had fought for the doctrine of transubstantiation during the whole of his reign, cherished doubts or had to some extent changed his own views before the end came; for some arrangements had been made between the kings of France and England, shortly before the death of these monarchs, to turn the mass into a communion; and Cranmer is even said to have been commanded to prepare a form of communion.*

We dwell upon this gradual but deliberate change of opinion on the part of Ridley and Cranmer, if not also of Henry VIII. himself, because it is of extreme importance to ascertain what was intended to be taught by the formularies of the Church of England, as reformed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Ridley, the dear friend and counsellor of Cranmer, maintained a doctrine nearly identical with that maintained by Calvin, and before him by Ratramn. With the latter Ridley expresses his entire accordance. He constantly declares that whilst he rejects all presence of the natural body and blood in the way of transubstantiation, he yet acknowledges a real presence of Christ spiritually, and by grace to be received by the faithful in the communion of the Eucharist.* Ridley's own words deserve quotation, and will show his opinion with accuracy. "I say that the body of Christ is present in the Sacrament, but yet sacramentally and spiritually (according to His grace) giving life, and in that respect really, that is, according to His benediction giving life. . . . The true church of Christ doth acknowledge a presence of Christ's body in the Lord's Supper to be communicated to the godly by grace and spiritually, as I have often showed, by a sacramental signification, not by the corporeal presence of the body of His flesh"; and, again, "that heavenly Lamb is (as I confess) on the table, but by a spiritual presence, and not after any corporeal presence of the flesh taken of the Virgin Mary."

The Liturgy and Articles of our church were certainly in the main, if not entirely, compiled by these two. It is true that both the Liturgy and the Articles have been slightly altered since their time, yet by far the larger part remains just as Cranmer

* In support of this statement, that king Henry VIII. shortly before his death was determined to carry out the Reformation further, Dean Hook quotes (see "Remains," i., 321) Cranmer's words to his secretary, Murice, after Henry's death: "I am sure you were at Hampton Court when the French king's ambassador was entertained there, not long before the king's death . . . the king leaning upon the ambassador and upon me; if I should tell what communication between the king's highness and the said ambassador was had concerning the establishment of sincere religion, then a man would hardly have believed it. Nor had I myself thought the king's highness had been so forward in these matters as then appeared. I may tell you it passed the pulling down of roods and suppressing the ringing of bells. I take it, that few in England would have believed that the king's majesty and the French king had been at their peril . . . to have changed the mass into a communion as we now use it . . . and herein the king's highness willed even to pen a form thereof to be sent to the French king to consider of." See also Canon Dixon, who refers to Strype's "Cranmer (bk. i., chap xxx.) for the words: "The king (Henry VIII.) commanded him (Cranmer) to pen a form for the alteration of the mass into a communion." ("Hist. of Ch. of Eng.," chap. xii.)

* "Works—Parker Society," pp. 236–249.

and Ridley left them. Dean Hook's summary* is important, that "our reformers believed that Christ can be really present to the worthy recipient; that they considered the *res-sacramenti* to depend on consecration, and on the worthy receiving—not the receiving without the consecration, but the consecration with the receiving. They argued that the bread and wine when consecrated are intended to become to all intents and purposes that blessed thing which they represent; but such they do not become in fact until the worthy recipient has made it such to himself by faith. He then rejoices, for that he has received his Lord." Hooker (A.D. 1553 1600), to quote the words of perhaps our greatest Anglican theologian, gives the same interpretation when he writes "that Christ is personally there present, albeit a part of Christ be corporally absent—that the fruit of the Eucharist is the participation of the body and blood of Christ; that the real presence of Christ's most blessed body and blood is not therefore to be sought for in the Sacrament, but in the worthy receiver of the Sacrament." †

The words in Cranmer's Article (the present xxviii.) are "to such as rightly worthily and with faith receive the same, the bread which we break is a partaking of the Body of Christ, and likewise the Cup of Blessing is a partaking of the Blood of Christ." ‡ This was one of the forty-two articles of religion published in the year 1552. Bishop Jewel (A.D. 1522–1571), who was probably the chief writer of the second book of Homilies, and who may be trusted as one of the weightiest exponents of the Anglican belief, writes in his apology: "We plainly pronounce in the Supper the body and blood of the Lord, the flesh of the Son of God, to be truly exhibited to those who believe." The same great truth is taught in our day to every boy and girl brought up in the Anglican church, in the words of our Catechism, in the explanation of the Sacraments, added in 1664: "The body and blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper."

Whether or not the opinion of Tunstall, bishop of Durham, that it would have been better "to leave curious persons to their own conjectures respecting this mystery" was not a wise one, is an open question. Not a few holy and humble men in our own and in former generations certainly think with him. So evidently thought Hooker, though he closely followed the Anglican reformers in his definitions, when he wrote: "It is enough that unto me that take them, they are the body and blood of Christ. Why should any cogitation possess the soul of the faithful communicant, but, O my God! thou art true; O my soul! thou art happy." All we have done here, however, is to faithfully set forth what was beyond doubt in the mind of our great Anglican reformers themselves, when they compiled the formularies of the Anglican faith. And when they put these formularies forth they invented nothing, suggested nothing novel. They simply and faithfully restored

* "Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury, vol. vii., chap. iii., p. 152.

† "Ecclesiastical Polity," book v., chap. lxvii., 6–11.

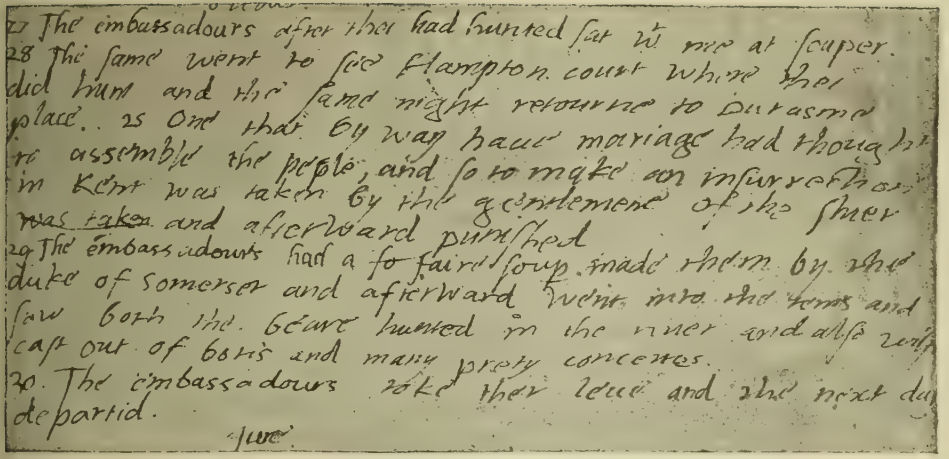
‡ See page 220, where the text of this article is given, with the changes of 1562.

the ancient creed, in the spirit, and we might almost say in the very words of the *old Anglo-Saxon church;* sweeping away the novel additions and interpretations introduced by mediæval divines. The continuity of the Anglican church with the church of Dunstan and Elfric is, in this respect, unbroken; and it has been shown already how glorious was the lineage of that church of our Anglo-Saxon fathers.

When the end came for Henry VIII., it was not unexpected. Though not an old man, his health had long been declining. His ever-increasing corpulence had given him much pain and uneasiness; and when in the last months of his life an ulcer in his leg had deepened and spread, he could no longer walk or stand, and was wheeled from room to room. The symptoms grew worse, and the king became fully aware that the end was at hand.

The day before his death, it is said, he spent in conversation with lord Hertford, the brother of his queen Jane Seymour, and consequently uncle of the future king Edward VI., and Sir William Paget, on the condition and future of England. A few hours after this he grew suddenly worse, and being asked which of the bishops he desired to see, he answered Cranmer. When the archbishop arrived the king was still conscious, but speechless. Cranmer, "speaking comfortably to him, desired him to give him some token that he put his trust in God through Jesus Christ: therewith the king wrung hard the archbishop's hand, and expired." Edward VI., who followed him on the throne, was scarcely ten years old when his father died.

RIDLEY'S WALK, PEMBROKE COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.


27 The embassadours after ther had hunted sat wt me at Supper.
28 The same went to see Hampton court where ther
did hunt and the same night retourne to Durasme
place. 29 One that by way have mariage had thought
to assemble the people, and so to make an insurrection
in Kent was taken by the gentlemene of the Shier
was taken and afterward punished
29 The embassadours had a fo faird soup made them by the
duke of somerset and afterward went into the tems and
saw both the beare hunted in the river and also cast
cast out of boits and many prety conceites.
30. The embassadours toke ther leue and the next day
departid.
June.

PORTION OF A PAGE OF KING EDWARD VI.'S DIARY. (*British Museum.*)

CHAPTER XLIX.

EDWARD VI. AND THE FIRST PRAYER-BOOK.

The Dukes of Somerset and Northumberland—Edward VI.—Troubled Character of his Reign—The Homilies—Injunctions—Destruction of Images and Paintings in Churches—Repeal of the Six Articles—The First Order of Communion—The Roman Breviary—The Sarum Use—The First Book of Common Prayer in English—Description of its Principal Features—Resistance to the Reformed Liturgy—Fall of Somerset from Power.

THE will of Henry VIII., a carefully prepared document, left the government during the minority in the hands of a body of executors of equal powers, who were to be advised by an assistant body of counsellors. The executors were composed of representatives of both the parties who had formed the late king's council. The reformers and the supporters of the new learning, the conservatives and the men of the old learning, were alike members of this proposed regency. But Henry's intention that things should go on as before his death, under the guidance of this evenly-balanced council, was quickly set aside. Gardiner, who was the leader of the "old learning," was put aside; Hertford, the young king's uncle, as a result of a series of intrigues, stepped into the position of regent, with the name of Protector; and various promotions in the peerage were given to his friends, Hertford taking the title of the duke of Somerset.

The years of the reign of Edward VI.—1547–1553—are a confused and disturbed period in English ecclesiastical history. During these years, which witnessed the alternate supremacy of factions, when the government was in the hands of those who, as a rule, cared for little save the advancement of their own interests, two men in succession stood prominent; in the picture of the time they fill the principal places in the canvas.

The first of these was the Protector, Hertford, better known by the title he assumed, immediately upon Henry's death, of the duke of Somerset. He has been well described as "attempting the work of a giant with the strength of a woman, as being at once passionate and unmanageable." With the multitude he won a great reputation, and was the object of their love to the end. Historians dwell on his good intentions; but these were marred by overweening pride and boundless ostentation. As the result of his Scotch wars and the victory of Pinkie, he assumed the *rôle* of a hero and a great general; as the repealer of the persecuting statute of the Six Articles, he won among the people the reputation of an advocate of religious liberty, and a devoted friend of the Reformation. But his administration was generally disastrous.

As a result of his government, a dangerous and widespread rebellion disturbed the west and south of England; and the revolt spread over Yorkshire and the Northern Midlands. In the west the rebellion bore the character of a religious outbreak, being fostered by the bitter discontent of those who loved the old rites and ceremonies, and disliked the innovations of the reforming party. In the northern districts, other and various causes connected with the Protector's government were at work. The outbreaks, both in the north and west, were subdued at length after considerable bloodshed; but the prestige of Somerset was ruined. Disasters which befel the English armies in France contributed also to his downfall. His life was, however, spared at the time, and his victorious rivals even allowed him still to hold a subordinate place in th regency council; but he was subse quently accused of intriguing to regai his lost power, and eventually brough to the block in the year 1552, where h suffered with much dignity and calmness.

So passionately was Somerset loved b many in spite of his faults and many weak nesses, his overweening pride, and the dis asters which had overtaken his govern ment, that many who were near th scaffold pressed forward to dip their hand kerchiefs in their loved hero's blood. I the sad tragedy which closed the brillian life, much that disfigured that life has bee forgotten, and the career of Somerset which worked much evil and mischief t his country, has been usually painted b historians in far too laudatory terms.

His great rival and successor in power Dudley, lord Lisle, earl of Warwick an subsequently duke of Northumberland, ha left behind him a far darker and mor guilty reputation. He was the son of tha Dudley who, with Empson, were notoriou in the reign of Henry VII. as the agents o much of the greed and oppression whic disfigured the great and on the whol beneficent reign of the first of the Tudo kings, and who was executed for treason in the early days of Henry VIII. The son of the justly execrated official distinguished himself under Henry VIII. as a soldier, sailor, and a skilful diplomatist. He re ceived the dignity of the peerage, and a lord Lisle was one of the king's counsellor who formed the regency government under Somerset. He was created earl of War wick, and, later, duke of Northumberland He has been well described as "shrewd cunning, and plausible; as possessing

something of the reality, something of the affectation of high qualities, with great personal courage; a character well fitted to impose on others, because, first of all, it is likely that he imposed upon himself."

Somerset, although a worldly and ambitious statesman, was in his heart deeply attached to what he understood to be the principles of the Reformation; and we possess still a beautiful prayer, written by himself, with which he began his self-imposed duties of government. But Northumberland had no real religious convictions whatever. His bias was, if anything, in the direction of the old learning, and the party opposed to the Reformation hoped much from him when, on the fall of Somerset, he became the ruling power in the State. But they hoped in vain; he cared for none of these things. The one sole object of his life was the aggrandisement of himself and his family; everything was sacrificed to this ignoble end. For this he persuaded the dying Edward VI. to nominate his cousin, the lady Jane Grey, granddaughter of Henry VIII.'s sister, as his successor, having already arranged the ill-fated marriage between the lady Jane Grey and his young son Guildford Dudley.

When all the elaborate scaffolding he had prepared with so much care and many dark intrigues had crumbled away, and the princess Mary, against whose rightful succession to the crown he had plotted—apparently so successfully—was on the throne, Dudley professed detestation of everything connected with the Reformation. After an edifying or unedifying succession of recantations, of what under Mary's rule were branded as Reformation heresies and errors, he died, saying to the crowd who had gathered round the scaffold where he expiated his many fatal ambitions, that his fall was owing to the false preachers who had led him to err from the Catholic faith of Christ, and imploring his wondering hearers to turn all of them and at once to the church (of Rome) which they had left; in which church he from the bottom of his heart avowed his own steadfast belief. He repeated the *Miserere* and the *De Profundis* psalms and the Paternoster, and muttered "I have deserved a thousand deaths;" then tracing with his finger on the sawdust sprinkled round the block a cross, he kissed it devoutly; then laid his head on the block, and so died—perhaps in earnest at last. For many years a bad, evil man, he perished absolutely unregretted.

To these two men were committed the destinies of our country during the seven years of the reign of Edward VI. The sketch will help us in forming an estimate of the work accomplished in that confused, sad period. Of the boy-king an outline picture must also be drawn, before we take up the narrative of the all-important religious work which was carried on in the midst of such unpromising surroundings.

Edward VI., king of England, was born in 1537 at Hampton Court. He was the son of Henry VIII. and of his third and best loved wife, Jane Seymour, his birth costing his mother her life. The greatest pains, from his earliest years, were bestowed upon the training of the solitary male hope of the Tudor dynasty. When he was six years old, he was placed under the

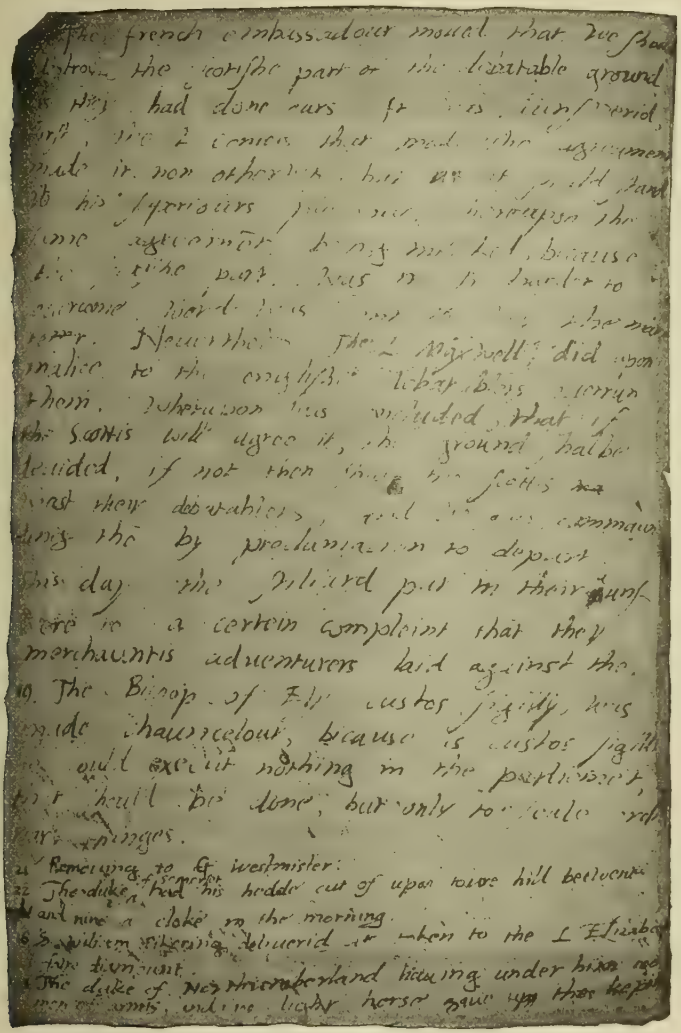
tuition of Sir John Cheke, the famous Greek scholar, and the learned Roger Ascham. All his biographers dwell on his amiability and deep piety, and his too early learning he was by no means allowe to neglect athletic exercises. Nothing wa forgotten in the education of this promisin heir to the crown of the mighty Englis

THE DUKE OF SOMERSET.
(*After the portrait by Holbein.*)

precocious quickness in learning "He would gently promise me often," wrote Roger Ascham afterwards of his loved pupil, "to do me good one day." He learned as a boy to speak and read Latin well, and made great progress in Greek; he was also a good French scholar, and could play on the lute. With all this too nation. He even in his diary tells us ho he loved games.

When Henry VIII. died, he was scarcel ten years old. Then followed his six o seven years of kingship. He was barel seventeen when the end came. His wa a loveless, melancholy childhood, over shadowed with the state and stiffness of

Tudor court, under the guardianship of such men as the protector Somerset, his uncle, whom he loved but little, and the unprincipled Dudley, duke of Northumberland. His sisters, Mary and Elizabeth, had separate establishments, and he saw little of them. His character was absolutely irreproachable. The boy-king was conscious of his high destiny, fully aware of the awful responsibilities to which he was called, and devoted himself to study and to preparation for his future career; and on



PAGE OF KING EDWARD VI.'S DIARY, WRITTEN IN HIS OWN HAND, CONTAINING REFERENCE (*) TO THE EXECUTION OF THE DUKE OF SOMERSET (*p.* 190). (*British Museum.*)

public occasions he ever bore himself with a quiet dignity beyond his years. The learned Italian, Cardan, who paid a visit to England about 1552, thus writes in glowing terms of the impression which Edward VI. made upon him: "I saw him, the marvellous boy, at the age of fifteen years. He knew seven languages, including Latin and French, both of which he spoke fluently, Italian, Spanish, and a considerable amount of Greek. He asked questions about my philosophy, and very searching were the questions he put to me about the book which I dedicated to him, and particularly as to my great discovery as to the reason of the comets (Cardan was a famous astronomer and mathematician). Ah, he led me among the stars! He was as sweet, too, as he was learned. Alas for his early grave! He favoured the arts before he was old enough to know them; before he was old enough to use them, he knew them. Alas! that he could only give a specimen, not an example of virtue."

He was naturally religious and thoughtful, and all his sympathies were with the Reformation. But, as we have said, it was a loveless, joyless existence for a boy, and well calculated to foster the seeds of weak health and disease, which so soon closed the career that gave such promise of nobility and devoted earnestness. He seems to have cared little for any of his nearest relations. When Somerset, his uncle, who was ever kind to him, was brought to the block through the influence of Northumberland, we read this cold and apparently unfeeling entry in the young king's diary—"The duke of Somerset had his head cut off on Tower Hill between eight and nine in the morning"—nothing more: no expression of regret or even c surprise! He excluded without apparentl any regret his two sisters from the succes sion. Mary's religion was hateful to hin but it is difficult to see why Elizabeth wa shut out.

He was attacked soon after Somerset' death by small-pox, and, although he re covered from the dread malady, the seed of consumption had been sown, probabl during his convalescence. Other com plications of sickness were quickly de veloped, and men saw that the hours c the young king were numbered. He wa a great sufferer at the last. Eruption came out over his skin, his hair fell off, an then his nails and afterwards the joints c his toes and fingers. Northumberland wa suspected of hastening the end by poison but this is absolutely improbable. Dudle had many sins to answer for, but not this.

Edward VI. was scarcely sixteen year old when he breathed his last. We posses several admirable portraits of him by th great and famous Holbein. His fair, sweet boyish face, with his grey eyes and his sad earnest expression, is very familiar to u from them. One who saw him shortl before his death, describes him as "c stature below the usual size, with a gestur and general aspect sedate and becoming."

Such is a rough picture of the young king and the chief persons of the unhappy regency government, which lasted during the six and a half years from January, 1547 to July, 1553, when the boy-king died It was during these sad years of confusion and misrule that the great liturgical re formation was carried out, mainly by Cranmer; yet most of his work, done in

that period of stress and storm, has been enduring. "While the Church of England remains, the image of Cranmer will be seen reflected on the calm surface of the Liturgy. The most beautiful portions of it are translations from the Breviary; yet the same prayers translated by others would not be those which chime like church bells in the ears of the English child. The translations and the addresses, which are original, have the same silvery melody of language, and breathe the same simplicity of spirit."* While we marvel at the almost unearthly beauty of the quiet solemn praise and prayer, woven into the wondrous tapestry of our Anglican Liturgy amid the sordid tumult of plot and intrigue and rebellion going on all around, the same train of thought which disposes us to wondering admiration of the great work done at such a time, also leads us to find in the same sordid tumult of plot and intrigue excuses for the errors in judgment which were undoubtedly made, and the grave mistakes which were committed, in those six and a half years of work, carried on amidst such disturbing conditions.

When Henry VIII. died, we have seen how the minds of Cranmer and Ridley were being led towards further reformation; and we saw that, had the king lived, fresh advances in that direction were imminent. One is even tempted to wish that the great erring life had been prolonged, for it seems probable that some of the things most to be deplored would never have been done: such as the wanton and irreparable destruction of altars, images, shrines, tombs, stained windows, and the like. But when Henry died there was no one to restrain the violent and destructive spirit which too often accompanied good and righteous reforms. With Cranmer in his forward movement were associated, first and foremost, Ridley, just nominated bishop of Rochester; Holgate, archbishop of York; and four other bishops. The new protector, Somerset, as far as his many state cares and private ambitions permitted him, heartily sympathised with Cranmer and his friends.

The first work undertaken by the primate was the putting out of twelve homilies, authorised by royal authority—the present first Book of Homilies of the Church of England. This was ordered to be read in churches every Sunday. This book, intended for the public instruction of the people, which contained some true and admirable pieces of popular theology, while it did not contradict, must be regarded as watering down in some important particulars the teaching of "The King's Book." The mention of the Sacraments, which had formed so important a place in the formulary put out under Henry VIII., in the Homilies was scanty and only incidental; strangely enough, no single Homily was devoted to their exposition.

At the same time, the Paraphrase of Erasmus on the New Testament was published by authority. This Paraphrase, written by one who undoubtedly was the foremost literary genius of the age—although by no means of the same nature and spirit as the polemical Commentaries of Tyndale—was not a work calculated to infuse a calm and spiritual tone among the fervid and often excited men of that time.

* Froude.

Putting out this Paraphrase at such a time must be looked upon as a regrettable step. Gardiner, who was the leader of the conservative party in the Church of England, warmly remonstrated, but to no avail.

Next followed in the same year (1547) a general visitation of the kingdom, under royal authority. The country was divided for this purpose into six circuits, among thirty visitors, composed partly of lay, partly of clerical officials. These carried with them the new books above referred to—the Homilies and Erasmus's Paraphrase; and what was more important, the celebrated Injunctions of Edward VI. These Injunctions were in part a reproduction of former manifestoes of Henry VIII., and repeated what had been formerly set forth concerning the king's supremacy, the English Bible, and the instruction of the people in the rudiments of the faith, etc. But there were some very important new Injunctions, admirable and wise in spirit and in tone; such as directions for the lessons to be read in English, and also the Epistle and Gospel in English at high mass; for an English Litany, no longer to be sung only in procession as formerly, but to be always sung immediately before high mass. Certain ancient customs were forbidden—others were still permitted. Waxen tapers before images and shrines were reduced to two, which were to be set only upon the high altar before the Sacrament.

The distinction between "images" which were superstitiously abused and those which were not, as expressed in earlier royal pronouncements, was maintained in these Injunctions; but in the following year (1548) an order in Council directed that *all* images, whether abused or not, were to be removed from churches. The result was that innumerable pictures and paintings of feigned miracles that were in walls, glass windows, or elsewhere in churches or even in private houses, were ruthlessly destroyed. Feigned miracles were found as difficult to be discerned from true miracles as abused images from other images. "Thenceforth began that vile lainous scraping, coating, or whitewashing of frescoes, and that indiscriminate smashing of windows, which obliterated in countless instances the most various and beautiful examples of several of the arts, and at a blow took from the minds of men the science, the traditionary secrets, which it had taken five centuries to accumulate." * The comparatively rare examples we now possess of painted windows of the pre-Reformation period were preserved, there is little doubt, to avoid the expense which would have been incurred had they been broken, in replacing them with plain glass to keep the wind and rain out. To this not unnatural wish to save needless expenditure to take one conspicuous example, we owe the conservation of the matchless wall of translucent jewelled glass, the gift of a pious layman who, in the days of Edward III., wished to commemorate the battle of Creçi, and which for 550 years has been among the glories of the superb choir of Gloucester.

One who is, comparatively speaking, rarely stirred to indignation by any of the regrettable Reformation excesses and exaggerations, when penning his graphi

* Dixon: "History of the Church of England," chap xiii.

picture of the results of this unhappy Injunction, and of the supplementary order in Council of the following year, thus should remain no memory of the same. . . . Painted glass survives to show that the order was imperfectly obeyed;

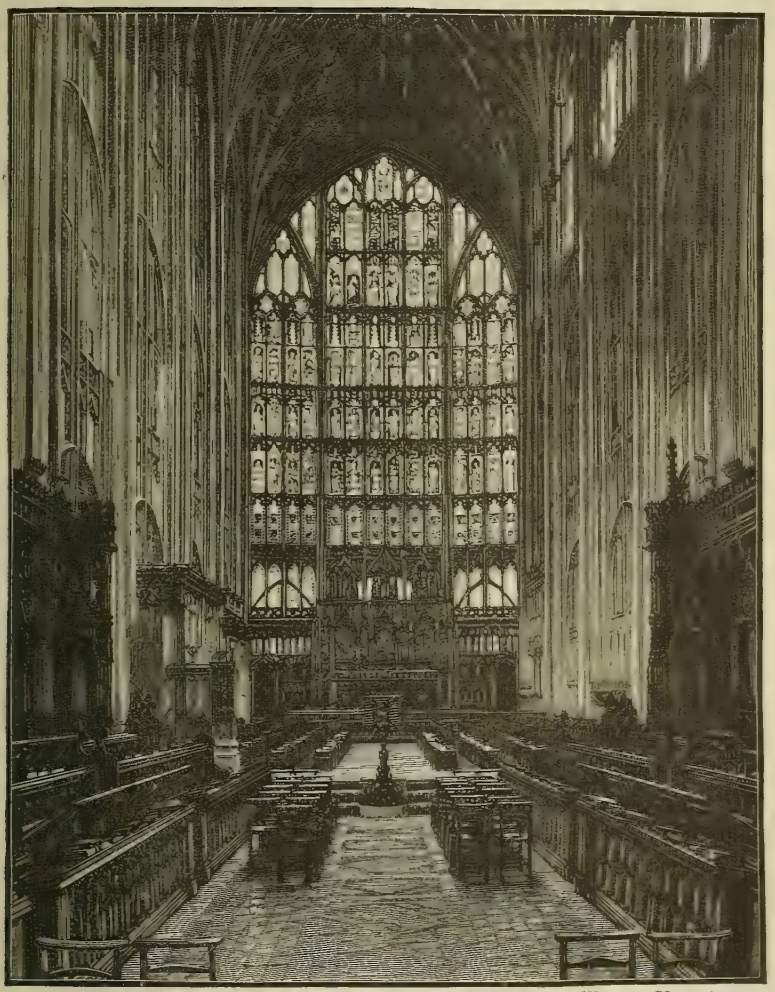


Photo: H. W. Watson, Gloucester.

THE GREAT EAST WINDOW, GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL.

breaks into an eloquent and stirring outburst of indignant anger: "From wall and window every picture, every image commemorative of saint or prophet, was to be extirpated and put away, so that there but, in general, spoliation became the law of the land. The statues crashed from their niches; rood and rood-loft were laid low, and the sunlight stared in white and stainless upon the whitened aisles.

The churches were now whitelimed, with the Commandments written upon the walls, where the quaint frescoes had told the story of the Gospel to the eyes of generation after generation. The superstition which had paid an undue reverence to the symbols of holy things was avenged by the superstition of as blind a hatred. . . . It was no light thing to the village peasant to see the royal arms staring above the empty socket of the crucifix to which he prayed; the saints, after which he was named in baptism, flung out into the mud; the pictures on the church walls daubed with plaster, over which his eyes had wandered wonderingly in childhood." *

The months of 1547 passed on. In November the first Parliament of the Protectorate met, and with it the Convocation of the clergy. The feeling in favour of a sharp advance in the Reformation was very pronounced. The "Six Articles" act, and other statutes which had been enacted in the days of Henry IV. and his son against the Lollards, were repealed. The old process of the *Congé d'élire*, or licence to elect a bishop addressed to the dean and chapter, was unfortunately departed from, and an act was passed "for the election of bishops," in which it was directed that they should be appointed by letters patent of the king. This act was repealed by queen Elizabeth. The question of the sacrament of the altar was brought up, and with the view of checking the profanities which were too common on the lips of the extreme party of Reformers, here blasphemy was made penal by statute. But in the same act, communion in both kinds was enjoin on laity as well as on clergy. The sacr ment of the altar in this act was call "the Supper of the Lord, the Communi and partaking of the body and blood Christ."

One more important measure becar law this year. Henry VIII. had receiv from Parliament the power of suppressi chauntries, hospitals, and other mediæv corporations. Death had interfered wi his generally exerting this last power confiscation. The act was now renewe in spite of the opposition of Cranmer. is especially deserving of notice that this juncture in the Reformation, Co vocation unanimously agreed in t communion being administered und both kinds, and regarded with favo the proposed abolition of celibacy their order.

The year 1548—the second of the Pr tectorate—commenced with an eve which gives us some index to the rap march of serious public opinion. Latim —somewhile bishop of Worcester—w had been silenced for eight years, preach at Paul's Cross a remarkable course sermons. One of these, the sermon " the Plough," we still possess. It is a go specimen of the oratory of the day, whic while it denounced with fervour and tru mediæval superstitions which still too oft kept their hold upon the people, was t often disfigured with wild and intempera allusions, ill suited to the progress of calm and thoughtful Reformation. "T best ploughman," he said, "in the realm the devil. He is always in his parish; keeps his residence" (thus alluding to too frequent absence of bishops from th

* Froude: "History of England," chap. xxiv.

ioceses). "With him it is away with ooks, and up with beads; away with the ght of the Gospel, and up with the light f candles. Yea, it is roundly, up with ll superstitions and idolatry, censing and ainting of images, palms, ashes, and holy ater; up with purgatory pick-purse, down ith Christ's Cross; let all things be done n Latin, nothing but Latin. God's Word ay in no wise be translated into English! Voe unto thee, O Devil! That Italian ishop yonder is thy chieftain, and has revailed to make us believe vain things y his pardons, to frustrate Christ's sole erits of His passion."

In the many-coloured story of the nglish Reformation, the serious historian as to relate many an act over which he ourns, has to paint many a scene of uthless, heedless destruction. Men's assions were loosed, gross exaggerations ere unscrupulously advanced, selfish greed nd narrow fanaticism coloured too many f the works and days of the reformers; uch that was venerable and beautiful, oul-stirring, and helpful to religion was eedlessly and thoughtlessly swept away. n striking contrast to these acts of bararous destruction and stupid fanaticism, n contrast to those words and writings eemed to be religious, but forged in the hite-heat of passion, stand out the noble nglish translation of the Bible, the work Tyndale the scholar and his friends, and ne beautiful English liturgy, the result of ne labours of Cranmer and his associates. n the English Bible and in the Anglican turgy we see the best and most beneficent de of the Reformation of our church. Most of what is really good and great in the change that passed over the Church of England in the fifteenth century is traceable to these noble and beneficent works. In the one, the poorest as well as the richest, the illiterate peasant and artisan as well as the trained and practised scholar, could read and ponder over, as he had never read and pondered over before, the grand and moving story of God's dealings with and His surpassing love for men; in the other he could pray, as he had never prayed before, to his God, Redeemer, Friend.

The first important liturgical work of the Reformation—the Sacramentary, the first English order of Communion—was authoritatively ordered for general use in the Easter-tide of the year 1548. Briefly, its history was as follows.

We have already seen how Parliament had passed an act for the administration of the Eucharist in both kinds, thus dealing with one of the flagrant abuses of the later mediæval church. As a necessary sequel to this act, a commission of bishops and doctors, composed of divines belonging to what is best called the schools of the old and new learning, had been appointed by the council to compose an order of Communion in English. Over this mixed commission Cranmer presided, and was throughout the guiding spirit. They met at Windsor Castle, and their labours were completed before the Easter of that year (1548). We may well conclude that much, if not most of the work, had been already prepared by Cranmer and Ridley.

This first English Order of Communion was a most careful and cautious piece of liturgic reformation of the old missal, the "Sarum Use" being principally used. So

cautious, indeed, were Cranmer and his fellow-workers, that in the "Reformed Order," while providing for the changes about to be detailed, out of extreme reverence, and perhaps hesitancy in finding the exact words in our vernacular, the actual oblation and consecration were allowed to remain in the mediæval *Latin;* the exhortation and direction addressed to the communicants being, however, now in English. The priest was also forbidden to vary from the old rites and ceremonies of the mass "until other order should be provided." The great changes were: (1) provision being made for administering the Sacrament *in both kinds;* (2) a general Confession in English was added, to be repeated by all the people. In the mediæval use the Confession was said secretly by the priest. The people who communicated had, as a rule, made their confessions *before* they came.

This introduction of a public confession was an open attack upon the old practice of secret or auricular confession.* Dean Hook gives, as the especial reason for this change, the fact of the rarity of communicants being owing to the supposed necessity of prior confessing; and confession to God being necessary, a *general* public confession and absolution were added to the service. But the compilers of the "Reformed Order of Communion" were so tender and careful not to wound the consciences of devout and earnest men, that they urged a mutual charity in the following wise and loving words: "Let not such as shall be satisfied with a general confession be offended with those that doth use, to their further satisfying, this auricular and secret confession to th priests; nor those who think needful t the quietness of their own conscience further to lay open their sins to the pries be offended with those that are satisfie with their humble confession to God, an the general confession in the church. But in spite of this permission, the ne Order for ever swept away the absolut necessity of auricular confession and privat absolution before communicating.

The English part of the new Order c Communion was mainly derived from German model—the "Consultation c Hermann," the elector archbishop c Cologne. Hermann owed his work chiefl to the Lutheran Bucer. Bucer derived hi formularies largely from the liturgy give to Nuremberg by Luther himself. Th influence of German reformers in the re vision of the public services which rapidl followed the putting out of this first reforme Communion Service, was very considerable The disturbed state of Germany at th time drove away many of the leadin divines and theologians from their ow country. Not a few of these exiles receive a warm welcome in England, and severa of the more prominent were hospitabl entertained at Lambeth by Cranmer, wh profited largely by their advice in hi liturgical labours. Among these wer Peter Martyr, a learned Lutheran divine Martin Bucer, whose reputation in German as a follower of Luther was deservedl great; Fagius, the learned Hebraist; an Alasco, the Pole.

There was considerable opposition to th new "Order of Communion," as migh have been looked for. Many of the clerg misliked the new spirit of reform whic

* *Cf.* Dixon: "Hist. of Ch. of Eng.," chap. xiv.

LATIMER PREACHING TO THE CIVIC AUTHORITIES AT PAUL'S CROSS.
(From the picture by Sir George Hayter.)

breathed through the direction to administer the sacrament in both kinds; the permission to communicate without prior secret confession and absolution, which took away (so felt many of the party of the old learning) from the clerical character of the service, struck a blow at the position and influence of the clergy. Quietly the "new order" was evaded in various quarters—more especially, it is said, in some of the cathedral churches. Some of the bishops, too, notably Gardiner of Winchester and Bonner of London, who had no share in its composition, were negligent in the enforcement of the use of the book. A good deal of uneasiness and even some bitter discontent pervaded the church in this period of change; in certain places it was almost a veiled rebellion. Preaching was entirely forbidden by royal proclamation. Already preaching had been strictly limited, bishops and clergy having been ordered only to preach in their own cures. None other might preach but licensed preachers. But now total silence was imposed upon the pulpit, pending the labours of the commissioners at Windsor, who were engaged in the preparation of the uniform Order of Public Prayer. The reform of the "Breviary," as we shall see, was proceeded with immediately after the reform of the "Missal" was completed.

From abroad, after the reform of the Missal in the shape of the "Order of Communion," came various voices from the great Continental reformers of approval and of encouragement. Bucer, who may be fairly taken as the representative of the Lutherans, after warm congratulations on the work of the Windsor commissioners, wrote: "No relics of the old leaven will long remain in you, either in doctrine o discipline. The work will go on, th sacraments will be administered accordin to Christ's institution, communicated t all who should receive, declared and ac knowledged to be the signs of His grace. Calvin wrote, before the close of the yea 1548, a long letter to the protector Somer set, urging him to go on as he had com menced. "Pursue the work," he wrote "which thou hast begun, till thou has rendered thy kingdom the most desired i the world. Go on; refrain not thy hand . . . Though strong, thou seemest to nee strengthening by holy exhortation. . . Great difficulties hast thou; nor is i wonderful that the bulk of men refuse th Gospel. . . . I hear that there be tw kinds of men who seditiously stir them selves against you and the realm—thos who walk disorderly in the name of th Gospel, and those who are sunk in the ol superstitions. . . . There is a lack o good pastors among you. Supply tha defect, but have a care of rash and errati men. See that you have lively sermons preaching ought not to be dead, but lively not ornamental, not theatrical, but edify ing. . . . Let there be a form o doctrine published, received by all an taught by all. . . . It is of no use t do things by halves; a little leaven of th Roman corruption will leaven the whol mass of the Supper of the Lord. I hea with pain that there is a prayer for th dead in your celebration. I know tha this is not meant for purgatory. I kno that it is an ancient thing, designed t show that in one communion all, the quic and dead alike, are of one body. But sti it is an addition to the most sacred of rite

Moreover, you have chrism in confirmation, and you have extreme unction. How frivolous!"

It was, as we have seen, at the Eastertide of 1548 that the reformed Missal, the first English Order of Communion, came into public use. The Windsor commissioners, under the presidency of Cranmer, at once set to work on the remainder of their great task, the composition of the first Prayer-book, or, as it may generally be termed, the reform of the *Breviary*. Now what was this "Breviary" and the other mediæval service-books, which Cranmer and his fellows had before them?

To go back many centuries, we find in the early Middle Ages many "uses" of worship, variously derived from very early liturgies known as the liturgy of St. James or of Antioch, from which the Russian liturgy of the present time is derived; the liturgy of St. Mark or of Alexandria; the liturgy of St. Peter, the basis of the Roman rite; the liturgy of St. John or of Ephesus, which passed into Spain and Gaul, and so to the far West, and which is known as the Gallican liturgy. This was the ancient liturgy of the British church very largely, and generally used in England by the Anglo-Saxon Church before the coming of the Normans. In the eleventh century a great liturgic reformation was effected by Pope Gregory VII. (Hildebrand). This was very generally received throughout the West, but still with great variations in different lands. In England in the same century Osmund, bishop of Salisbury (Sarum), in 1078, shocked at the prevailing want of uniformity in the services of the Church of England, consolidated with great skill and pains the services for his own diocese of Salisbury. These became a model for the arrangement of services in other dioceses. And though his "use," known as the "Sarum Use," was not avowedly adopted in every other diocese, yet there is perhaps no diocese in England in which the influence of the "Sarum Use" cannot be traced.*

The principal office-books of the "Use of Sarum," so generally adopted in mediæval England, were roughly as follows:—

(*a*) The *Missal*, which contained all that the priest required for the service of the Mass: the fixed portion—the Ordinary and Canon—in the middle of the volume, preceded by the variable portions—Collects, Epistles, and Gospels, etc., for Sundays from Advent to Easter; after the Canon or fixed portion, the Collects, etc., for the remaining Sundays in the year; and then the similar Collects, etc., for saints' days.

(*b*) The *Graduale* contained the musical notation to the Introits, to the Nicene Creed, and such portions of the Canon as were sung.

(*c*) The *Processionale* included such parts of the service as were sung in procession.

(*d*) The *Ordinale* (Pica or Pie) was the book of direction for priests.

(*e*) The *Breviary* contained the services for the canonical hours, matins and lauds, prime, tierce, sext, nones, vespers, compline. They were composed of prayers, psalms, hymns, and canticles, with lessons or Scripture. This comprehensive book began to be called the *Breviary* towards the end of the eleventh century. It was usually called *Portiforium* in England. It

* Dean Hook: "Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury," vol. vii., chap. iii.

was divided in the Sarum Use into two parts—Pars Hyemalis, the services from Advent to Whitsuntide, and Pars Æstivalis, from Trinity to Advent.

(*f*) The *Legenda* contained the lessons read at the matin offices.

(*g*) The *Manuale* was the book of occasional offices, containing the offices for

KING EDWARD VI.
(*From the drawing by Holbein in the British Museum.*)

baptism, matrimony, visitation of the sick, extreme unction, burial, etc.

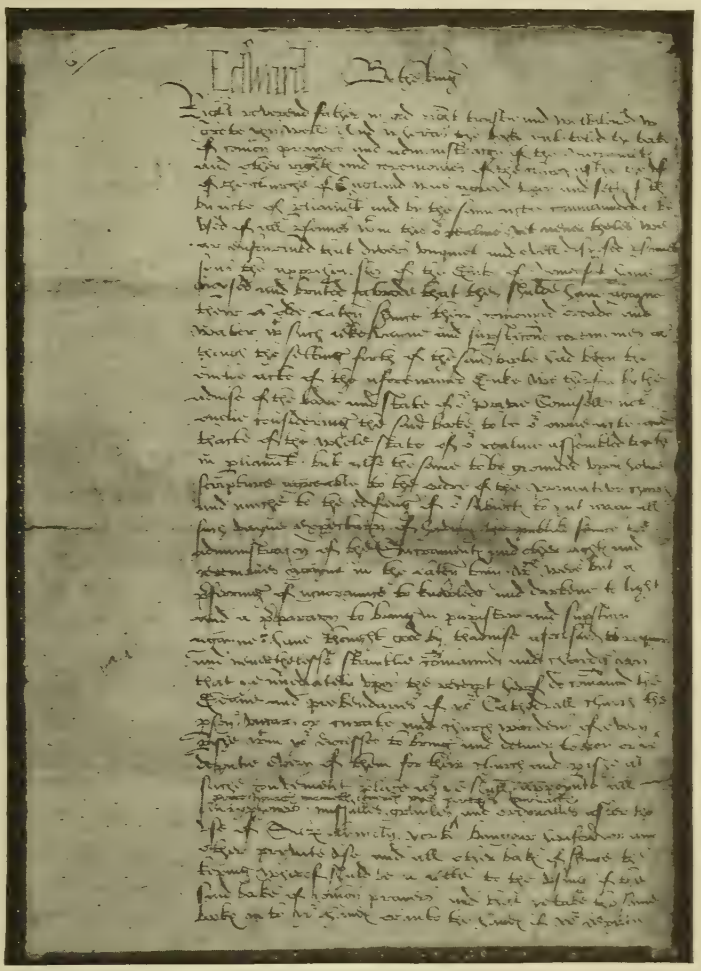
(*h*) The *Pontificale* included the offices peculiar to the episcopal order, as confirmation, ordination, and consecration.

In 1535, under the warrant of Pope Clement VII., Quignon, cardinal of Santa Croce, produced a reformed Breviary, which was accepted in many dioceses in various countries. In this reformed Breviary the Latin language was, of course, retained. The canonical hours were reduced. Two-thirds of the saints' days were omitted, as well as all the offices of th Blessed Virgin. Many of the versicles responds, etc., which Quignon deeme superfluous, were cut out, and not a few o the Legends which had crept in were her omitted; while, on the other hand, car was taken in this reformed Breviary tha the greater part of the Old Testament an the whole of the New, except portions o the Apocalypse, should be read through i the year. The Council of Trent, however suppressed Quignon's reformed Breviary and produced a recension of its own fo the Roman use. The reason alleged b this great liturgical (Roman) Reforme for omitting the offices of the Blessed Virgin deserves notice, as it shows tha the growing cult of Mary was not viewed favourably by some thoughtful minds even in the Roman obedience. "The Church," said Quignon, "was bound t adore Mary, but she would be bette pleased with a system which by a more convenient and expeditious method allured the clergy to the Divine Word of he son Jesus Christ." This was probably the chief reason why the "Breviary" o Quignon was suppressed.* Besides the books of the "Sarum Use" and the re formed Breviary of cardinal Quignon Cranmer and his colleagues had before them the German "Consultation of Hermann" above referred to, composed by Bucer and Melancthon on the basis of the Nuremberg liturgy compiled by Luther himself. The "Consultation" also, we must bear in mind, was drawn mainly from ancient sources.

Out of the "Sarum Use" mainly, however, the first English Prayer-Book was

* *Cf.* Hook: "Archbishops," vol. iii., chap. iii.

made; and, on the whole, the work was well done. The great majority of the formularies were ably and happily translated from originals which had been used in Christian churches of the highest antiquity. The more prominent of the superstitions which had in mediæval times gradually crept into the primitive liturgies, were eliminated. The whole was presented for the first time in a tongue which all Englishmen could understand and follow. The spirit of the English Reformation, of course, breathed through the whole book, but it was a spirit which rose high above exaggerated reform on the one hand, and a timid and fearful conservatism on the other. The new book was ready before the close of the year 1548, and was in the hands of the Parliament in the month of December. And in the January of 1549 it was established by the first act for the Uniformity of Religion. The printing of the Prayer-Book was at once taken in hand, for by the Whit Sunday of that same year the Act of Uniformity enjoined that it should be used throughout the land. In some churches this date was even anticipated.



LETTER OF KING EDWARD VI. AND HIS COUNCIL TO THE BISHOPS IN CONFIRMATION OF THE USE OF THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER, AND ORDERING THEM TO "DEFACE AND ABOLISH" ALL ROMAN CATHOLIC SERVICE BOOKS, 1544. SIGNED AT THE TOP BY EDWARD. (*British Museum.*)

Let us now shortly examine the First Book of Common Prayer of king Edward VI., of which we hear so much. As we have said, its basis was the Sarum Breviary. In the first place, the length of the original "Use" was much reduced. Everything appeared in English — prayers, psalms, lessons, sentences. The "Hours" were abolished. A single modest volume now contained Breviary and Missal and occasional offices. Instead of the complicated and lengthy "Seven Hours," the services of the Breviary were divided into two—the service for matins and the service for evensong.

The principal changes from the Breviary were as follows. A preface, which set forth the principles on which the services were compiled, is the introduction to the book. This preface, which is still retained, was largely taken from the reformed Breviary of cardinal Quignon. Like the Breviary services, the morning and evening order began with the Lord's Prayer; but whereas formerly the Lord's Prayer, followed by the "*Ave*," formed the *secret* devotion of the priest, it now was ordered to be said with a loud voice. The spirit of the Reformation was closely to associate the people as much as possible with the prayers. The silent, secret, solitary prayers of the priests in all the services, which had formed so notable a part of the mediæval services, were changed into prayers in which all the worshippers could join. The "*Ave*"* was abolished. The Psalms were introduced according t their present monthly arrangement. Th invocation of saints was abolished, an many ceremonies which were deemed use less and superstitious were done awa with.

Much of the musical character of th old services was taken away. Provisio was made in the lessons for reading almos the whole of the Scriptures. The Ne Testament, with the exception of a fe chapters of the Revelation, was now rea in its entirety. The Athanasian creed prescribed daily in the old Breviary, wa now ordered to be said no more than si times in the year. On the general aspec of the new reformed services, it has bee said with considerable truth that, "of th high choral tone which marked them fro antiquity, the daily prayers of the churc lost much in this sweeping revision. A lower, sadder religious sentiment wa indeed the character of the age; and whil this led to the abolition of a great deal o music, theological critics have not failed t remark, furthermore, throughout the book the depression of many phrases that ha been more joyful, hopeful, or trustful a they stood originally." *

The second part of the First Book o Edward VI., containing the Eucharisti service, which was now termed "Th Supper of the Lord and the Holy Com munion, commonly called the Mass," wa generally the Communion order as arrange and put out by Cranmer and the Windso commission in the preceding order, whic

* The "*Ave*" consisted of the words of the "Angelic Salutation," St. Luke i. 28 (and 42). The Latin form was "Ave Maria gratiâ plena dominus tecum, benedicta tu in mulieribus et benedictus fructus ventris tui, Jesus. Amen. It is rendered in the Prymer, from a MS. of about A.D. 1410: "Heil, Marie, ful of grace, the lord is with thee thou art blessid among wymmen; and the blessi fruyt of thi wombe, Jesus. So be it."

* Canon Dixon: "History of the Church o England," chap. xv.

we have already spoken of, but with some important alterations. First, the whole service was now in English. Those portions which had been left in Latin—the Consecration of the Host and the more solemn prayers and hymns—were now translated into the tongue of the people. Other alterations were also made which gravely changed much of the character and teaching of the old Missal, whether of Sarum (Salisbury) or of any other English church. Of these alterations the more notable were: The many prescribed gestures of the priests, by which were signified the various parts of the great mystery of the Passion—such as the kissing of the pax, the elevation of the Host, the breaking of the Host—were omitted.

In direct teaching the following is remarkable. In the old prayer of consecration there was nothing that answered to the declaration now inserted, that the Sacrifice of the Cross was "a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world," and that the celebration was a "commemoration and a perpetual memory" of the Saviour's death. The elements were called for the first time, at the moment of consecration, "creatures of bread and wine," as if to exclude the notion of transubstantiation. The old words "that they might be made" were limited to "that they might be" the body and blood of Christ; and it was prayed that this might be by the operation of the Holy Spirit and Word. In the Sarum Missal the "Canon of the Mass," or the original long prayer of consecration, divided into several parts and enriched with many ceremonies, was said secretly by the priest.* In the new order the priest was directed to "say or sing plainly and distinctly the whole prayer." It is notable that prayer for the dead was retained in this First Prayer-Book of 1549, and also that the invocation of the ministry of the holy angels was still left there.

The bread to be used in this Communion Service was ordered to be of one sort and fashion throughout the realm—"that is to say, unleavened and round as it was afore, but without all manner of print, and something more large and thicker than it was."

One more striking feature in the Eucharistic service of the First Book of Edward VI. was the omission of nearly all the Preparation ceremonial which was enjoined upon the celebrant in the Sarum Missal and other mediæval uses, before the mass. This elaborate ceremonial introduction did not, however, belong to primitive antiquity.

The new sacramentary largely carried out the idea of the leading reformers, that the Eucharistic service should be a Communion. The mass had become almost exclusively a clerical function. The great mediæval solemnity was undoubtedly a beautiful and touching representation of the various scenes of the Passion, but comparatively small was the share that the people bore in this, the greatest of the services of the church. After all, the lay worshippers were expected to do little more than *hear* "mass." Well-nigh all the changes in the reformed office were in this direction of "communion." The substitution of English for the mysterious Latin, a tongue understood by very few of

* *Cf.* Canon Dixon; "Hist. Ch. of Eng.," chap. xv.

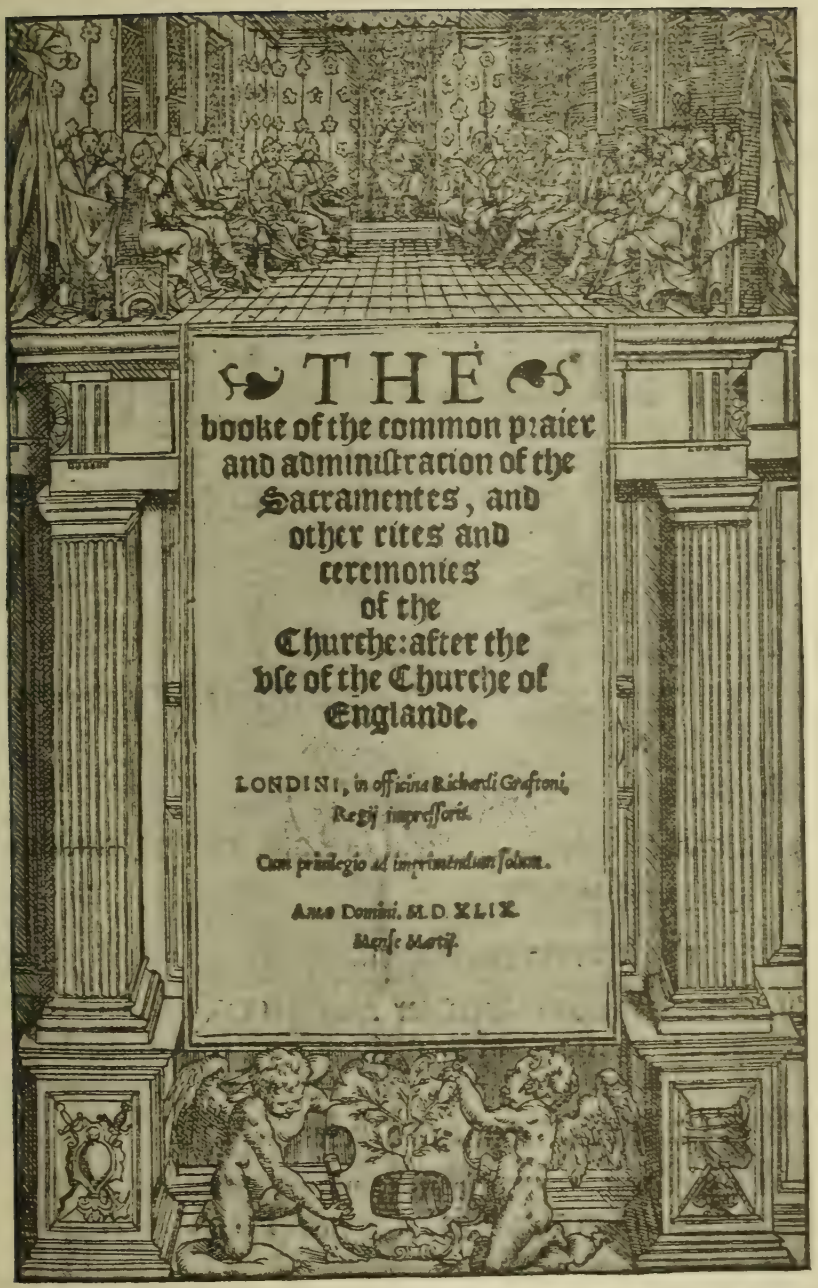
the worshippers out of the priestly order; the doing away with secret saying by the priest of the most sacred portion of the service; the interdiction of most of the elaborate and mysterious ceremonial performed by the celebrant, much of which was hardly comprehended by the great majority of worshippers; the substitution of the general confession by the people for the private or secret confession said by the priest in the celebration of the mass; the reception by the people of the blessed sacrament *in both kinds*—all this emphatically tended to change the mediæval mass into a communion.

While, however, rejoicing that the solemn Eucharistic service was brought by the great Anglican reformers nearer to the people, more home to their hearts, more within the comprehension of all sorts and conditions of men; that the worshipper was enabled to share, as he had not done for centuries, in the awful mysteries; that the doctrine taught in the words spoken and symbolism adopted approached more closely the purer doctrine of long past ages of the church; the serious student of church history will be very guarded as to any expression of unstinted disapproval of all the mediæval teaching. He may feel, and justly feel, that Cranmer and Ridley, Melancthon and Bucer, and the earnest and prayerful scholar-divines of their goodly fellowship, were led by the Holy Spirit in the great Reformation controversy to choose the better part; but it is a grave mistake to speak or think lightly of the great mediæval solemnities. The Church of England may be deemed happy and blessed that she has recovered much of the ancient simplicity of Christian worship, while she has faithfully preserved the priceless treasures of its deeper teaching concerning the most sacred mysteries of the faith once delivered to the saints. But it will ever be the wisdom of our church to speak with reverence and respect of ceremonies and ritual, which she has wisely changed and simplified, but which have been the joy and the delight, and are still the refreshment, of many holy and humble men, numbering in their ranks not a few scholars and learned men, who are journeying, we dare to hope—ay, and to believe—with the same brave earnestness of purpose as we are, towards the city which hath foundations.

The Baptismal office was reformed largely upon the model of the book of the great Lutheran teacher, Hermann of Cologne. Some of the mediæval rites were yet retained by our conservative reformers, such as the ceremony of exorcism of the devil, the clothing of the baptised infant in symbolical white raiment. Probably owing to the admonition of Calvin, whose words to the Lord Protector we have already quoted, chrism was done away with, and a prayer for the inward unction of the Holy Spirit was substituted for the outward anointing with oil. The cross was, however, retained in the reformed service.

The Catechism in its first part, with its clear-cut definitions of Christian doctrine as we possess it now, was included in the office of Confirmation. The second admirable part—that relating to the sacraments—belongs to a somewhat later period. It was only added to our Prayer-book, as we shall see, in the year 1604.

The addresses at the beginning and end of the office of Matrimony were added in



TITLE-PAGE TO THE FIRST EDITION (1549) OF THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER.
(*British Museum.*)

the First Book of Edward VI., but some of the mediæval rites were suffered to remain in the service. In the Office for the Sick the spirit of conservatism preserved still extreme unction. In the Burial Service prayers were offered, as before, for the dead. The stern, uncompromising rubric against unbaptised, excommunicated, and unhappy suicides, was only added in 1661. It found no place in the books of the Reformation age.

The order to use the new Prayer-book, with its sweeping changes in the old services, in certain districts excited a religious war. In the west of England especially, the zeal for the old forms of religion seems to have been especially strong. Devonshire and Cornwall for a considerable time were the scenes of what was almost a civil war. The government eventually succeeded in restoring order; but the religious revolt had to be stamped out in blood. The demands of the insurgents were strange, almost petulant in their anger against the new innovations. They asked that the "Six Articles" of Henry VIII. might be revived; that the mass should be again said in Latin, and be celebrated by the priest alone, without others communicating; that the sacrament might be delivered to the people only at Easter, and then but in one kind; that images should be set up again, and souls in purgatory should be prayed for by name. "We will not have," said these angry lovers of the old customs and rites, "the new service or the Bible in English. . . . We will not have God's service set forth like a Christian play."

These strange requests, formulated by the religious malcontents of the west, throw considerable light on the curious and unhappy perversions of religion which were common in the church, when Cranmer and Ridley were firm in their determination to change the mass into a communion.

Besides the west country, at this time sporadic outbreaks in the eastern counties, in Oxfordshire, and even in Yorkshire, had to be put down with a high hand and considerable bloodshed. In the east and midlands, however, although religious questions were doubtless mixed up with the causes of discontent, other reasons were at work which excited men to rebellion. The government of the upstart lords of the council was distrusted and disliked. Agrarian troubles, such as the enclosure of common lands, which deprived the poor cottagers of their ancient rights, stirred up the people to revolt. And no doubt the confiscation of the old abbey lands, followed by the suppression of hospitals and chantries, at this time contributed largely to increase the misery of the poor.

The fall of Somerset and his government quickly followed upon the bloody suppression of this wide-spread revolt. The England of 1549 and the following year was indeed a troubled scene, in the midst of which Cranmer and his associates constructed the new religious formularies of the Church of England. But the great work of reformation and reconstruction went on, though the surroundings were so unpropitious, and the government of the country so precarious, the king all the while but a child, and surrounded with vacillating and self-engrossed ministers and counsellors.

CHAPTER L.

THE SECOND PRAYER-BOOK. DEATH OF EDWARD VI.

The Reformed Ordinal — Ridley destroys Altars in Churches — Bishop Hooper and the Puritan Party—Their Destructive Work—Hooper's Subsequent Deprivation and Martyrdom—Knox and His Influence—Further Influence of Foreign Reforming Theologians—Cranmer's Book on the Sacrament—The abortive Reformed Canon Law—The Forty-two Articles of Religion—Their Moderation—Subsequent Puritan Alterations Sketched—The Second Prayer-book—Sketch of the Variations in it — Iconoclasm of the Puritan Party — Brief Sketch of the Reformation Divines—Death of Edward VI.—His Attempt to Secure a Protestant Succession.

THE year 1550 (April) saw the next important step in the liturgical reformation, in the new English ordinal, which replaced the old "Pontificale." Great changes were made here. In the new "ordinal" the five lower grades in the ministry—ostiaries, lectors, exorcists, acolytes, and subdeacons—found no place at all. Deacons, priests, and bishops were alone retained, and in the ordination of these the ceremonies, formerly of a most elaborate nature, were reduced to a primitive simplicity. The changes now made in the old "Pontificale," depriving it of many of the old mediæval ceremonies, and leaving it a much simpler rite, left it indeed shorn of much of its old stateliness; but at the same time all that was necessary to convey the clerical character was maintained. The inherent authority of the episcopal office was not diminished, since no orders were admitted which it took not a bishop to confer. In the new 'ordinal," shorn though it was of most of its many elaborate ceremonies, a return was merely made to primitive simplicity. It, however, offended certain of the English bishops, and led to the removal or retirement of certain of these prelates. The ordinal was not bound up with the volume of Common Prayer until 1553.

In the same year (1550) Ridley was promoted from the see of Rochester to London. He, very early in his new dignity, put forth on his own responsibility the injunction for turning altars into tables. His plea for this, in his own words, runs: "The form of a table may move and turn the people from the old superstitious opinions of the popish mass and to the right use of the Lord's table." He set the example of this change, when in St. Paul's he broke down the high altar by night and set up a table there. A very general demolition and destruction followed throughout the churches of England of much that was associated with holy things. Towards the end of the year 1550 letters legalising this destruction were sent out in the king's name to the bishops by the council. Accompanying these "state letters" ordering the demolition of the remaining altars, were certain reasons which the bishops were required to expound through the medium of discreet preachers, explaining the motives wherever altars were taken down. The stone altars thus destroyed were not unfrequently used for most ignoble purposes, and the

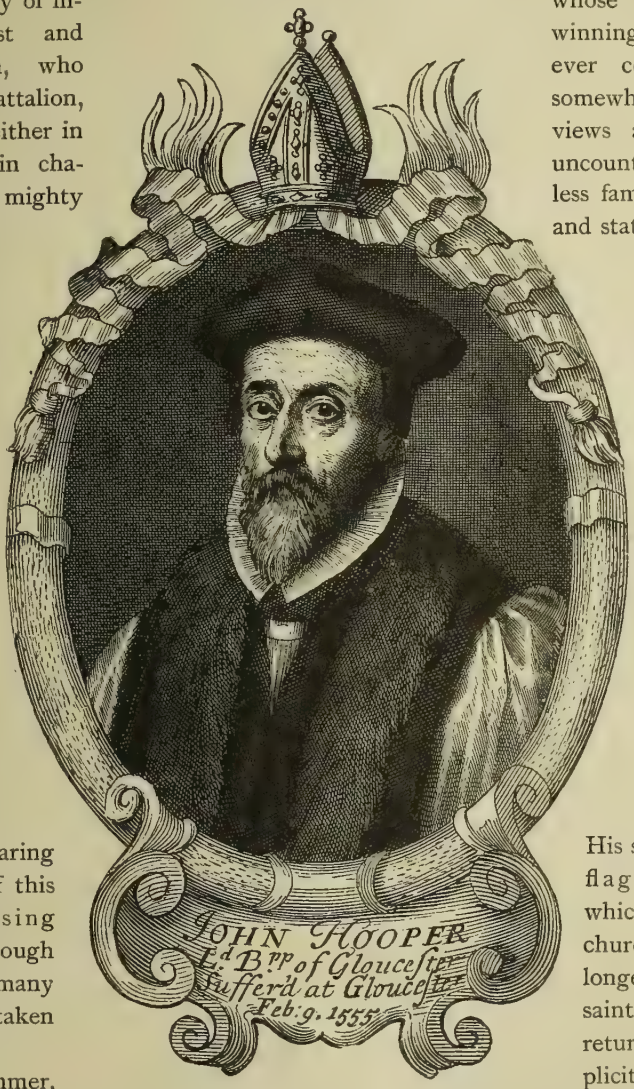
desecration gave at the time bitter offence.

This deeply regrettable development in the progress of the Reformation was pushed on by men of the spirit of Hooper, who at this juncture became one of the principal figures in the history of the time. Little is known of the early life of this celebrated man. He received his training at Oxford, and subsequently travelled abroad, and in Zurich saw and admired the extreme and exaggerated reforms introduced by Zwinglius—reforms in Zwinglius's teaching not unmixed with very grave doctrinal errors. He then composed several able but ill-balanced tractates on the burning and mysterious points of theology, which in this restless age of inquiry and reform were too often heedlessly tossed to and fro. Returning to England, he became the acknowledged chief of the extreme party of the "Gospellers" as they were termed. Hooper was one of the children of the Reformation for whom we cannot but feel a grudging admiration. Deeply persuaded of the evils of the corruptions of Rome, he could see no beauty or reality in mediæval symbolism which appealed to so many. His whole nature was absorbed in the thought how what he hated might be swept away. His teaching was often harsh and austere. But that, in spite of this repellent austerity, he possessed vast influence over the hearts of men, is evident. He became one of the protector Somerset's chaplains, and a prominent preacher in London.

With all his faults, there was much that was admirable in Hooper. Intensely in earnest, persuaded of the dire necessity of change, able and real, neve self-seeking, he only, alas! could see on side of a controversy, and ruthlessl trampled down everything which to h narrow views seemed likely to promot the superstitions which he looked on a fatal to true religion. To Hooper th new ordinal, purged though it ha been of so many of the ancient cer monies and rites, was obnoxious as sti containing much that in his opinio belonged not to the primitive and be church.

These scruples, boldly and rashly ad vanced, have gained for Hooper the tit of Father of Nonconformity. Many devote souls have since followed in his track, bu they do not represent the real mind of th majority of the English people, and the teaching has generally been repudiated b the conservative spirit of the Anglica church. This has ever in the long ru shown a deep and reverential regard fo rites and ceremonies hallowed by lon custom, and precious with their symbolis to many devout minds; a shrinking t interfere with them has ever been a chara teristic feature among our most thoughtfu divines. The Church of England sinc the Reformation has been reproached b some, lauded by others, for its adoption o a middle course, preserving as it has don the mediæval rites and ceremonies, beaut ful and instructive in their touching sym bolism, in all cases when this conservatio of ancient uses did not teach a doctrin unknown in the primitive Christian church This *Via Media Anglicana* generally ap proves itself, as it has been again and agai seen, to the majority of thoughtful an cultured Englishmen. But Hooper an

his school are always with us, and should never be ignored or lightly spoken of. He represents a minority, it is true; but it is a minority of intensely earnest and religious men, who contribute a battalion, insignificant neither in numbers nor in character, in that mighty army of religious Englishmen who are playing so great a part in the story of the world. Well will it be for us if those who guide the thoughts and direct the policy of our church, ever bear in mind the existence in our midst of the sturdy, God-fearing descendants of this uncompromising and honest, though no doubt in many respects mistaken reformer.



Unlike Cranmer, Hooper was never called to guide and direct the Church in the storm and stress of the Reformation. Unlike Gardiner, he was never the recognised chief of a great party. Unlike Ridley, he never weaved formularies of faith and doctrine. Unlike Latimer, whose marvellously winning personality ever commended his somewhat strange views and ideas to uncounted thousands; less famous in church and state than Tunstall or Bonner, Hooper is the representative, rough-hewn English reformer, the type and example of thousands in his day, who were heart-sick at the sight of the superstitions which overlaid and distorted all true religion. His soul loathed the flagrant abuses which disfigured all church life; and he longed with a real saint's longing for a return to the simplicity and guilelessness painted in the beautiful life which lives along the inspired pages of the New Testament. He saw little beauty in the majestic piles which the

piety and devoted earnestness of the Middle Ages had erected with so much pains and care. The stately ritual, the impressive forms of the Catholic service, meant nothing to him. They inspired no ennobling thoughts ; they whispered no lofty imaginings ; they suggested no grand ideals.

To men like Hooper was owing the iconoclasm of the age, the terrible destructiveness which to many of us seems akin to impiety and irreverence. To their sad work we owe "the empty shattered niche which once canopied the image of a saint in glory, or loved king or holy abbot, and now looks down on us from a hundred bare and naked walls." To their melancholy industry our churches owe the destruction of an incalculable mass of rare and precious furniture—chalices, crosses, candlesticks, many of them curiously chased and carved by an art the very secret of which is hopelessly lost ; translucent windows of jewelled glass, stained by a craft of painters of surpassing skill and ingenuity—such matchless skill as the world had never seen before, and whose craft, alas ! has never reappeared again ; tombs and sepulchral monuments, many of them of rare quaint beauty; altars innumerable of all sizes and materials, with the richest hangings and coverings of cloth of gold and tissues of silver ; shrines all ablaze with gold and gems ; costly vestments worked and embroidered in past ages, when time was disregarded if devoted to the service of God and His church ; church plate of various descriptions, composed of precious metals, and church bells of rare and exquisite sweetness of sound, of all sizes and weights. All such things perished in innumerable quantities owing to this sad misdirected zeal. during the reign of the boy-king Edward, between the years 1549 and 1553. In the blind and fanatical fury which the preaching and writing against mediæval idolatry stirred up, we even read of the desecrated and demolished altars being used for pig-sties: "*aræ factæ sunt haræ ;*" while parlours were often hung with altar-cloths, tables and beds were covered with copes, and many a chalice, once used in the most sacred office of our religion, was used as an ordinary drinking-goblet.

That Cranmer disliked Hooper at first is clear ; and only later, when the devoted piety and single-heartedness and utter absence of all self-seeking of the bigoted and fanatical reformer compelled admiration and recognition, did the archbishop show himself friendly. Hooper became a great power, and may be taken as a fair representative of a vast number of the more advanced reformers. In the year 1550 he was offered the newly-founded see of Gloucester, just vacant by the death of the first incumbent, Wakeman. The stern and uncompromising teacher at first, however, stoutly refused the dignity, if he were obliged to wear the dress and take the oath prescribed by the new ordinal. Subsequently, when remonstrated with by Ridley, he replied that he did not condemn the ceremonies and vestments as sinful ; they were not evil in themselves, but simply things which lacked the authority of Scripture. The dress of a bishop was peculiarly obnoxious to him. He declined to yield to the persuasion of Cranmer, or to the sharp remonstrances of Bucer, who blamed him for disputing about trifles. Hooper replied in a vigorous paper in

which he maintained his orthodoxy in all the important matters concerning the faith. "I am no heretic," he wrote; "I abhor every heretical opinion of antiquity, and I abhor the anabaptists and blasphemers of our own time;" but he persisted in refusing the episcopal habit. He was even committed by the Council to the Fleet prison for his obstinate disobedience to the law. At length he yielded, consenting to accept the bishopric on condition that he was only expected to wear the detested dress in preaching before the king or on other extraordinary occasions. Even this slight concession gave offence to the extreme reformers with whom he sympathised. As a bishop, all concur that he ruled his diocese well, showing that "doctrinal fanaticism was compatible with the loftiest excellence." Simple, even austere in his own living, he was lavish in his hospitality and generosity; absolutely impartial, he gained universal respect if he failed to attract love.

We may anticipate a little, and trace his brief career to its noble close, since we have chosen him as an example of the extreme Reforming party, whose influence was so marked, and often so harmful and confusing, in the Reformation settlement. Very early in the great reaction under Edward VI.'s sister and successor, queen Mary, bishop Hooper was arrested and deprived. In prison, where he languished for some eighteen months, he was treated by the new powers with extreme harshness. When at length brought to trial he steadily refused to make any submission, and after degradation was condemned to die in his own cathedral city. On his last journey, his firmness and constancy won him the hearts of his guards. Arriving at Gloucester, where he was dearly loved, the road leading to the city was lined for a mile with people, and the mayor with an escort was present to prevent a rescue. The house where he spent his last night on earth is still shown, and is reverently regarded after nigh three centuries and a half.

The evening before his execution, one of the commissioners appointed to superintend the death scene, Sir Anthony Kingston, visited the prisoner. He loved the old man well; for in the old days Hooper had been the means of rescuing him from evil ways and a dissolute life. Kingston found him in his little room praying. Bursting into tears, he spoke to his old friend and master, begging him to submit himself to the new laws, and so preserve his life. "Oh, consider; life is sweet and death is bitter. Seeing, then, life may be had, desire to live, for life hereafter may do good." Hooper answered: "True it is, Master Kingston, that life is sweet and death is bitter; therefore, I have settled myself through the strength of God's Holy Spirit patiently to pass through the fire prepared for me." Kingston then took his leave; his words on parting are memorable, because they show the stuff of which these earnest though fanatical Reformers were made, and the power which they evidently exerted over men's hearts. "I thank God that I ever knew you; for God appointed you to call me, being a lost child. I was both an adulterer and a fornicator, and God, by your good instruction, brought me to the forsaking of the same."

Other officials came to him the same

evening—the mayor and aldermen and sheriffs—to shake him by the hand. He only prayed them that there might be a quick fire, and reminded them he was well aware he might have life and worldly gain if he would but consent to confess that his doctrine was falsehood and heresy.

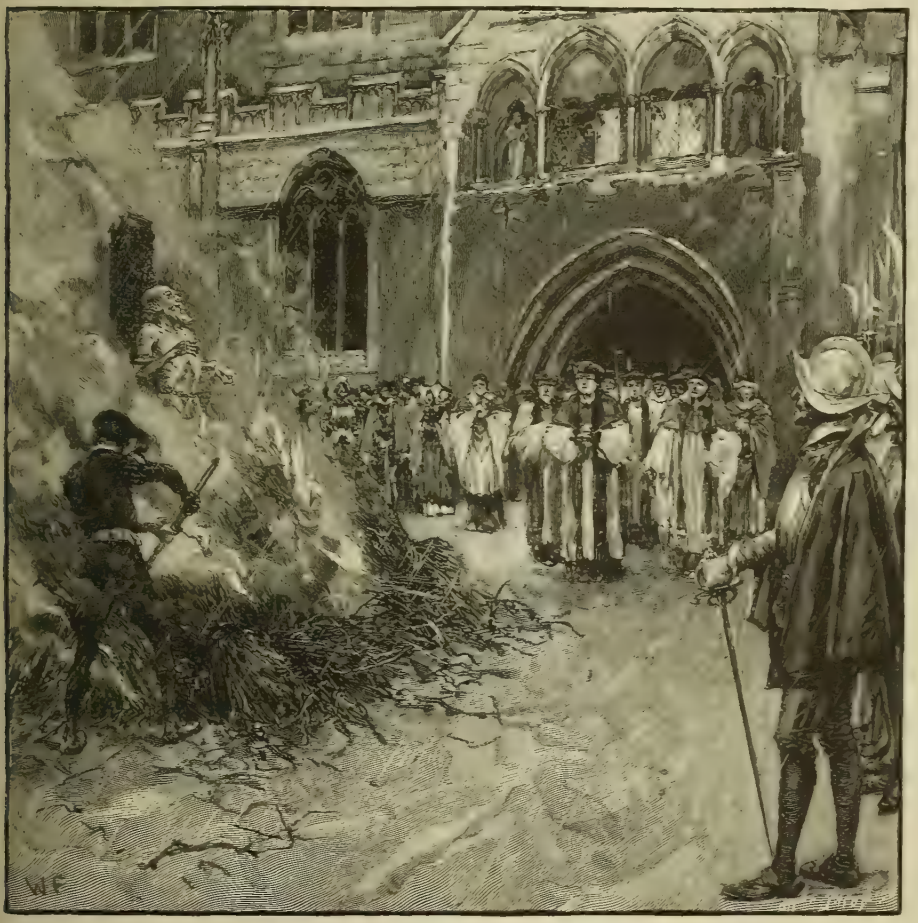
During the early hours of his last night, the bishop slept quietly. Then until the guard fetched him he continued in prayer. It was a February morning of the year 1555, and windy and wet. The spot where he suffered is now the poor and somewhat squalid St. Mary's Square, just outside the old gate of the great abbey. The windows of the gate, unchanged, are still there; they were occupied on that sad day by a company of priests, beholding the scene. The charred stake to which he was bound was lately dug up in the old churchyard, and is preserved by the citizens as a precious relic. He had been suffering from sciatica, and walked with difficulty; but men say, even in his grievous pain he smiled when he saw the stake.

The officers in charge placed a box before him, which they told him contained his pardon, if he would but recant his errors. "Away with it!" Hooper cried. Then they undressed him, and tied gunpowder between his legs and arms—a last mercy to hasten death. Shivering, not with fear but with cold, with his own hands he arranged the faggots round him. The torture was long and terrible; the wet and windy morning prevented the flames from rising; and when the powder exploded, it only added to the agony he was enduring with so much constancy. Several times dry faggots were laid round the stake—still the sulky flames only smouldered; but the martyr never flinched. "Lord Jesus, have mercy on me," the pitiful bystanders heard him mutter more than once; and they noticed how his lips continued to move as though in prayer. At last the end came, and the brave spirit went to God.

These Reformers were indeed in terrible earnest!

There is little doubt but that Cranmer, Ridley, and their learned assessors were considerably influenced, from the year 1550 onwards, by the arguments and writings brought to bear upon them on the part of foreign theologians of eminence on the one hand, and by the more extreme among the English Reformers on the other. There was, it must be borne in mind, no controlling spirit in England during the boy-king's reign. The sovereign was a child; and neither of the two men who in succession wielded the chief power in the land—Somerset and Northumberland—had any definite views on the burning religious questions which agitated the time. Somerset was a moderate Reformer, it is true; but his wayward and too often self-seeking spirit prevented him from exercising any powerful influence over the counsels of the great Anglican theologians. And when he disappeared from the Protector's seat, his successor, Northumberland, in a still less degree made himself "felt" with Cranmer and his fellows. The new regent—for that was really the position filled by Northumberland during Edward's later years—was one who in modern parlance would be termed a mere opportunist of the baser

sort. As for the grave questions of theology, they were to him of little moment; they only interested him so far as they could be made subservient to his selfish statesman and theologian of no mean power, was missed at the helm of the State in the storm-filled years which followed his death.



MARTYRDOM OF HOOPER AT GLOUCESTER.

schemes for his own and his family's aggrandisement. Even those who most bitterly condemn the works and doings of Henry VIII. must feel how sorely the strong wise hand of one who, with all his faults and grievous errors, was at once a

The home and foreign influences to which we have referred as weighing with Cranmer and his friends are distinctly visible in most of those all-important formularies put out after 1550; notably in the elaborate "Reformatio Legum,"

in the "XLII. Articles of Religion," and more particularly in the so-called Second Prayer-book of Edward VI., issued officially in the year 1552. In the last of these a less conservative spirit is especially noticeable. The views of the gentler of the foreign divines colour strongly the alterations made; and in a less degree the thoughts of men like Latimer, Hooper, and even Knox were present in the mind of the archbishop when he ruled out many of the words and expressions contained in the first Prayer-book of 1549, and swept away some of the ancient rites and ceremonies of the mediæval church which were preserved in the earlier work. Of Latimer and Hooper we have spoken already as good and prominent examples of the powerful and influential, more extreme division of English Reformers. The third of these eminent men belonging to the "home" section of Reformers, John Knox, is of course more exclusively connected with Scottish history during the troubled days of Mary Queen of Scots. With this later part of his life, and with the mighty changes which his fervid spirit inaugurated in Scotland, we shall speak very briefly, as our work is mainly confined to England.

But in the days of Edward VI., Knox played a considerable part as a leader among the more extreme Reformers in England. It was Knox especially to whom is ascribed the question which arose at this juncture, of kneeling at the Eucharist. "I thought it good," said Knox, "to avoid all other gestures than Christ used, or commanded to be used, and to use sitting at the Lord's table." He was a more daring and lawless innovator by far than Latimer, or even Hooper, and positively invented a form of his own instead of the prescribed "Order of Holy Communion," a form which he deemed more in accordance with primitive simplicity. He obtained great fame as a preacher of the extreme school. The duke of Northumberland in 1552 caused the bishopric of Rochester to be offered to him, cynically giving as one of the causes of such promotion, that "as a bishop, he would act as a whetstone to Cranmer." But Knox refused the proffered bishopric as well as various other preferments. He, like Latimer and Hooper, cared little for earthly dignities or possessions. After Edward VI.'s death, during Mary's reign we hear frequently of this zealous Reformer as prominent among the English exiles on the Continent.

But his great and enduring work was done subsequently in Scotland. There his labours have been variously estimated according to the temper of the historian. One speaks of him as having instigated "the terrific Scottish revolution." More sympathetically, perhaps more justly, Mr Froude estimates the influence of this great though fanatical and gloomy spirit in his native country, when he writes of him at a later period: that "it was not for nothing that John Knox had for ten years preached in Edinburgh, and his words had been echoed from a thousand pulpits;" and how he succeeded in teaching the people "that princes and lords only might have noble blood, but every Scot had a soul to be saved. . . Elsewhere the plebeian element of nations had risen to power through the arts and industries which make men rich; the commons of

Scotland were sons of their religion. While the nobles were chasing their small ambitions, or entangling themselves in political intrigues, the tradesmen, the mechanics, the poor tillers of the soil had sprung suddenly into consciousness with spiritual convictions for which they were prepared to live and die. The fear of God in them left no room in them for the fear of any other thing, and in the very fierce intolerance which Knox had poured into their veins, they had become a force in the State. The poor clay which a generation earlier the haughty baron would have trodden into slime, had been heated red hot in the furnace of a new faith. . . . . [Scottish Protestantism] was shaped by Knox into a creed for the people; a creed in which the ten commandments were more important than the sciences, and the Bible than all the literature of the world—narrow, fierce, defiant, but hard as steel."

After a work-filled life of almost boundless influence, so far as Scotland was concerned, he fell quietly asleep in 1572. The beautiful memories of his serene death-chamber show us how intense and abiding had been his faith, how very real his life — with all its errors, lived according to his light. On the last day of that life, he begged his wife to read him the seventeenth chapter of St. John's Gospel, "where," he told the bystanders, "he first, years before, cast anchor." As night drew on, the family assembled in his room for the ordinary prayers. "Sir," said one of those present to the dying theologian, "heard ye the prayers?" "I would to God," answered Knox, "that ye and all men heard them as I have heard them, and I praise God of the heavenly sound." Then with a long sigh he said, "Now it is come."

Froude, who is ever at his greatest when he dwells on the character of these rugged Reformation heroes, thus sums up: "It is as we look back over that stormy time, and weigh the actors in it one against the other, that he stands out in his full proportions. No grander figure in the entire history of the Reformation in this island than that of Knox. In purity and uprightness, in courage, truth, and stainless honour, the Regent Murray and our English Latimer were perhaps his equals; but Murray was intellectually far below him, and the sphere of Latimer's influence was on a smaller scale. . . His was the voice which taught the peasant of the Lothians that he was a free man, the equal in the sight of God with the proudest peer or prelate . . . he it was who raised the poor commons of his country into a stern and rugged people, who might be hard, narrow, superstitious, and fanatical, but who nevertheless were men whom neither king, noble, nor priest could force again to submit to tyranny; and his reward has been the ingratitude of those who should most have done honour to his memory."*

Besides the party of more extreme English reformers, numbering in their ranks many serious and earnest men, notable examples of which we have sketched, another body of foreign influences more or less in the same direction were brought to bear upon Cranmer and what we may term his official assessors,

* "History of England," vol. x., chap. xxiii.

in their work of preparing the reformed service-books and formularies of faith. The archbishop was helped in his work by a little group of foreign divines, who hoped to find in England a quieter and safer home than their own agitated and sorely disturbed country afforded them, and who were generally kindly received in England. Some of the more moderate of these theologians were welcomed warmly by the English archbishop, and we find them placed in prominent teaching positions at the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Of these the chief were the following :—

(1) *Martin Bucer*, a German divine, born near Strasburg, originally a Dominican friar. Sent by his order to study at Heidelberg, he soon became distinguished as a student of Greek theology, and also as the friend of Luther. He obtained later great fame as a teacher in Germany. In 1548 he came to England, and received the appointment of king's professor of divinity at Cambridge. Before he had completed his third year of teaching, he died, and was buried with great honour in the English university, as many as three thousand persons, it is said, following him to his grave. He exercised considerable influence over Cranmer. In some points this influence was exerted largely in a conservative direction, notably in his desire to preserve the three orders in the ministry, which he maintained were appointed in the beginning by the Holy Ghost. He called it a device of Satan to destroy the order of bishops. But, on the other hand, to Bucer's suggestions were owing some of the less happy emendations in the Second Prayer-book of Edward VI., put out in 1552. We shall presently allude to his famous "Censura" of the First Prayer-book.

(2) *Peter Martyr*, a native of Florence, the second of the great foreign divines who shared the intimacy of the English primate, was in his youth an Austin canon, and became prior of a house near Lucca. He seems to have been deeply impressed with some of the writings of Zwinglius, the Swiss reformer. He gave up his preferment, and then studied in Switzerland. His doctrines finally were largely tinged with the teaching of Calvin. In England he settled at Oxford, where among his more renowned pupils were Jewel, Nowell, and others, who afterwards became famous. He was of a vehement and ardent temperament, but he lacked the reverential spirit of Bucer. His view of the Sacraments was lower, nor had he the same regard as Bucer for ecclesiastical order. He was a man, however, of great learning and eloquence, and a diligent student of Holy Scripture.

(3) *Paul Fagius* was appointed professor of Hebrew at Cambridge, but, dying soon after his arrival, was succeeded by *Tremellius* as professor of that language in the university.

(4) *John Alasco* was a Pole; he was a man of great activity and zeal, and superintended the Dutch or German congregation in London. He, too, was a follower of Calvin. Melancthon painted his character as daring and self-opinionated.

Besides these, were other foreign divines in England occupying no formal official positions. These theologians acted as the teachers and spiritual guides of considerable foreign congregations driven from their own country by the disturbed state of

THE PREACHING OF JOHN KNOX BEFORE THE LORDS OF THE CONGREGATION, 10TH JUNE, 1559.

(From the painting by Sir David Wilkie, R.A., in the National Gallery of British Art.)

affairs on the Continent, and who had settled mostly in London.

All these influences no doubt considerably affected the tone and spirit of the successive formularies put out after the year 1549, the date of the Act of Uniformity sanctioning the First Prayer-book of Edward VI. We must briefly describe the more important of these writings and formularies.

In the year 1550 Cranmer published his book on the sacrament. In it he wrote: "Monks, friars, pardons, pilgrimages are gone . . . Two chief roots still remain —the popish doctrine of transubstantiation . . . the sacrament of the altar, and of the sacrifice and oblation of Christ made by the priest for the salvation of the quick and the dead." Gardiner, who had not yet been deprived of his see, replied to the archbishop's treatise by a lengthy tractate on the other side, a work of great learning and ability, in which, however, he did not hesitate to charge Cranmer with being a heretic and a sacramentary. Gardiner was deprived and imprisoned in the year following (1551), and remained in duresse until the accession of queen Mary.

As far back as the year 1532 the clergy in their submission to king Henry VIII. had expressed their willingness to accept a complete reformation in the elaborate system of canon law. In 1534 an act was passed to nominate commissioners to effect this object. The act was renewed in 1536 and 1544. During these years the work slowly progressed, largely under the supervision of Cranmer. In 1549, under Edward VI., a new commission was issued; and in 1551 eight persons, again under the presidency of Cranmer, were nominated by the crown to bring the great work recasting the ecclesiastical laws to a c clusion. Peter Martyr was one of the It was finished, was this great work codification of the ancient canons of church, adapted to the new state of thin but was never signed, owing no doubt the king's sudden death. It was fina rejected by Parliament in the time Elizabeth.

This "*Reformatio legum ecclesia corum*," which thus came to nothing, a vast piece of work, a monument of dustry and pains. It was divided i fifty-one "titles," and embraced alm every point connected with faith and ec siastical practice. The disciplinary l were very stern, and still claimed the ri of the church to send obstinate heretics fundamental doctrines of the faith, such the doctrine of the Trinity, to the sta Comprehensive and far-reaching as this code of ecclesiastical laws, it would scarcely worth while to dwell upon it, it never received official sanction.

Far more important in the story our national church, however, was t publication of the "Forty-two Articles Religion" in the year 1552, which, w certain alterations and modifications, still the "Articles of Religion" of t Church of England. Of these Cranm and Ridley were no doubt the chief co pilers, and by far the larger portion of th remain just as these two — the great of the Anglican Reformation divines—l them. Their chief sources were t Lutheran confessions of faith, especia the confession of Augsburg. Our R formers, however, while using, by no mea

exclusively followed the great German formularies; for on certain of the most debated subjects new expressions and even contrary definitions were used. The Articles of Religion were long under careful discussion, and before being finally published were sent to certain of the bishops for inspection and criticism. Whether or no the "Forty-two Articles" were ever formally sanctioned by Convocation, is a doubtful point.

Considering the fierceness of the theological disputes of the time, and the pressure evidently exercised upon the archbishop and his counsellors, generally speaking the Forty-two Articles showed a surprisingly comprehensive and moderate spirit. That they have passed through such a furnace of subsequent criticism, and have endured with, comparatively speaking, such few and unimportant changes to our own day and time, is the best proof of the wisdom and learning and gentleness of their famous author. "The broad soft touch of Cranmer," writes the last, the most patient, and perhaps the truest of the later Reformation historians,* "lay upon them as they came from the furnace—a touch which was not wholly retained in the recension which afterwards reduced them to thirty-nine." . . . It was, for those burning times, a gentle declaration indeed, which taught that, like the great eastern churches, the Church of Rome had erred both in worship and faith, without errors specified; and that general councils might err, and sometimes had erred; and a similar moderation is noticeable when neither images nor pictures nor saints, but only the worshipping, the adoration, the invocation of them, are denied to have the warranty of Scripture; and when Purgatory and pardons are termed not as now, Roman, but scholastic doctrines. The great and burning question, which had agitated the church for so many ages, on the "marriage of priests" was, save for the brief interlude of Mary's reign, by these articles decided for ever as regarded the Church of England. *Such marriages were lawful*, was the definite pronouncement.

In the Articles referring to the sacrament "of the Lord's Supper," round which so fierce a controversy was still kept up, the language is less gentle, the doctrine more accentuated. Ridley and Cranmer felt here that in the mediæval teaching the gravest errors were pressed home; against these the spirit of the Reformation revolted. Here there must be no mistaking the sound of their trumpet. It was no longer the question of mere ceremonial observances, or of customs and objects hallowed by the reverence of centuries, concerning which men like these would wish, while purging away superstitious practices, to speak and generally to act with gentleness and consideration;* doctrines were involved here for the truth of which many a noble soul in that heart-searching age was content to die. Sacramental grace was generally maintained; but the doctrine of the *corporeal* presence was denied, because the body of Christ was in Heaven. In the XXIXth (the present XXVIIIth) Article,

* Canon Dixon: "History of the Church of England," chap. xxi.

* There were some sad and notable exceptions to this general rule, however, to which we have adverted above; in particular respecting Ridley's action in the desecration of the altars.

"transubstantiation" was explicitly denied. The Article now numbered XXXI. styled sacrifices of masses as fables and dangerous deceits. In the revision of 1562, in this Article, "blasphemous" was prefixed to fables. The text of the original XXIXth (now the XXVIIIth) Article of 1552–3, marking the change made in the revision of 1562, is printed in the note below.*

In the Forty-two Articles of 1552-3, there was no article on "the Holy Ghost;" but there were four more at the end which were omitted in the revision under queen Elizabeth in 1562. These were on the following points: "That the resurrectio of the dead is not past already." "Tha the souls of men departed do not peris with their bodies, or sleep till the day judgment." "That the notion of a mille nium is a faith derived from Jewish trad tion, and is against the sense of Scripture "That it is a grievous error to teach tha all men, however they may live, shall b saved at last." To these Articles of R ligion the clergy were required to subscrib penalties of deprivation were to follow aft a term of disobedience. But king Edwar VI. died before the specified term expired

The influence of the more extrem among the English Reformers and of th foreign scholars present in England wa however, far more marked in the revision the first Service-book. This revision wor was carried on through the year 1551. I the April of 1552 Parliament passed th law for using it, and the service as revise in the "Second Book of Edward VI." wa heard for the first time in St. Paul's on th feast of All Saints, November 1, 1552. Th boy-king died eight months later. It wa thus only the Service-book of the Churc of England for this short period. But it effect on the worship of the Anglica church must not be measured by the bri period of its use; for it was the basis upo which the present Prayer-book of ou church was, though not altogether, ver largely framed.

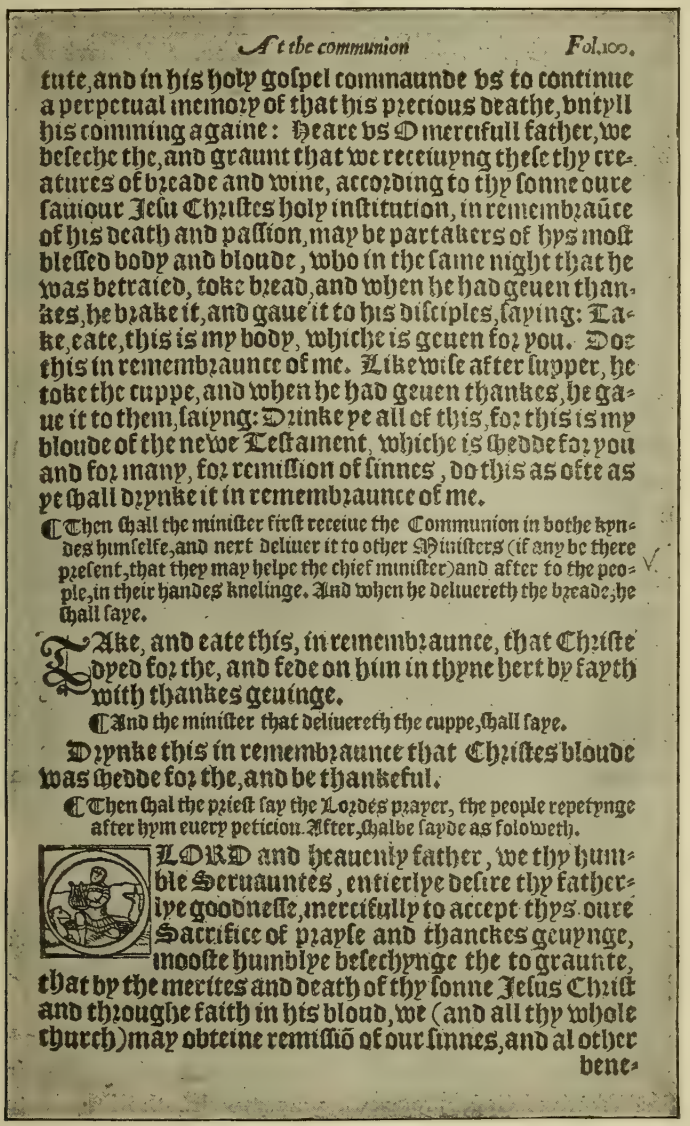
It was to be expected that this mos important formulary would be especiall coloured by the powerful outside influ ences so busily at work in England; fo while the archbishop's book on the Sacra ment, and the Forty-two Articles, wer

* "The Supper of the Lord is not only a sign of the love that Christians ought to have amongst themselves one to another, but rather it is a sacrament of our redemption by Christ's death, insomuch that to such as rightly, worthily, and with faith receive the same, the bread which we break is a partaking of the body of Christ, and likewise the cup of blessing is a partaking of the blood of Christ. Transubstantiation, or the change of the substances of bread and wine in the Supper of the Lord, cannot be proved by Holy Writ; but it is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture [in 1562 here were inserted the words, "overthroweth the nature of a Sacrament"]: and hath given occasion to many superstitions. *Since the very being of human nature doth require that the body of one and the same man cannot be at one and the same time in many places, but of necessity must be in some certain and determinate place, therefore the body of Christ cannot be present in many different places at the same time; and since (as the holy Scriptures testify) Christ hath been taken up into heaven, and there is to abide till the end of the world, it becometh not any of the faithful to believe or profess that there is a real or corporeal presence (as they phrase it) of the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist.*"

[In 1562 the words in italic were left out, and the following were inserted: "The body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the Supper only after an heavenly and spiritual manner, and the mean whereby the body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper is faith."]

"The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was not by Christ's ordinance reserved, carried about, lifted up, or worshipped."

designed rather for the clergy and the student of theology, the public Service-



At the communion Fol. 100.

tute, and in his holy gospel commaunde vs to continue a perpetual memory of that his precious deathe, vntyll his comming againe: Heare vs O mercifull father, we beseche the, and graunt that we receiuyng these thy creatures of breade and wine, according to thy sonne oure sauiour Jesu Christes holy institution, in remembraūce of his death and passion, may be partakers of hys most blessed body and blonde, who in the same night that he was betrayed, toke bread, and when he had geuen thankes, he brake it, and gaue it to his disciples, saying: Take, eate, this is my body, whiche is geuen for you. Do this in remembraunce of me. Likewise after supper, he toke the cuppe, and when he had geuen thankes, he gaue it to them, saiyng: Drinke ye all of this, for this is my blonde of the newe Testament, whiche is shedde for you and for many, for remission of sinnes, do this as often as ye shall drynke it in remembraunce of me.

¶ Then shall the minister first receiue the Communion in bothe kyndes himselfe, and next deliuer it to other Ministers (if any be there present, that they may helpe the chief minister) and after to the people, in their handes kneling. And when he deliuereth the breade, he shall saye.

TAke, and eate this, in remembraunce, that Christe dyed for the, and fede on him in thyne hert by fayth with thankes geuinge.

¶ And the minister that deliuereth the cuppe, shall saye.

Drynke this in remembraunce that Christes blonde was shedde for the, and be thankeful.

¶ Then shal the preest say the Lordes prayer, the people repetynge after hym euery peticion. After, shalbe sayde as foloweth.

LORD and heauenly father, we thy humble Seruauntes, entierlye desire thy fatherlye goodnesse, mercifully to accept thys oure Sacrifice of prayse and thankes geuynge, mooste humblye beseechynge the to graunte, that by the merites and death of thy sonne Jesus Christ and throughe faith in his blond, we (and all thy whole church) may obteine remissiō of our sinnes, and al other bene-

PAGE CONTAINING THE COMMUNION SERVICE FROM THE SECOND PRAYER BOOK OF EDWARD VI. (*p.* 223). (*British Museum.*)

book was for the people also, and regulated the rites and ceremonies as wel these, which were so intimately bound up with the religious life of the people, that

the efforts of the more extreme reformers among the foreigners settled in England, as well as the English divines of the same school, were directed.

In the preceding year, 1551, Bucer, who was then settled as Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, at the request, apparently, of the bishop of Ely, formally examined and carefully criticised the First Prayer-book of 1549. He embodied the results of his labours in his well-known "Censura" of the English service. A copy of the "Censura" of Bucer was sent to Peter Martyr, the Italian scholar who was officially teaching at Oxford, and the results of the labours of Bucer and Martyr were forwarded to Cranmer. Not a few of the changes and emendations of the two foreign divines were embodied in that great popular formulary put out with authority later in 1552, and known generally as the "Second Prayer-book of Edward VI."

The "Censura" of Bucer, more or less endorsed by Peter Martyr, which so strongly coloured the Second Prayer-book, of which we are about to speak with some detail, was a somewhat long and exhaustive treatise of twenty-eight chapters, in which almost the whole of the First Prayer-book was carefully reviewed. Bucer wrote that he had examined the First Prayer-book with a view of determining whether he could with full approval hold office in the Church of England. "I found nothing therein," he went on to say, "that was contrary to the Word of God, properly understood, though there were some things that might appear without a candid interpretation, contrary to that Word." He then with great pains set out what he deemed objectionable, or at least liable t misconception, from his point of view One curious criticism of Bucer on th structural form of churches was fortunatel not adopted. "To have the choir separat from the rest of the church," urged th great German teacher, "is anti-christian and makes the ministers, of whatever lif and doctrine, nearer in station, as it were to God than the laity. From the shape o the most ancient churches, and from th writings of the Fathers, the station of th clergy was in the middle of the church. This was at least a bold assertion, an certainly is not borne out by what w know of many of the early Christian sacre buildings. Had this unfortunate recom mendation been carried out, the man stately churches, abbeys, and cathedrals o England would have been irretrievabl spoiled by the demolition of the chancel Happily the good sense of Cranmer pre vailed here, and the ruin of so many nobl and venerable homes of prayer, thus gravel recommended and pressed, was averted: special rubric was inserted ordering tha the chancels should remain as they ha done in times past.

Still, the variations made in the Secon book were many, and by no means in a cases for the better. Some of them wer fortunately ruled out, as we shall presentl see, in the subsequent revision of th English Prayer-book. Among the mor notable changes were the additions to th commencement of the morning and evenin prayers—viz., the introductory Sentence the Exhortation, the General Confessio and Absolution. This generally had th tendency of making confession a publi instead of a private act. A similar inter

ion has already been noticed in the first English Communion Service. This important change has subsequently held its position in our Prayer-book, and the spirit which dictated it has commended itself generally to the spirit of the Anglican communion. Among other and less important alterations to be noticed was the insertion of the Apostles' Creed into the evening prayers, while the Athanasian Creed was ordered to be said on thirteen feasts, instead of only on six days in the year.

The order of Holy Communion showed greater changes. The Ten Commandments were added to the service. Certain alterations in the position of the prayers in the service, of no great moment, were made, such as the removal of the hymn *Gloria in excelsis* from the beginning to the end. What was really regrettable was the omission of the direction for the so-called manual acts in consecrating. In this Second Book the celebrant simply read of our Saviour taking, blessing, and breaking, without doing it himself; and in the solemn words spoken to the communicants, all mention of receiving the body and blood of Christ was left out. These unhappy omissions were subsequently restored in the Elizabethan revision. In this Second Book only the second clause of the words now used appeared, thus: "Take and eat this"; "Drink this." The mixture of water with wine was omitted, as were also the sign of the cross and the invocation of the Word and the Holy Ghost at the consecration of the elements.

The rubric concerning vestments ordered that neither alb, vestment, nor cope should be used; a bishop should wear a rochet, a priest or deacon only a surplice. The remonstrance of Bucer, upon which this direction respecting vestments was evidently based, was singular, and deserves mention as showing what was in the mind of the more learned and moderate of the extreme Reformers here:—"I wish that the vesture appointed for that ministration [of the Holy Communion] were taken away, not because it is impious, but because we ought to have nothing in common with Romanising antichrists."

In the Visitation of the Sick the ceremony of anointing the sick person according to the ancient custom was disused, and the directions for private confessions and reserving portions of the consecrated elements were omitted. In the Burial Service the prayers for the dead, and the office for the Eucharist at funerals, were struck out. In Baptism, the triple immersion was abandoned, as were also the exorcism and the use of chrism. The water was to be consecrated whenever the service was used. The Ordinal was also stripped of some of the ancient ceremonies retained in the First Book.

A strong effort was made by the extreme Reformers to omit the rubric enjoining the communicant to kneel. The First Book contained no directions here, as the kneeling attitude had hitherto been unquestioned. Hooper and Alasco publicly preached and inveighed against this reverent custom. John Knox, when at Berwick, introduced a rite of his own, from which the attitude of kneeling was excluded. Cranmer received a communication from the council, who were hardly pressed in this matter, urging him to consult with Ridley and Peter Martyr as to

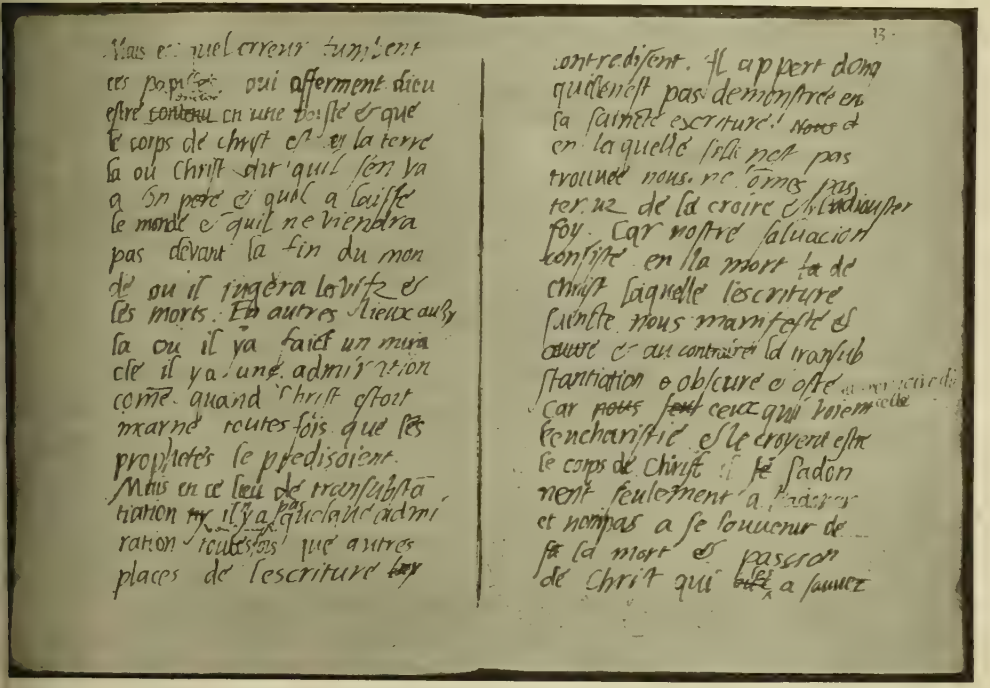
the advisability of omitting the rubric. But Cranmer positively refused to yield this point at the bidding of men whom he termed "glorious but unquiet spirits, who would still find faults if the book were altered every year." Some words of conciliation were however appended to the "kneeling" declaration, in which it was explained that though the gesture of kneeling was retained, there was nothing of superstition involved in it.

The word "altar" was significantly removed from this Second Book. There is little doubt but that the English Reformers were determined, rightly or wrongly, to give up the use of this word; nor has it ever been restored to the Anglican Prayer-book. It is, however, unquestionable that the general language of Christians, both early and later, has been favourable to the use of it. The word was certainly used by the Fathers, even from the time of Ignatius in the early years of the second century; on the other hand, the only name by which we are certain that it is called in the New Testament, is "The Table of the Lord" (1 Cor. x. 21). The words of bishop Andrewes (1555—1626) are wise: "The same is fitly called an *altar*, which again is as fitly called a *table*." The learned Mede (A.D. 1586—1638) well writes: "The seat or raised fabric appointed for the setting and celebration of this holy mystery (the Eucharist) was *the holy table* or *altar*, for by both these names hath that sacred *biere*, as I may call it, of the body and blood of Christ been ever promiscuously and indifferently called in the church."

The impartial historian, while acknowledging the inestimable benefits which th labours and patient learning of Cranme and his faithful associates have conferre on the Church of England, on a gener review of the great formularies compile under their direction during the reign king Edward VI., cannot help acknow ledging that grave harm was wrought t some of the works of these really grea and devout men, owing to the pressur put upon them by the extreme and ex aggerated views of some belonging to ou own country, and some imported from th Continent, whom Cranmer, as we hav seen, wearied with their constant an overbearing importunity, pathetically calle "glorious but unquiet spirits," recognisin their splendid earnestness, while at th same time he somewhat revolted agains their restless, dogmatising, and even un charitable requirements. The term "grav harm," as being wrought to their generall admirable work, is used here advisedly and a very brief catalogue of the leadin ecclesiastical events of these stormy si or seven years, during which the "formu laries" in question were published, wi serve to show the effect on Cranmer an his friends, who guided the course of th English Reformation at this momentou period, of this terrible and constan pressure.

In 1547 the Injunctions of Edward V as to public worship were put out. I the year 1549, the First Prayer-boo made its appearance. In this book th service of the church was largely denude of ceremonies, some of them beautiful an suggestive, but others of them no doub more or less coloured with mediæval supe stition. Later in the same year, by act

Parliament, were ruthlessly destroyed all the remaining images that could be found, not only in churches but in private houses; and even all the precious records of mediæval ritual contained in books and manuscripts were hunted out and destroyed. In 1550 the ancient English ordinal was and for some time even without the thin veil of the royal letters through the council, which after some considerable delay appeared to legalise this lamentable destruction and desecration. Strange to say, the learned, devout, and generally moderate Ridley was foremost in this sad



AUTOGRAPH TREATISE OF EDWARD VI. ON THE DOCTRINE OF TRANSUBSTANTIATION. (*British Museum*)

thorn of much of its old splendour, and very many of its suggestive and emblematical rites, which belonged to an immemorial antiquity, were done away with. The same year, 1550, witnessed the destruction throughout England of the altars, so long the centres of the most solemn service of the church; an act of sacrilege—for we can call it nothing else—carried out with remorseless pertinacity under the same influence, business, and Cranmer, the tenor of whose mind would have revolted at such a ruthless desecration, though he does not appear so prominent in the affair, from the tone of his remonstrance with Day, bishop of Chichester, who flatly refused to comply with the royal letters directing the destruction of the altars, evidently viewed the ill-omened procedure with tolerance, if not with approval.

The year 1552 was unhappily memorable for the determination of the council "to search all the shires of England for the remaining church goods." The official visitation which followed upon this resolve of the council, swept the churches of an incalculable mass of rare and precious sacred things, including plate and other objects of the greatest value, and rich with the beautiful and artistic workmanship of the mediæval times. We have already given a summary of what was lost to the church in this miserable attempt to enforce simplicity in divine worship, "a cruel purification," as it has not inaptly been called. Cranmer in this instance evidently disapproved of the proceedings, and seems to have remonstrated against the wholesale spoliation. But the strong current of public opinion, let loose by the wild words and exaggerated remonstrances of the extremists among the home and foreign Reformers, was too strong for him; and these men, who, with all their earnestness and real piety, were the authors of such mischief to the cause they had so deeply at heart, worked their will, and the sad spoliation left its dark and disgraceful mark on the English Reformation story.

The year before, 1551, Bucer's "Censura" of the First Prayer-book, and Martyr's endorsement of it, embodying the views of the more moderate of the foreign (Lutheran) Reformers, a criticism invited by the rulers of the English church, was actually taken as the groundwork of the great revision of the Prayer-book to be used in the public services of the church, and which resulted in the putting out in 1552 of the famous work known as the Second Prayer-book of Edward VI., which in its acknowledged shortcomings, notably the Communion Service, has been alread briefly discussed. Here, again, Cranm appears in one notable instance—th time successfully—as the advocate of t older and reverential posture of kneelin at the Communion, which the hot-head and fanatical party of extreme refor strangely deemed superstitious, and wish to do away with.

Of the divines and theologians wh occupy a prominent place on the canv of the historical painters of this all-im portant period of the six or seven yea reign of the boy-king Edward VI., first take the leaders of the new learning- "the Reformation" divines. Of thes Cranmer and Ridley occupy so importa a position that the other figures of th group are almost forgotten. We ha already written of these two, and sha have again occasion to dwell upo them and their influence and characte when we come to the last sad scenes their lives in the reign of Mary. Latime who perhaps occupied among the ear Reformation leaders the third place, w also come before us once more in th Marian tragedy.

Of the others of this group, who a after all in the popular estimate little mo than "names," Ponet, who followed Ridl as bishop of Rochester when Ridley w translated to the see of London, and wh subsequently succeeded Gardiner at Wi chester when that prelate was deprive was a man of brilliant parts and of mu general knowledge. At once a skill mechanician and an accomplished lingui he was also distinguished as an ab

preacher. He was known also for his violence in polemical discussion. As a theologian he has gone down to posterity as the author of the short Catechism in Latin and English which was printed with the "Forty-two Articles" of 1552–1553 (the latter being the official date of their publication). This catechism was an able work in the form of a dialogue between a master and his scholar. It never appears, however, to have been widely circulated, and the king's death virtually closed its public history. Ponet, although he held such high office during a considerable part of the reign, cannot be said to have exercised a leading part in the Reformation, and—which was extremely rare among the personages who surrounded Cranmer—his character was not stainless, a grave charge of immorality being alleged against him. He was among the bishops deprived at the beginning of queen Mary's reign, and he then fled the country.

Miles Coverdale, somewhiles bishop of Exeter, must always be held in grateful remembrance among members of the Anglican communion for his work in connection with our versions of the Bible. First as a fellow-worker with Tyndale, and later as the coadjutor of Cranmer, for some twenty years he laboured incessantly on the Scriptures. He was the chief editor of the famous edition known as Cranmer's or the Great Bible. In 1551 he became bishop of Exeter, was deprived on the accession of Mary, and for two years languished in prison. Known rather as a scholar than as a Reformation divine, he was released, and resided at Geneva, remaining among the English congregation of exiles there his loved biblical labours. On the accession of Elizabeth, his views had become too much coloured with the opinions of the Genevan reformers for a bishop of an Anglican see, and for some time he discharged the humbler duties of rector of St. Magnus, London Bridge, dying in 1566.

Scory was Ridley's chaplain, and eminent as a preacher. He successively filled the sees of Rochester and Chichester. Under queen Mary he was deprived, and submitting also in the new state of things to be separated from his wife, we hear of him abroad as "superintendent" of the English congregation at Embden in East Friesland. In queen Elizabeth's reign he was one of the consecrating bishops of archbishop Parker.

Goodrich, bishop of Ely, is principally known as receiving the seals of chancellor on the disgrace of Rich in the year 1551, thus reviving once more the tradition of an ecclesiastical chancellor. He would doubtless have appeared on the roll of the prelates deprived under Mary, but death closed his life-story.

Barlow, bishop first of St. David's, then of Bath and Wells, was deprived and imprisoned under queen Mary. He was one of the consecrating bishops of archbishop Parker.

Taylor, dean and afterwards bishop of Lincoln, was deprived under Mary. He died in 1554.

Holbeach, bishop of Lincoln, once a Benedictine monk and prior of Worcester, was one of the most learned of the group of bishops; he died two years before the death of Edward VI.

Harley, bishop of Hereford, was deprived under Mary. He died in 1554.

Holgate was once master of the order of the Gilbertines. In the days of the great suppression he had easily consented to the surrender of the houses of his order, and his reward was the see of Llandaff in 1542. He married, and was in consequence especially an object of dislike to the Romish

MILES COVERDALE, BISHOP OF EXETER.
(*From an old print.*)

party. He had the reputation of being a wise and statesmanlike ecclesiastic. A year or two later he became the northern archbishop. Holgate, too, was deprived in 1554, and died in 1556.

Bird, bishop of Chester, in earlier years had been much employed by Henry VIII. in state business, and was a man of considerable learning; he was deprived in 1554, but on his abjuration and divorce from his wife, was befriended by Bonner, and appointed to the less influential offi of a suffragan bishop.

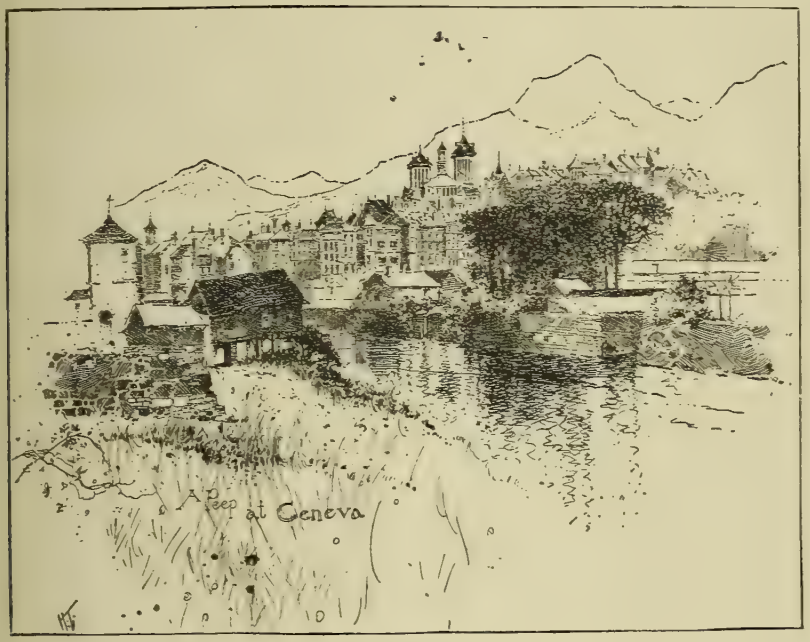
Bush, bishop of Bristol, resigned in 15 and so evaded formal deprivation.

Thirlby, bishop of Westminster, then Norwich, then of Ely, came to the fro in the days of Henry VIII., and in t opinion of the king was "an inferi Gardiner." He was the first and on occupant of the newly-founded but so suppressed see of Westminster. Wh that see was again merged in Londo Thirlby was translated in the year 1550 Norwich. As a sympathiser in the n learning, in spite of his lukewarmness the progress of the Reformation, he w suffered to retain his see during the rei of Edward VI. Under Mary he becam bishop of Ely, and was one of t judges at Cranmer's trial. He refused take the oath of supremacy to Elizabet

These are the best known of the prelat of Edward's reign. We find some of th names among the lists of the ecclesiast who assisted in the preparation of t "Reformatio Legum" and other form laries, but they are comparatively insigi ficant personages. The few really emine men, who as reformers, or representativ of the new learning and its influenc took a prominent part in the events this reign, were Cranmer, Ridley, Latim and John Knox, and the foreigners Bu and Peter Martyr.

Among the men of the "old learnin still to use that well-known appellati who with more or less vigour resolut opposed the progress of the Reformat —after the foremost man of the pa Gardiner, the well-known bishop

Winchester, who will come before us still more prominently in the next reign, and Bonner, who, as we shall see, subsequently won for himself an unenviable fame—ranks Cuthbert Tunstall, who, in earlier days as bishop of London, but better known as bishop of Durham, played a distinguished part in the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Mary. Archbishop Warham appointed him his vicar-general, and he rose rapidly to very high preferment in the church. His reputation for learning extended far beyond his native country, and he was favourably noticed by the great Erasmus. In the earlier years of his career as bishop he was regarded as the chief of the men of the "old learning." But his conspicuous moderation unfitted him for leadership in that stormy age, and he soon gave place to Gardiner. We read of him as endeavouring to suppress Tyndale's New Testament, "thinking it better," as Burnet says, "to burn the books of the heretics than the heretics themselves." In 1550, on a charge of misprision of treason, he was deprived of his see and committed to the Tower. By queen Mary he was restored to his bishopric, but his gentleness and moderation failed to commend him to her government. On the accession of Elizabeth he declined to take the oath of supremacy; but Tunstall really seems to have misliked other and impending doctrinal changes more than "the oath." He was committed to the gentle custody of archbishop Parker, and died at the advanced age of eighty-five in 1559, after a long and, on the whole, noble and blameless life.



GENEVA.

Heath, bishop of Rochester, then of Worcester, and afterwards archbishop of York and chancellor, a very learned and conscientious man, was reckoned as one of the moderate supporters of the old learning, and was only deprived of his see in 1551, when the influence of the extreme reformers swept away so many of the old landmarks. He was imprisoned by the council of Edward VI., but released and restored to his see on Mary's accession. Under queen Mary, Heath was translated to the archbishopric of York, and when Gardiner died he received the great seal as chancellor. Elizabeth retained him as a privy councillor for a time, and was reluctant to part with so good a man. He finally declined, however, to submit to the new order of things, was once more deprived, and suffered a long imprisonment in the Tower. He died in retirement in 1579, after a long and industrious life of seventy-nine years—much of it spent in positions of high dignity and great responsibility. He will ever be remembered as one of the most distinguished and noble representatives of the "old learning."

Day, bishop of Chichester, was not opposed to some of the earlier measures of reformation, and was one of the commission engaged in the compilation of the First Prayer-book of Edward VI., but was averse to the subsequent acts of the reforming party. When the directions were issued to destroy the altars in the churches, Day positively refused compliance. He was deprived in 1551, and imprisoned. Queen Mary at once freed him from confinement, and restored him to his see. He died in 1556.

The concluding events of Edward VI. reign are well known, and are described i the many histories of England. In his grea zeal for the reformed religion he was pe suaded by Dudley, duke of Northumbe land, who was all-powerful in the regenc government, to direct the succession so a to exclude his sisters. The dying kin was, no doubt, intensely in earnes and his whole thoughts were bent o securing the crown to one who woul favour the progress of the reformed part to which from his heart he was deepl attached. But with Northumberland was different. It is difficult to credit th able but unprincipled statesman with an real concern for religion. His heart wa apparently alone fixed on the permaner aggrandisement of himself and his family The hurried marriage of his son, lor Guildford Dudley, with the lady Jan Grey, who after the daughters of Henr VIII. stood next in succession to th throne, tells us only too clearly wha was in his mind.

We are, however, only specially con cerned with archbishop Cranmer's part i the transaction, as the representative o the Church of England. That he had n confidential communication with North umberland beforehand is clear. For a tim he resolutely refused to sign with th council the fatal instrument altering th succession. Still, there is no doubt tha he was influenced by well-founded appre hension that the accession of the prince Mary, who was a devoted and bigoted ad herent to the old forms of religion, woul be a fatal blow to the interests of tha reformation which had been his life's wor And behind his well-grounded fears for th

reformed Church of England rose up in Cranmer's mind the dark shadow of the divorce of Mary's mother, and the shame and unmerited ignominy under which Katharine of Arragon closed her sad life. Of all the reformers in England, archbishop Cranmer, who had been so fatally involved in that long-past tragedy, had most to fear if Katharine's disinherited daughter became queen of England.

But though, in the strange device of Edward VI. to change the rightful succession, on the letters patent the name of Cranmer stands *first*, that signature was only written *after* all the others, judges, ministers of state, and great nobles, had appended their names. It was indeed a strange scene around the bedside of the dying boy. The judges and great lawyers were from the first most unwilling to sign such a document, being aware that if thus, at the bidding of a king little more than a child, under the influence of a minister personally interested in the question as was Northumberland, they sanctioned such a momentous change in the succession, they would be guilty of high treason. The first day witnessed their refusal; sent for again on the day following to the king's bedside, they were asked angrily why they had not prepared the letters patent. Reluctantly they yielded, but not before receiving in writing a pardon if their consent should later prove to have been a crime. All signed save Cranmer. He would not add his name, notwithstanding the urgent reasons he had for dreading the accession of Mary, even when he heard that the judges had acquiesced and consented to sign, till he had seen the dying Edward, who begged that he would not stand out alone against his royal will. Then he yielded. Others, when later they had to defend their action, pleaded mental reservation and some such excuse. But Cranmer was too noble to advance any such plea. He frankly said that when he signed at last, "he did it unfeignedly and without dissimulation." A few days later Edward expired, and lady Jane Grey became queen.

Some amazement has been expressed at the imperious and decided conduct of the young king on his death-bed, considering he was but a boy—not yet seventeen years old. But the circumstances of his life must be remembered. He was most precocious in intellect, and for some six years, since he had become king, he had been accustomed to the most slavish adulation. It has been well remarked, that under the elaborate system of the Tudor etiquette of his court, "he beheld the human race mostly in the act of genuflexion." Even his sisters Mary and Elizabeth fell on their knees whenever they spoke to him. What was evidently foremost in his thoughts when dying, was a passionate desire that the Reformation, as he understood it, should meet with no check in England. Hence his indignation with the judges who dared to cross his will, and his vehement entreaties to his old friend Cranmer not to hinder his purpose.

CHAPTER LI.

MARY AND THE ROMAN REACTION.

Mary's devotion to Romanism—Disputes about her private Mass—Popular Revolt against the Dudley Plot, and Accession of Mary—Restoration of the Mass—Changes in the Episcopate—Protest and Arrest of Cranmer—Breaches of the existing Law by the Queen's Command—Her Coronation—Reversal by Parliament of recent Ecclesiastical Legislation—and by Convocation—Great Protestant Reaction caused by the Excesses and Cruelties of Mary—Reasons for Unpopularity of the Reformers—Impetus given by Mary to the Reformation Cause—Its Chief Elements.

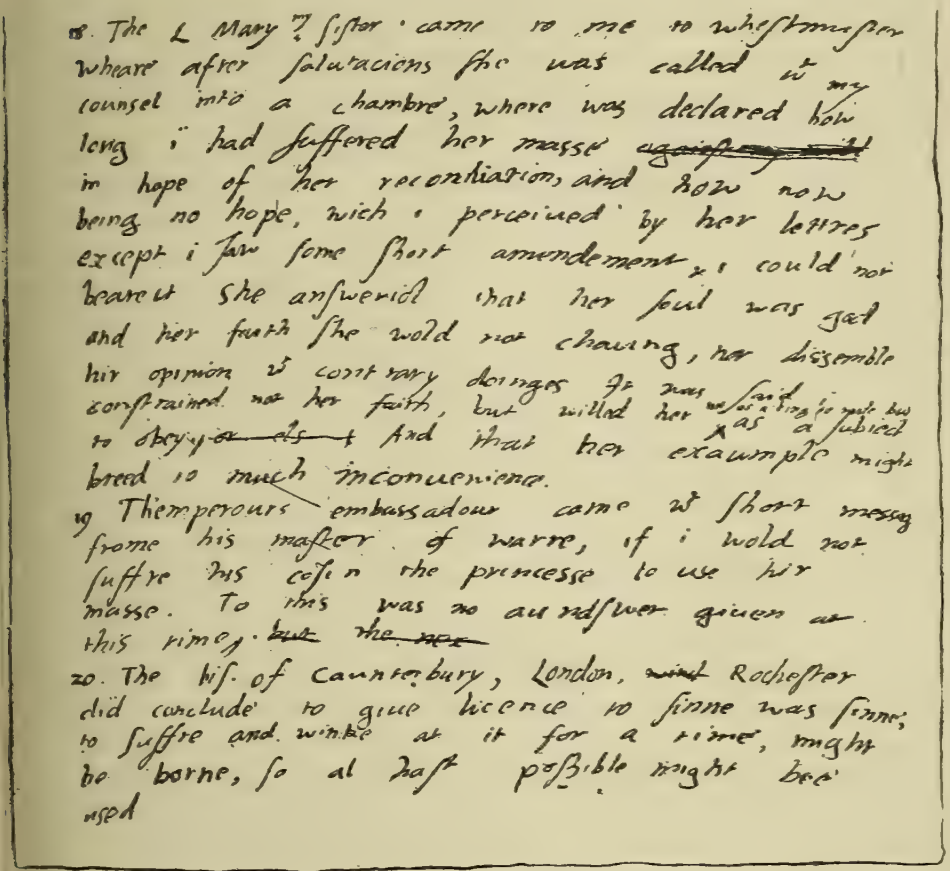
THE dread of the dying boy-king that the accession of his sister Mary would work unknown evil to the Reformation cause he loved so well, was well founded. All through his six years' reign his sister's devotion to the old forms of religion had disturbed him, and her determination to have nothing to do with the new reformed services, but to maintain in her own household the ancient mediæval mass, several times threatened seriously to embroil England in a war with Mary's mighty relative, the emperor Charles V.

Mary's fervid attachment to the old form of religion was no mere political predilection. She was descended from a stock, and belonged to a family, whose devotion to the mediæval rites—which we will now term Romanism, though it meant far more than merely an acknowledgment of the papal supremacy—was a passion, and was the guiding principle of Philip II., son of the emperor Charles V., in all his tortuous policy. Her hereditary attachment to "Romanism" was fanned into a steady flame of intense devotion by the sight of her mother's misfortunes, and she regarded the Reformation as the principal cause of all her troubles, of the cruel divorce, and of her own pretended stain of illegitimacy. From her childhood she hated the reformers, of all schools, with an intense hate. They were in her eyes not merely bitterly hostile to what she had been trained from her child-days to regard as the truth; they were besides her own personal, irreconcilable foes.

As early as 1549 troubles began, as to her right to hear mass in her own household. The mass was forbidden to be celebrated before her now that Parliament had confirmed the English service. Mary insisted on its continuance in her own household, expostulating in plain terms with the council of the Protector. "I see men," she said, "whom my father (Henry VIII.) made from nothing, take usurped power on them. They have broken his will and made laws contrary to it, contrary to the customs of all Christendom, contrary to the law of God and His church." Such language was not calculated to conciliate; and an attempt was made to connect her with the popular risings in the west and east of England. She disclaimed all such complicity, and for a time was suffered to have the service she claimed in her own private chamber.

We hear again of the troubles occasioned by the vexed question of the lady Mary's

mass in 1550. A story, probably true, is told that the boy-king, when advised for state reasons—the state reasons being the foreign complications which were likely to wept and sobbed at the thought of sanctioning what he felt was against the truth. Cranmer and Ridley, when the young king left the room, wept too at the memory



AGE OF KING EDWARD VI.'S DIARY, CONTAINING REFERENCES TO THE DISPUTE WITH PRINCESS MARY ABOUT HER MASS. (*British Museum.*)

rise from the displeasure of the emperor Charles V. at hearing that his kinswoman Mary was affronted and persecuted in the matter of her attachment to the old forms of religion—to permit Mary to have the mass in her own house if she desired it, of the strange scene, and said to Cheke, Edward's tutor, "Oh, Cheke, be glad of such a scholar, which hath more divinity in his little finger than we in all our bodies."

The painful dispute gathered fresh force as the Reformation advanced in England.

The emperor personally remonstrated in strong terms, while Edward VI. looked upon it as a matter of conscience to prevent a service being held which he deemed sinful. In 1551 the matter became one of state importance. Charles V. even threatened war if his kinswoman was further insulted. Edward, however, remained obdurate, and the mass was forbidden. In spite of the royal command, however, it was suspected that the illegal service was still celebrated before the princess in private. Mary, in the year 1551, spoke thus to the royal council: "I am his Majesty's faithful subject and poor sister, ready in all things to obey his laws, but rather than use any other service than was used at the death of the late king, my father [the mass was then used], I will lay my head on a block and suffer death." Such was the princess whom Edward, with his intense convictions in favour of the Reformation, with good reason dreaded to think of as his successor on the throne.

But all the elaborate pile of intrigue built up round the bedside of the dying boy, firmly cemented, as it seemed at the time, by the intense conviction of the king that the succession of his sister Mary to the throne he was vacating, would work unknown evil to the Reformation cause in England, fell to pieces almost at once like a house of cards. Never was so rapid, so complete a ruin as that of the cause of Northumberland and his friends. In the lady Jane Grey the party of the Reformation had an almost ideal candidate for the crown. Her extreme youth—she was nearly of the same age as Edward VI.—was the only point that could be alleged against her. Her natural abilities were very conspicuous. She had at that earl age acquired an amount of learning rarel possessed even by mature scholars of th first rank. At fifteen she was busil engaged in Hebrew studies, she coul already read and even write Greek, and i Latin she could write with ease and fre dom. Her piety was real, simple, u feigned. She had no ambition, althoug she must have been fully conscious her undoubted nearness to the crow Edward's health had long been very pr carious, and upon his sisters Mary an Elizabeth the official stain of illegitimac in spite of Henry VIII.'s will, rested ; whi on the royal descent of the lady Jane, th grand-daughter of Henry's sister Mar rested absolutely no suspicion or doubt.

But she had been persuaded into marriage with Guildford Dudley, th petulant and self-seeking son of a sel seeking, ambitious father; and the dar shadow of the general hatred and distru which was the deserved guerdon of North umberland, fell upon Northumberland gifted and ill-fated daughter-in-law. Bri liant, pure, devoted, as confessedly wa the lady Jane Grey, from the momer of Edward's death she was regarded b every serious man in England as simpl the instrument of the unprincipled state man who evidently intended to use he for the purposes of his own selfish aggran disement. In England patriotism has ev been the powerful factor in all the gre crises of the nation ; and the thoughtf and earnest among the reformers, althoug they were conscious of the extreme dang to their cause which the accession of Ma threatened, were equally conscious th no permanent good could result to tr

religion if the destinies of England were entrusted to the Dudleys and Northumberland.

Hence the rapid collapse of the Dudley plot. On July 8th, 1553, Northumberland and the lords of the council saluted the lady Jane as queen. On the 19th of the same month all was over, and queen Jane's father, the duke of Suffolk, convinced of the hopelessness of her cause, with his own hands hysterically tore down the canopy under which his daughter was sitting in royal state in the Tower, telling her she was no longer queen, and that such distinctions were not for one of her station. The quiet, simple girl-queen heard his passionate words unmoved, and asked if she might leave the Tower and its royal state for her old home. The Tower of London, however, as the poor ten-days' queen sadly found, was a prison as well as a palace.

The rapid change that in ten or eleven days had passed over queen Jane's fortunes, and which temporarily stayed the progress of the Reformation, came about in a manner we need state but briefly, as the story has been so often told. The intelligence of the king's death was quickly conveyed to Mary, who without an hour's delay quitted her home at Hunsdon in Hertfordshire, and fled northwards into Norfolk, where for a season she would be in security and among faithful friends. It was time; for only a few hours after her flight the Dudleys came to secure her person; but Mary was already far away. Very quickly round her gathered a group of nobles and other influential persons, who sympathised with her in religious matters; and more who were gravely dissatisfied with Northumberland's well-known pretensions and boundless ambition. From the first London, though overawed by the presence of the Dudleys and their armed retainers, was hostile to the new arrangement, which so arbitrarily altered the succession. Mary, from her Norfolk headquarters, at once put out an able proclamation in the form of a letter to the council, requiring them to immediately proclaim her accession. In the council there was much wavering; intense dislike and jealousy of Northumberland helping to forward Mary's cause. Treachery was in the air. Northumberland could trust no one; so at once, mindful of his old soldierly instincts, he put himself at the head of a hastily gathered force, and marched to Norfolk to disperse the little army which was rapidly gathering round Mary. But it was of no avail; the feeling of England was against him. His own troops were disaffected, and mutinied in favour of Mary. The council in his absence—they said to avoid a civil war—decided to restore the crown to its lawful owner, and ranged themselves with the citizens of London on the side of Mary. Northumberland returned to London a prisoner closely guarded. The ten days' reign of the lady Jane Grey was over, and Mary was generally acknowledged queen.

Cranmer and Ridley, the real chiefs of the English Reformation, were deeply involved in the matter of the substitution of the lady Jane for Mary. Cranmer's name stood at the head of the fatal letters-patent, and of other public declarations of Northumberland. His reluctance at first has been related; but when once he had signed, we hear of no flinching. Ridley, on one of the two Sundays of queen Jane's reign, preached by order of the council a

sermon at Paul's Cross, which was never forgiven him. In it he made personal allusion to Mary. "There was no hope," he said, "to be conceived but that she would disturb and destroy all that which with such great labour had been settled in the reign of her brother."

On the 3rd of August, 1553, Mary entered London in great state amid loud rejoicings, her sister Elizabeth accompanying her. The scene at the Tower must have been a striking one, when she kissed the group of distinguished captives who were languishing there. "These are my prisoners," she said with the matchless Tudor grace which ever stormed men's hearts. The bishops of the old learning were freed and restored to their forfeited dignities—Gardiner, Bonner, Heath, Day, and Tunstall,* Tunstall being released from the prison of the King's Bench, Bonner from the Marshalsea; the other three were among the Tower captives. Great leniency was shown to the political offenders, and only three of the chiefs were put to death. Of these, of course, Northumberland was one. The behaviour of the brilliant but worthless leader of the movement to set aside Mary and Elizabeth in favour of lady Jane Grey, during his last days on earth, brought dishonour upon the reformers whose views he professed to share. In a fine passage Froude well describes his state of mind after his condemnation, and gently suggests that the duke of Northumberland's famous apostasy was perhaps determined by nobler motives than the forlorn hope of purchasing life by thus abjuring the principles of the Reformation, and so gaining Mary's favour and pardon. "H had affected religion, talked about religio played with religion, till fools and flatterer had told him he was a saint; and now i his extreme need he found that he ha trifled with forms and words till they ha grown into a hideous hypocrisy. The in finity of death was opening at his feet, an he had no faith, no hope, no convictio but only a blank and awful horror, an perhaps he felt that there was nothing le him but to fling himself back in agon into the open arms of superstition. H asked for a confessor."* Gardiner visite him in his prison in the Tower. North umberland very earnestly prayed for h influence to save him from the death he s dreaded. But though the now powerfu prelate interceded, the intercession was no avail. The sin in his case had been to great to be pardoned. Before his execu tion, which has been already related, h heard mass and made a public profession his reception of the pre-Reformation tenet

This was in the August of the same yea The public death and apostasy of the sel constituted leader and champion of the r formers, of course, produced a sad impressio on the public mind; and, amazing to relat almost without protest, the restoration the old Latin mass was effected in St. Paul and in other important centres. The grea crucifix was replaced in the rood-loft; th altar was replaced and adorned as in ol times; the old forbidden doctrines wer preached; and scarcely a murmur wa heard!

A very few weeks before the grea change passed over the country, th funeral rites of the dead Edward VI., afte

* Short sketches of each of these prelates have been already given.

* "History of England," vol. vi., chap. xxx.

some delay, were performed in Westminster Abbey by Cranmer according to the English Book of Prayer, Gardiner at the same time, in the presence of the queen and council, performing a mass of requiem in the Tower. Mary would not have permitted Cranmer to have used the reformed rite, had it not been for the persuasion of the Spanish ambassador, Renard, in whose judgment Mary placed the fullest confidence. "Edward," urged the Spanish statesman, "as a heretic, should have a heretic's funeral." This was the last public function at which Cranmer presided. It must have been a sorrowful day for the great archbishop, when he laid his old master's son to rest in the stately abbey amongst his royal ancestors. A forlorn spectacle indeed, for with Edward were buried, so far as man could see, the hopes of Cranmer's life. The Reformation work would soon be destroyed; the yoke of Rome would be again welcomed in England; the old mediæval superstitions, gradually swept away with so much pains and trouble, would once more be allowed to mar and to disfigure religion. Cranmer at this time might easily have escaped, as did many others, to foreign lands, but the old man disdained to fly; he would tarry

LADY JANE GREY REFUSING TO ACCEPT THE CROWN.
(From the picture by C. R. Leslie, R.A., by permission of the Duke of Bedford.)

here and see the end. Alas! it soon came.

Events moved during the first months of Mary's reign with extraordinary rapidity. The ease with which the formidable power of Northumberland was crushed, the enthusiastic reception which Mary met with when she came to London, the apparently unanimous welcome of her government in the country generally, the prompt and public recantation of all the Reformation doctrines by the great leader himself before he expiated his offences against Mary on the block, no doubt contributed to mislead the queen as to the real strength of the Reformation in England. We hear of warnings addressed to her by the wiser and more far-seeing politicians of the friendly cabinet of her kinsman, the emperor Charles V. It is clear, too, that her ablest counsellor, Gardiner, whom she speedily restored to his see of Winchester, and to whom she entrusted the seals of the chancellor, intensely as he was opposed to the Reformation, would have advocated far greater moderation as the policy of the now dominant party; but he was overruled. The emperor Charles himself, with great wisdom, urged her not to be hasty at the beginning in altering what she might find amiss; she should be conciliatory, waiting for the determination of Parliament, and making at first no edicts contrary to those which were established in the realm.

But the queen was obstinate. Intensely in earnest herself, in matters connected with religion she could brook no delay. In direct opposition to what was the law in the land, in the very first months of Mary's reign the Latin mass and services were publicly restored in many of the London churches, in the universities, in several at least of the cathedrals in various parts of the country; and mostly, as we have remarked, without any serious opposition. Even in Rome this rapid and precipitate action was viewed with grave mistrust and some dislike. It was deemed premature. A public reconciliation with the Pope ought to have preceded the formal restoration of the Latin rites; for England it must be remembered, was under a solemn interdict, and the wiser and more far-seeing of the Roman doctors feared that a reaction might speedily sweep away Mary's hasty work. Mary, however, was not to be stayed. A royal proclamation was issued, forbidding all preaching save by persons specially licensed by the queen herself. At first this was limited to London, then to the diocese of Norwich where the Reformation feeling was very strong; but almost immediately afterwards this proclamation, forbidding preaching or reading and interpreting the Scriptures save by licensed preachers, was extended to the whole kingdom.

Some at least of these stern reactionary measures were in certain cases set at naught, and a few arrests were made in consequence. Among the arrested was Latimer. He might have escaped from the country; but Latimer's was no craven spirit. He, like Cranmer, disdained to fly; he would die, if needs be, for his faith. The council committed him to the Tower. In the meantime the deprived bishops—Gardiner (Winchester), Bonner (London), Voysey (Exeter), Heath (Worcester), Day (Chichester)—were reinstated in their sees in the place of Ponet, Ridley, Coverdale, Hooper, and Scory.

Other important changes in the Edwardian episcopate soon followed. They may be thus shortly summarised :—Paul Bush, to avoid deprivation, resigned the see of Bristol. Hooper, who held the sees of Worcester and Gloucester, was quickly ejected from the former by the restoration of Heath, and subsequently from the latter on charge of heresy. Ferrars, of St. David's, who under some obscure charges had been imprisoned by the late government, was now formally deprived. Bird, who was married, was ejected from Chester, and Holgate from the arch-see of York.

For the first three or four months of Mary's reign the chief Reformation theologian, Cranmer, was left unmolested, but unforgiven, at Lambeth. He had many powerful friends. It was even meditated that some gentleness might be used towards this eminent and widely-loved man. His conduct in the matter of Northumberland's "letters-patent," altering the succession, was well known ; how intensely he had disliked the "device" of the dying king, and how only at last, under the pressure of Edward's own personal entreaties, he had yielded. It was, too, no doubt considered by Gardiner and the wiser heads among Mary's counsellors that if Cranmer as archbishop quietly submitted to the changes and then resigned, leniency in the form of a pension and an honourable retirement would well serve the cause of the Roman party. It would be a disheartening example to the earnest lovers of the Reformation—such an ignoble end for the famous Reformation archbishop. So Cranmer was left in peace for several months, while in his own cathedral of Canterbury the mass was set up again by the vice-dean, a former monk, in the absence of the dean.

Men marvelled whether the great archbishop could see this change unmoved. They only marvelled a short space ; when from the quiet study of Lambeth issued such a manifesto, in the form of a declaration from Cranmer, that the party of Mary at once saw they had to reckon with a powerful and determined adversary indeed. Very stern were the words the archbishop used, and showed that he was the uncompromising foe of the new reactionary policy of Mary. He thus wrote : "I never set up the mass again in Canterbury. It was done by a false, flattering, lying monk. The noble Henry reformed some things in the Latin mass ; the late Edward took the whole of it away for the manifold errors and abuses thereof, and restored Christ's Holy Supper according to His institution. But the Devil is now going about to overthrow the Lord's Holy Supper and restore the Latin satisfactory masses. And some have herein abused the name of me, Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury ; wherefore this is to signify to the world that it was not I that set up the mass in Canterbury, but that monk with a dozen of his adherents. The Lord reward him in the day of judgment."

In counsel with Peter Martyr, who arrived from Oxford, where his work was now over and done, he added to the above a formidable challenge : "He, Cranmer, along with Peter Martyr and four or five more reformers, were ready to defend the common prayers of the churches, ministration of the sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies ; were ready to show that

all the doctrine and religion put out by Edward VI. was more pure and according to God's Word than any that had been used in England these thousand years. Let God's Word be the judge." This and more, embodied in the formidable declaration, though not printed, was circulated so generally in manuscript through London, "that the press," said Renard, the Spanish ambassador, "would not have sent out more."

When Cranmer put this forth, he was well aware that his life must pay the forfeit. At once the archbishop was summoned to the council. He withdrew none of the above strong and noble words, and was at once committed to the Tower, where, in company with his old friends Ridley and Latimer, he waited the sure guerdon of his brave protest. Peter Martyr was allowed to leave the kingdom.

Upon queen Mary, flushed with her undreamed-of success, and preparing fresh measures for the destruction of the Reformation, many great and difficult questions began to press for a speedy settlement. In the church, what action was to be taken with the married clergy? What, if any, restitution was to be made to the church of all the broad lands and possessions of which it had been deprived by successive acts of her father and brother? What steps were to be taken for the succession to the crown? for only her frail life stood between the succession of the Protestant princess Elizabeth to the throne, and the undoing of all her present work. Should she not at once marry and give an heir to the throne, who would carry on the work which was next her heart? If so, whom should she take as a husband? And lastly, who was to be the successor o Cranmer, the reformer, in the arch-see o Canterbury, with all its boundless in fluence?

On the first of these great state question her mind was made up; but the chang would be a hazardous and dangerous ex periment, of enforcing celibacy upon a larg and influential body of Anglican clergy The restitution of the spoils, earnestly de sired by Mary, would seriously affect an probably alienate many of the greatest an most powerful of the nobles and gentry Her marriage was a singularly vexed an confused question. Her Spanish kinsfol and friends—and Mary ever listened wit preference to their advice—strongly presse on her the desirability of an alliance wit Philip of Spain, son and heir of the em peror Charles V. Others even suggeste cardinal Pole as a possible candidate fo her hand, Pole being only as yet in minc orders. It is not, however, probable tha Pole was ever seriously thought of. I England the thought of the Spanis marriage was generally most distastefu Such an alliance, all true lovers of Englan felt, would go far to destroy the indepen ence of their country, and would not im probably reduce it, at all events for a tim into the condition of a province of the va Spanish dominions, like the Low Countrie Courtenay, afterwards earl of Devon, th English candidate for the queen's han was of the blood of the Plantagenet and was popular among the people; bu this alliance seems ever to have bee distasteful to the queen. The successio to Cranmer's arch-see was an anxiou question. Gardiner, the chancellor, wit

CORONATION OF MARY.

his undoubted talents, his high reputation, and his splendid record of suffering endured for the cause, seemed naturally designated for the primacy; but here again Mary's personal predilection pointed to another person, for Gardiner, though bigoted and earnest, was too patriotic an Englishman to satisfy the queen and her Spanish friends; so his hopes were doomed to be disappointed. Besides all these confused and complicated interests, the presence of her sister Elizabeth, already popular and ever loved among the people, the hope from the first days of Mary's reign of the English reformers, was a standing menace and even a positive danger to queen Mary and her projects.

The temper of the new rule was quickly shown in the measures taken for breaking up the foreign congregations established in England, notably the one under the superintendence of the extreme reformer, Alasco, in London, and the congregation of Flemings formed at Glastonbury. These and others were obliged to seek a new refuge on the Continent.

On October 1st, 1553, Mary was crowned at Westminster with much stately ceremony. It was noticeable that the old Latin rites, although contrary to the law of the land, were used on this occasion. A few days later met the first Parliament of her reign. Again the law was broken, for the old mass of the Holy Ghost was celebrated solemnly before the two Houses. By this Parliament, however, an act was speedily passed repealing all the statutes of Edward VI., nine in number, regarding religion. The contents of this drastic act, which virtually broke up the Reformation work as far as Parliament could do it, wer indicated by the words of the preambl which spoke of the "divine service an good administration of the sacraments. Thus the following Edwardian acts wer formally repealed:—The Act for receivin in both kinds; the Act for the election bishops; the two Acts which abrogate the laws against the marriage of priests the Acts for putting away the old servic books and images; the two Acts of Un formity, which established the First an Second Prayer-books of Edward VI.; th Act which among other things dealt wit holy days and fasting days. The divi service as used in the last year of kin Henry VIII. was ordered to be re-intr duced, thus restoring the Latin us Nothing, however, was said in this gre act respecting the Roman obedienc and no pains or penalties which wou follow non-observance of its decree we mentioned.

While Parliament was sitting, at a sta trial at the Guildhall, archbishop Cranme the lady Jane Grey, her husband, lor Guildford Dudley, and his two brothe Ambrose and Henry, were found guilty high treason and sentenced to die. Nor of these death-sentences were, howeve immediately carried out. Mary wished spare her fallen rival, the lady Jane Gre and hesitated before even sending th three Dudleys to the block. Cranme whose death was certainly resolved on, w spared for a time for a singular reaso The reformer archbishop, it will be remem bered, had in the days of Henry VII received the pallium from Rome, an according to the old Roman rule, w amenable to no mere secular tribunal.

will be seen, neither the queen nor Rome ever dreamed of eventually sparing that great life, but for the moment he was safe.

In conjunction with this Parliament met the Convocation of Canterbury. The prolocutor chosen by the lower House was Weston, the new dean of Westminster, a fervid supporter of the new state of things. His words at the opening were remarkable as expressing the views and feelings of that party of the clergy who were opposed to the Reformation. "The queen," he said, "has called together so many Athanasiuses from all parts of the kingdom, who may mend the Catholic faith, in miserable manner rent and torn; so many imprisoned Chrysostoms among the bishops has she rescued from their bonds for this. Noble sufferers, it is your work to rebuild the walls which the heretics have broken down. . . . There is one thing on which we may congratulate ourselves. That blasphemous and erroneous book, which they call the Book of Common Prayer, never passed our Houses."

The prolocutor then proceeded to invite the lower House to debate on matters of religion, and, producing the volume which contained the forty-two Articles of Religion and the short catechism of Ponet, which he characterised as "that pestiferous and heretical book put out without your consent," desired that the House should first debate the articles of the catechism concerning the sacrament of the altar. He added that the Book of Common Prayer was also "very abominable." The House, as may be supposed, under the now dominant influence was mainly composed of men devoted to the anti-Reformation policy; but it contained a small fraction of reformers. It must have been a stout-hearted little band who were bold enough to confront the now triumphant reactionary party at such a moment. The reformers spoke gallantly and temperately, but the result was, of course, at such a time a foregone conclusion. The majority in favour of the anti-Reformation was very large; it numbered three hundred and fifty against eighty. The mass was restored, and celibacy was once more enjoined upon the clergy of England.

In the upper House four articles were passed treating of the great subject in dispute. They may be summarised:—"For communion in one kind; for transubstantiation; for the adoration and reservation of the Eucharist; and concerning the substance of the Eucharist—the institution and intention." This important Convocation, which for a time virtually destroyed the Reformation so far as official acts could do so, was dissolved by queen Mary on December 13, 1553. From the 20th of that same December it was forbidden that the service and communion should be celebrated in English in any part of the kingdom. Married priests were also no longer to officiate. The Latin service was to be universally used. Altars were to be set up again, and the ancient ceremonies of the mediæval church, which had been abolished, were to be restored.

In a little more than six months after Edward VI. had breathed his last, this tremendous change had passed over England. As yet, however, nothing had been done towards bringing back the Roman obedience. All things were, however, now ready for this crowning act of the great religious revolution. "An absolute

retrogression, doing away the work of a quarter of a century, was about to be attempted, as if there had been no Reformation, as if the mighty revolution, whose furrows ridged every field, had been a dream, to vanish without trace. This attempt to obliterate the past, which is without parallel in history, gives a melancholy fascination to the name of the only ruler who ever essayed so impossible a task : nor would Mary have ventured on it, if from the beginning she had not been listening to foreign voices."*

To assert, as some of our most thoughtful writers on the Reformation in England have done, that without queen Mary and the policy of her reign, the Reformation in England would have been impossible, or at least long delayed, appears to be a paradox ; and yet, when the startling statement is fairly examined, it will be found to be strictly accurate.

When Mary ascended the throne, her popularity among her subjects was enormous. The English have ever been at heart a devotedly loyal nation, and Mary was acknowledged by all ranks and orders in the realm as the lawful heiress of the crown. The undeserved woes of her mother Katharine of Arragon—woes in which her daughter and only child had long shared—appealed to the chivalry of the people. There was much, too, in the character of the blameless solitary princess, which, before the sad policy of her rule had alienated from her the heart of her people, attracted to her, if not universal love, certainly the general respect of the majority of more serious Englishmen. Stainlessly pure, intensely in earnest, fervidly religious, there was much in Mary's character that gave fair promise of a noble reign. And yet, after five unhappy years she closed her life and reign amidst the general execration of the nation, which had so rapturously welcomed her accession.

The government during her brother's reign, lasting between five and six years, had been in the hands mainly of political adventurers—of men who had been usually content to seek their own self-aggrandisement rather than the good of the nation. Things had gone ill with England, from the day when the sceptre fell from the strong hands of Henry VIII. Home matters and foreign affairs had been equally mismanaged. Somerset, the young king's uncle, in spite of his many errors and fatal mistakes, had enjoyed a certain popularity ; but Somerset had perished on the block, mainly as the result of the intrigues of factions, and his successor to the chief place in the regency was a man who was generally mistrusted, and by many hated.

The reformers, who during the years of Edward VI.'s reign had had their own way in religious matters, had also failed to carry with them the people. A large number of these were still devotedly attached to the old forms and rites and ceremonies. These became more precious and valued when they were violently superseded ; while the wanton excesses of

* Canon Dixon : "History of the Church of England," chap. xxii. The writer of this necessarily brief summary of the Edwardian work and the Marian reaction desires to express his deep sense of the conspicuous fairness of Canon Dixon's exhaustive and scholarly History of this period, of which he has ventured largely to avail himself in the short *précis* of the Formularies of Edward VI.

THE NORMAN TOWER AND NORTH TRANSEPT
WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL.

he extremists among the reformers had lienated and even disgusted many serious ersons, who were really anxious for a eformation of the crying abuses which lisfigured alike church practices and church ife. The destruction of the monasteries nd the confiscation of their property, the

shameful desecration of altar and shrine, the pillage of so many churches, had excited a burning indignation in the minds of not a few even of those well disposed to the English services, and who joyfully welcomed the English Bible and the beautiful liturgy in the vernacular, who rejoiced at the abrogation of mediæval superstitious ceremonies, and who accepted with real joy the restoration of a truer interpretation of the most sacred rites of the church. The real benefits which the Reformation had conferred on the people, were by many forgotten in the disgraceful excesses which, alas! accompanied the efforts of the reformers, and which were multiplied as time advanced. Indeed, it is not too much to say that when Mary, amid the joyous acclamations of the nation, became queen, the Reformation and its chiefs were positively unpopular among many, only coldly viewed by others, and even hated by a powerful and numerous section of Englishmen.

But this widely-spread feeling of love and loyalty to the queen, was changed, long before her short reign of five years came to an end, into bitter hate; such hate as no sovereign of England, not even such

a king as John, had righteously earned by his misdeeds. Surrounded by a group of advisers drawn from the party in England who disliked with a blind dislike every innovation in matters of religion; urged on by Spaniards and foreign counsellors, to whom the very name of the Reformation was accursed; dominated by the influence of cardinal Pole, the pure and saintly Romish bigot, who knew nothing of the English temper and the English mind; for the last four years of her reign queen Mary set on foot, and with all the powers of the state continued, the most deadly persecution ever witnessed in this land. In this short space of time three hundred persons were positively burnt at the stake for their religious opinions, while at least another hundred, says Lord Burleigh, were lamentably destroyed by hard treatment in prison and in other ways. All this went home to the English heart; it has never been forgotten; has for ever associated the old forms of religion—Romanism, as it is popularly called—with the idea of bitter, relentless persecution; and has thus invested the Reformation doctrines and practices with a halo of estimation, even of veneration, in the minds of Englishmen, which these doctrines and practices never possessed before. "The ruthless plundering of the monasteries, the desecration of altars and shrines, the sad spectacle of ruined abbey and desolated church, were all effectually veiled by the smoke which went up to heaven from the three hundred Marian burnings."

Then, too, the martyrs of the reforming party were not only made up of the poor rank and file who perished so patiently and so bravely in those cruel flames, but the famous chiefs of the great movement acquired through their sufferings, nobly borne for the sake of the truth they professed, a new position in the eyes of the people. Leading reformers such as Ridley and Latimer, Hooper and Ferrars, spoke from their prison rooms in the Tower, at Oxford, or at Gloucester, with a power and authority which their words or writings had never possessed before. The spectacle of Cranmer's right arm withering in the fire at Oxford, impressed England in a way which the great archbishop had failed to do when he counselled Henry VIII., or presided over the Windsor divines, or guided the childhood of Edward VI. Men felt—many for the first time—how *real* must be the faith which nerved these illustrious leaders to endure such torments for the principles they had spent so many years in pressing home to England.

Thus it came to pass, strangely enough, that Mary, and the men who surrounded Mary during her five years' reign—Philip the king and Renard the ambassador, Gardiner and Bonner the bishops, and, chiefest of all, Mary's dearest friend, Pole—in these five short years gave a new colour altogether to the Reformation. The great religious movement was seen in quite a new aspect in the homes and hearts of the English people. In the year 1553 the issue of the tremendous religious struggle in our island was doubtful. Before the year 1558 had run its course, the cause of the Reformation was virtually won in England.

Looking closer into the circumstances under which this strange change in public opinion in England was brought about, we see three distinct acts of disastrous policy,

deliberately planned and carried out by queen Mary herself. In the first, the Spanish marriage, she was largely influenced by the advice and persuasions of her maternal kinsman, the emperor Charles V., to whom she was especially attached. Gratitude and real affection, perhaps even more than the glitter of the grandest match in the world, determined Mary to choose the great Emperor's heir as her husband. But the marriage was in every respect hateful to the English people. Foreign influences—we see it again and again in our island story — were ever peculiarly mistrusted by England; and the very splendour and power of Philip, which evidently dazzled and attracted the queen, contributed to the intense dislike with which the great Spanish alliance was viewed. From the day of the Spanish marriage, Mary's popularity among her subjects began to wane. Every act of her government was viewed as an act of Spanish and foreign policy, and in consequence was misliked and mistrusted.

The second of the great acts of policy which distinguished her reign was the reconciliation with Rome. This likewise was opposed to English feeling. Nothing in the Reformation work of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. had so commended itself to the popular mind, as the severance from Rome. Long before the Reformation, the bonds of Rome had been felt peculiarly galling and humiliating. The nobler and more patriotic even among Mary's ministers and advisers felt this deeply, notably Gardiner of Winchester, the chancellor. His conversion to his royal mistress's views in this matter was tardy, and even reluctant. She was only backed up in her purpose by her new Spanish connections; who, however, though they eventually co-operated with her in the reconciliation work, saw, and from the first dreaded the consequences of the act.

The third of the great acts of Marian policy was the attitude of her government, after the reconciliation with Rome, towards the more earnest spirits of the Reformed party. During the last three or four years of her life and reign this attitude was one of bitter, relentless, cruel persecution—a persecution which showed of what stuff the real Reformers were composed. The burnings of the so-called heretics in Oxford and at Smithfield, under the shadow of cathedrals such as Canterbury and Norwich, became a great "object lesson" to the English people, and showed the Reformers in a new light. The sordid and covetous aspect which hitherto had dominated and coloured so much of the great Reformation movement, was forgotten in the splendid heroism of the martyrs, who chose voluntarily to die the most painful of deaths rather than give up what they felt to be the truth.

The story of the utter failure of the mediæval reaction under queen Mary, will be best told by painting a word-picture of each of these three acts of Marian policy. (1) The Spanish marriage. (2) The reconciliation with Rome. (3) The persecution of the Reformers.

CHAPTER LII.

THE SPANISH MARRIAGE, AND THE RECONCILIATION WITH ROME.

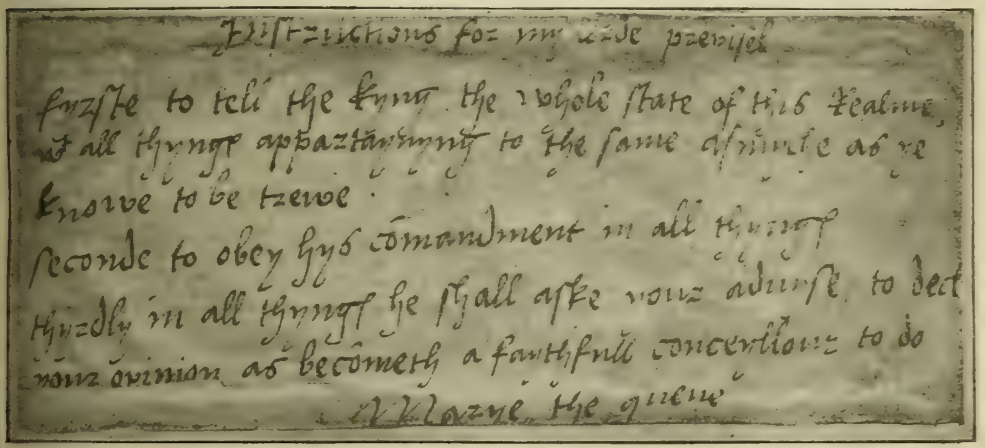
Reasons for Mary's Marriage with Philip of Spain—Its Unpopularity—Fatal Influence on her Religious Policy—Its Disastrous Results—Gardiner's Efforts against Spanish Influence—Cardinal Pole—Delays in his Reception—Dispensation for the Confiscated Monastic Property—Pole's Arrival in England—Meeting with the Parliament—The Parliamentary Petition—The Reconciliation and Absolution—The Reaction in England—Pole's Influence on Mary—Superseded as Legate—His Last Days and Death—Character of Pole.

THE queen's selection of the heir to the enormous dominions of Charles V. as her husband, was the beginning of her troubles. It was an ill-fated connection; it cost her at once, as we have seen, her short-lived popularity; it brought her only unhappiness and bitter disappointment. The chagrin and misery resulting from the loveless union, which very quickly followed, no doubt weakened her health, and left her an almost unresisting victim to the malady to which she succumbed after her sad five years of queenship.

Mary was thirty-seven years old when she became queen. The question whom she should choose as her husband was almost the first important state problem she was called upon to solve. The choice lay still with her; but only three possible candidates were presented to her. The Englishman suggested was her kinsman, lord Courtenay. With him she would have nothing to do. The second candidate, again, was scarcely seriously thought of. He, too, was a kinsman of the royal house of England, the famous cardinal Pole, who, although a cardinal, was not yet a priest of the church. But the deep affection which Mary conceived for Pole ever partook rather of the nature of respect and reverence; she never really viewed him in the light of a possible husband. From the first her eyes were turned towards her relative the Spanish prince Philip. The long kindness and steady support and affection which Philip's father, the emperor Charles V., had ever shown to her when she was viewed with dislike and repulsion by her father and brother, had won her heart. The magnificent position in the world of the heir to the vast possessions of Charles V. satisfied her ambition, and seemed to offer her as the wife of the most powerful prince in Christendom, limitless power to carry out her design of restoring what she believed from her heart the only true religion, to the land over which she was called to rule. Her dearest wishes were also fostered by the desire of Charles V. himself for this alliance; and every possible inducement to decide Mary to accept the hand of Philip was pressed upon her by the astute and able Spanish ambassador, Renard, whom from the first hours of her reign she had admitted to her confidence.

The connection from the first was intensely disliked by every patriotic Englishman. The imminent danger was foreseen instinctively, of England becoming little

more than an appanage of Spain, if the queen became the wife of the future sovereign of the great Continental empire. Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, Mary's chancellor, the most eminent statesman of her reign, was bitterly hostile to the alliance; and although, when he found that the queen was determined to choose Philip as her husband, he yielded with a fairly good grace, the queen never forgave him



QUEEN MARY'S "INSTRUCTIONS FOR MY LORDE PREVISEL" (LORD RUSSELL, LORD PRIVY SEAL), CONCERNING PHILIP'S RECEPTION AT SOUTHAMPTON. (*British Museum.*)

his patriotic opposition; as Philip never forgot—probably never pardoned—Gardiner's wise precautions against Spanish influence. It was Gardiner's influence which largely contributed, if not to nullify, at least largely to diminish, the political advantage to Spain which Charles V. hoped would at once be the result of the marriage of Mary and his son.

Historians seem never weary of repeating that the policy of Mary, and the terrible scenes of persecution which have left so awful a cloud upon her memory, were not the result of Spanish influence. They remind us how repeatedly Renard, the imperial ambassador, acting as the mouthpiece of the emperor Charles V., advised moderation, only counselling severity in the case of those Englishmen who offended in matters connected with the state—such as the lady Jane Grey, her father the duke of Suffolk, and others who seemed dangerous to Mary's government. But it is impossible not to perceive how the unhappy policy of the queen was from the first largely dictated by the crowd of Spanish nobles and ecclesiastics who during so large a portion of her reign formed such a prominent feature in her court. These Spaniards were irreconcilably hostile to the Reformers; and when Philip first came to England, he was accompanied by a crowd of the most brilliant courtiers in Europe—such as the duke of Alva, the duke de Medina Celi, the count de Feria, and many others whose names were subsequently famous in the blood-stained records of his own reign; some of them acquiring

European fame as instruments or victims in the terrible Netherlands revolt against Spain, others illustrious in the recital of the "Armada," that story so loved of Englishmen. On the occasion of the magnificent ceremonial which celebrated the reconciliation of England with the papal see, we read of king Philip attending mass in Westminster abbey with Alva and six hundred of these Spanish nobles!

The famous "Letter" written in 1555, urging the bishops of England to use greater diligence in searching out and handing over the heretics to punishment, ran in the joint names of Philip and Mary. This injunction we know Bonner, bishop of London, at all events laid to heart, and with ghastly faithfulness carried out in his diocese of London. The Inquisition, with all its fearful cruelties, was sanctioned by Charles V., and subsequently by Philip, in the Low Countries and in Spain. What there was in the mind of the Spaniards who surrounded queen Mary is only too clear; and if their policy counselled moderation in exacting cruel punishment for heresy in England, it was only fear of stirring up rebellion, not any intention of sanctioning toleration, which dictated their counsels of moderation. At all events, the hatred of Spain and Spanish influence grew in intensity throughout the country as the sad reign of Mary advanced.

The portrait of the Spanish prince who so soon became king of Spain, and who will be ever memorable in history as having lost for Spain the splendid heritage of the Low Countries, is well known; as well from the pictures in the famous Spanish galleries, as in the contemporary word-painting which has come down to us. We know the grey eyes, the yellow hai and pointed yellow beard, the upright, sti bearing, the short but well-proportione form. He was a restless, indefatigabl worker in his cabinet; after his light a most devout man. His first act, for in stance, after his long wet ride to Wir chester, which followed upon his landin on the shores of the Southampton Wate before he greeted his bride, was a vis to the ancient cathedral. Philip II. wa it is well known, an intensely religiou man, and it was his invariable custom t commit his way to the guidance of th Most High. In small matters, as well a in important state affairs, he loved to thin he was acting under the direct influenc of his God. Alas! like many other gloom fanatics, his warped and bigoted mind to often mistook his own headstrong, obstinat conviction for a divine inspiration: an thus he really persuaded himself again an again that the terrible cruelties which di figured his reign were committed for th advancement of the kingdom of God upo earth.

From the day of his landing, the citizer of London, Winchester, and other citi honoured by the presence of Mary and h foreign husband, were continually gratifie or dismayed by the frequent sight of go geous processions of Spanish priests an friars, of long trains of Spanish knigh and nobles, escorted by Spanish soldier Services conducted with all the pomp an circumstance of the ancient church; th long-forbidden mass; the long-disuse ceremonies, celebrated with the elaborat care of the Spanish cathedrals of Seville o Toledo, were heard and seen in many o the great English churches, in place of th

imple and somewhat bald services prescribed by the Edwardian ritual. Well night dismay and terror reign through the ength and breadth of England, when these tartling changes, these strange sights, beame familiar.

Very quickly the love of England for Mary was exchanged for hatred and fear. With this marriage in prospect, a few hort months sufficed to exhaust the lowing feeling of popularity, in the midst f which she had ascended the throne. ndeed, so detested was the prospect of he Spanish marriage, and all that it was eared a close and intimate alliance with pain would entail, that, when it was nderstood that the union of Mary and 'hilip was fully settled, a formidable ising of the disaffected was planned in ifferent parts of the kingdom. Forunately for Mary, the plans were illonceived. In the west the outbreak was peedily crushed. A more formidable sing in Kent and in London for a brief pace threatened the queen's throne. It as, however, soon overmastered, and he captured rebels treated with extreme arshness, a very large number being rdered to execution; the influence of pain, already paramount with the queen, eing exerted to urge Mary in this case severity.

Among the more illustrious victims ere lady Jane Grey, her father the uke of Suffolk, and her husband lord uildford Dudley, whose lives at first ad been spared by Mary. The circumances of the death of lady Jane Grey e well known. The quiet courage the young girl—for she was nothing ore—in presence of the terrible public death, and her constancy in her profession of the Reformed opinions in which she had been so faithfully trained, had a marked effect on the public mind, and contributed to the fast-growing unpopularity of Mary. The lady Jane by her noble death for ever effaced the evil impression which her ill-advised assumption of the crown, to which she had no right, had made upon the people; and her name has gone down to posterity rather as that of a martyr of the Reformation, than of a dangerous usurper and disturber of the public peace.

While mentioning this ill-omened marriage—the first fatal mistake of Mary—we may, according to our custom, for convenience anticipate a little, and briefly trace some of its unhappy results. Throughout it was a bitter disappointment to all concerned. The hopes so long entertained, that an heir to the throne would be born, all came to nothing. The disappointment of Mary preyed upon her health, never robust, and at times even threatened her reason. The year (1555) following her marriage was a terrible season for the sick queen, aware of the hatred with which she was regarded by her people; conscious of the cold neglect, passing into positive aversion, of her husband, whom she passionately loved; recognising with bitter sorrow that it was only political reasons which had induced him to marry her. As we shall see later on, much of the terrible work which so dishonours her reign was owing to the hopeless disappointment and sad disillusionment which too quickly followed her marriage with Philip.

As for Philip himself, he was equally

disappointed. Hoping, perhaps expecting, a welcome among the English people, he found himself and his followers at once the objects of popular dislike, jealousy, and fear. The Spanish calculation that England would tamely acquiesce in a foreign supremacy, was found strangely mistaken. The short-lived hopes of an heir quickly dissipated, the Spanish prince soon resolved to leave England and his bride. The determination of his father, Charles V., to abdicate and to seek the quiet of a Spanish cloister, in which to spend the few remaining days of his restless and well-nigh exhausted life, provided him with a well-grounded excuse. So in the August of 1555 he bade farewell to his wife, and left England; and save for a flying visit of a few brief weeks in 1557, Philip and Mary met no more on earth.

But the mischief wrought by the Spanish connection was never undone, and the shadow of the great mistake and its lamentable consequences brooded over England, not only during the remainder of Mary's short life, but far into the reign of her nobler and happier successor, her sister Elizabeth.

The reconciliation with Rome is the next great landmark in Mary's reign. It was in the July of 1553 that she ascended the throne. From the first days of her reign Spanish influences were at work. Renard, the imperial ambassador, was her most trusted counsellor, and he was simply the mouthpiece of Charles V. The marriage with Philip was quickly decided upon, and accomplished in the July following (1554). The Spanish power was virtually supreme in England for about a year longer, until the following Augu 1555, when Philip left England. Duri these years Gardiner, bishop of Winch ter, was chancellor. That he disliked fr the first the influence of Spain is eviden but he found that, to preserve his pla and position, he must submit to the i perious Tudor will. He was able certain particulars, especially in outwa forms, to limit the foreign influences, b that was all. He died shortly after Phil left England, in the November of th same year, 1555. From the date of t Spanish prince's departure, although forei policy continued to have much weight English affairs, Spain was no longer a powerful with the queen. A new counsell had arisen, and his voice was hencefor supreme with Mary.

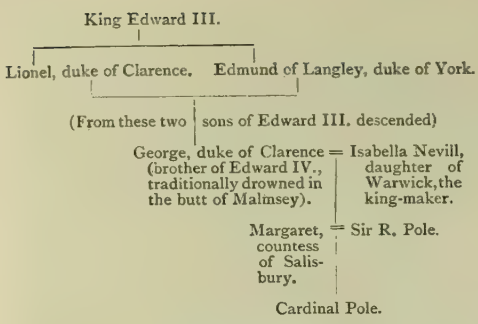
This was her kinsman, known in Engla as cardinal Pole. During the remaind of 1555, all through 1556, 1557, and un the November of 1558—a period of a lit more than three years—Pole was the a influential friend and adviser of the quee He only survived her a few hours, bo dying just before the close of 1558. succeeded the martyr Cranmer as arc bishop of Canterbury early in the ye 1556; but in Pole's case the assumpti of the primacy of all England add but little to the power and influence the court which he already possesse He had been the royal adviser, esp cially in things ecclesiastical, for seve months.

The early career of Pole has been alrea sketched.* His near relationship to t royal house of England will be seen at glance from the following little table :-

* See page 117.

QUEEN MARY.

(From the portrait by Lucas d'Heere in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries.)


King Edward III.
Lionel, duke of Clarence.
Edmund of Langley, duke of York.
(From these two sons of Edward III. descended)
George, duke of Clarence (brother of Edward IV., traditionally drowned in the butt of Malmsey).
Isabella Nevill, daughter of Warwick, the king-maker.
Margaret, countess of Salisbury.
Sir R. Pole.
Cardinal Pole.

When the news of Edward VI.'s death reached Rome, followed by the joyful and somewhat unexpected tidings of Mary's accession amid the plaudits of the English people, at once the papal cabinet began to arrange measures which should bring about a reconciliation with the powerful and wealthy island, which for so many centuries had been the most faithful and devoted adherent of the see of Rome, and which had annually poured in such vast sums into her exchequer. Among the tremendous blows suffered in the sixteenth century by the Roman power, none, perhaps, had been more deeply felt than the English defection. Whereas during the long series of the Middle Ages England had been the most subservient of nations to the Roman obedience, since the revolt of Henry VIII. no nation had been so vehement in its expressions of determination to throw off the ancient yoke it had borne so long, so patiently, so devotedly. Again and again its legislature had passed the most stringent anti-papal acts, while its most famous and learned divines perpetually put in the foreground of the reform they pressed upon the church, the paramount necessity of breaking off all connection with the great Italian see, with its tremendous claims of universa and all-embracing supremacy.

Never was so sudden, so complete change of views and policy. And nov in the strange revolution of the whe of fortune, the happy moment had arrive when the entire anti-papal policy of Englan might be expected to be reversed. Th young heir of Henry VIII., who in R formation matters had gone to length undreamed of even by his father, Rome bitterest foe, was dead, had passed awa in the flower of his brilliant, promisin youth; and his sister Mary, traine from her earliest days to loathe the R formers and all their works, was on h throne. And the people, contrary t common expectation, had welcomed h advent with an almost tumultuous e thusiasm. The chiefs of the Reforme party were in prison or in exile. A ne queen, a new government, with entire new hopes and outlooks, devoted hea and soul to the old state of things whic had existed when Henry VIII. entere upon his reforming crusade, were in suprem power. Well might Rome look with co fidence to a formal reconciliation with th great rebel island people, whose estrang ment and fierce enmity had been felt bitterly, and mourned with so unfeigne a mourning.

In this important juncture all eyes Rome were turned at once to one ma an English exile of the highest rank, a who occupied in the Romish Church th exalted and coveted position of a cardina For more than a quarter of a centu Reginald Pole, the royal-descended, a once-favoured kinsman of Henry VII had been a wanderer and a fugitive fro

his native land. Religious and earnest, a scholar and writer of no mean pretensions, of a character absolutely stainless (no paltry title to honour in that dissolute age), Pole from the days of comparative youth had thrown in his lot with the party most vehemently opposed to Reformation doctrines and principles, and was especially hostile to any revolt from the Romish obedience. With him this choice was absolutely pure and free from any motives of ambition or self-interest; indeed, its adoption cost him home and friends, rank and power. Men said that he might even have had the arch-see of York when Wolsey died, had he only consented to follow his king and imperious patron in the tortuous policy of the divorce.

With all his many noble and even lovable qualities, Pole had in exile become a bigot and somewhat wild enthusiast. Not once or twice only in his stormy and adventurous career, he utterly mistook the feelings of his countrymen, and was strangely blind to the existence of the genuine longing among them for a purer church, a truer doctrine, and a freedom from the galling yoke of Rome. Hence he allowed himself to become the centre of ill-advised and rashly-conceived plots and English intrigues. Entangled in the meshes of these mainly through his fault, first his brother Montagu and later his own royal and noble mother, the countess of Salisbury, perished in England as traitors, while he himself was long proscribed and attainted as a dangerous rebel. It was for these services and sufferings, endured as an unwearied opponent of the Reformation cause, that the Pope created him a cardinal. And now, when the long-waited auspicious moment had at length arrived, when, as it was thought, England might be again reconciled with Rome, Pole was named as legate to bring about the earnestly desired submission and reunion.

But the time for this was not yet come. England for the moment was dissatisfied with the Reformation, with the reformers' government, and with many of the reformers' acts, and was fairly content to accept a partial revival of the old mediæval ways and customs in religious practices and doctrine; but any idea of a return to the "Roman obedience" was positively hateful not only to the nation at large, but even to reactionary leaders such as Gardiner, the chancellor. Even Spain and the empire, ever cautious and usually far-seeing, counselled delay in any attempt of Pole to enter England arrayed in legatine powers. In vain the cardinal wrote to Mary from his home on the Lake of Garda, in urgent if in somewhat hysterical terms of gratulation, urging her to receive him as legate of the vicar of Christ. The queen replied in terms which plainly showed that though her mind was fully made up on the question of reconciliation with Rome, she hesitated as to the opportuneness of the time for the momentous decision. She hoped that the coming session of Parliament would see the reversal of all the statutes which had brought calamity upon her kingdom, and that then from the chief Pontiff (*Pontifex summus*, she styled the Pope) she might obtain pardon for her sins. But the matter for the present dragged on, and Pole received no authorisation to present himself as legate in the revolted island. He was bitterly disappointed at the delay; but Gardiner as representing

English feeling, and Renard on the part of Charles V., put off the day for the formal acknowledgment of the Roman supremacy.

All through the year 1553, and indeed through the greater part of 1554, the mediæval reaction in religion went on increasing in force through queen Mary's realm. The Spanish marriage was concluded, and Philip and Mary were jointly reigning, Philip receiving the title of king, their names appearing together in all official documents, and their heads on the coins; but as yet no formal overtures to Rome were made. The first series of the famous Oxford trials of the reform leaders, Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley—of which more anon—were concluded, and the illustrious prisoners were even condemned, without any reference to the Pope; a strong assertion of Anglican independence in the midst of the great reaction, which was gravely disapproved by the Roman cabinet, and subsequently formally annulled and disavowed at Rome, the Pope insisting that the great trials should be all repeated and conducted afresh under the shadow of his jurisdiction.

Very urgently, after the protracted hesitation, we find Pole writing to Philip with such expressions as the following:—"For a whole year have I been knocking at the door of the kingdom (of England), and no one asks, 'Who is there?' It is one who has endured twenty years of exile that she who shares your throne should not be excluded from her rights. I come in the name of the vicar of the King of kings, the shepherd of mankind (such was the appellation Pole ventured to give his master, the bishop of Rome). Peter knocks at your door, Peter himself. Why does not that nation (of the English) make haste now to do Peter reverence? Strange, too that this is the house of Mary. Can it be Mary that is so slow to open? True, in deed, it is that when Mary's damsel heard the voice, she opened not the door for joy she ran and told Mary (thus playing on the well-known passage in the 'Acts,' where Peter is released from prison by the angel) And though at first she doubted, yet when Peter continued knocking, she opened the door, she took him in, she regarded not the danger, although Herod was yet alive and was king. Is it joy which now with holds Mary, or is it fear? She rejoices that I know, but she also fears. Yet why should Mary fear now, when Herod is dead?"

With such curious theology, and still more curious exposition of Scripture, did the cardinal legate of the Roman see urge upon Philip, and through Philip upon queen Mary, a prompt obedience to the Pope. He went on with his strange pleading letter, powerful enough from Pole's and the Roman standpoint: "Do you, therefore, sire, teach her (Mary) how to cast her fears away. It is not I only who stand here—it is not only Peter—Christ is here; Christ waits with me till you will open and take Him in. You, who are king of England, while you have ambassadors of all other princes at your court, you will not have Christ's ambassador; you have rejected your Christ! Then from urgent, piteous, loving entreaty Pole went on to stern menaces. "Go your way; build on the foundation of worldly policy, and in Christ's own words I tell you—that the rain will fall, the flood will rise, the winds will blow, and beat

upon your house, and it will fall, and great will be the fall thereof."

At last the hour came when Philip and Mary thought it safe to undertake the Roman obedience. A year and a half had passed. Sweeping changes in religious matters had passed over England, virtually unchallenged by the voice of the nation.

REGINALD, CARDINAL POLE.
(*From the Picture attributed to Raphael.*)

eat work of formal reconciliation with ome. Mary had longed for it, we have en, from the first days of her reign ; ly from motives of state policy the day reconciliation was deferred until things ere ripe for the State to return to the old The old government and its leaders had been swept away. The reforming bishops had been deposed, and were all in prison or in exile. Spasmodic efforts of armed resistance to the mediæval reaction, it is true, had been made, but they had been

effectually stamped out in blood. The sullen acquiescence of the English nation in the great change, for this is what it was after the first hour of delirious joy which welcomed her accession, was mistaken by Mary and her ministers, by Pole and the Roman cabinet, even by the more astute Renard and Spain, for approval; and in the November of 1554 a state embassage was sent to Pole, formally inviting him to England, there to arrange the reconciliation with the so-called apostolic see.

The only stipulation that apparently was made, was that the Pope, on being again acknowledged as supreme in matters ecclesiastical in England, should, through the voice of his legate, grant a dispensation to the possessors of monastic lands and property to hold these lands still. This condition was consented to, and, with little delay, Pole set out with solemn pomp on his journey to restore England to the Roman communion and obedience. He was to come, however, as ambassador, not as legate. But, as we shall see, very soon after his arrival the civil authority and title was rapidly merged in the spiritual office and dignity of *legate à latere*, with all its awful and tremendous assumptions.

He was received at Canterbury with every demonstration of respect and affectionate regard, and amidst the greetings of a vast and apparently a sympathising crowd, passed to his temporary resting-place in the storied city of the metropolitans of England, under the shadow of the proud cathedral of Lanfranc and Anselm. The palace of the imprisoned Cranmer, soon to be his own, was destroyed, a fire having some time before reduced it to ruins.

At this time Pole, who for the next f years was destined to be the evil geni of Mary and England, though he was o fifty-four years old, presented the appe ance of a worn-out, prematurely aged m feeble and sickly. We read how on long journey he had been even lifted i the litter which bore him through stately progress. His restless and exciti life, coloured now with feverish hop now with disappointment and failure, h well-nigh worn him out. Only the exci ment and joy at the realisation of his lo deferred hopes buoyed him up, and g him strength and power to carry out cherished plans. It has been remark that in cardinal Pole's portrait at t period of his life, there is much to remi the historical student of his strong li ness to his royal Plantagenet ancest from whom he claimed direct desce The beautiful but somewhat weak Plan genet face is reproduced in the features the well-meaning but often hard and cr bigot, who, as Mary's intimate friend a most trusted adviser in spiritual matte during the latter part of her unhappy rei worked such untold mischief to the ca he had laid so deeply to heart. Th curious in such matters may repeat t once popular Gloucester pilgrimage the shrine of the murdered Edward hard by the high altar of the stat cathedral, and in the still perfect a baster effigy which rests on the scar tomb, trace the traditional beautiful Pl tagenet features here referred to; t king's face being evidently modelled up a mask taken after death.

Nicholas Harpsfield, the archdeacon Canterbury—a prominent Marian divi

a rhetorician rather than a theologian, whom we often come across in the records of this sad period, notably in the Oxford trials—received Pole, as the principal resident dignitary. His curious turgid eloquence on this occasion is a fair specimen of the hysterical, blind complacency with which the leading divines whom Mary delighted to honour viewed the changed aspect of things in the Anglican Church. The oration, according to an Italian account of the ceremony of welcome, was so beautiful and so affecting that all the hearers were moved to tears. The legate himself, however, seems to have been pained by the unmeasured flattery, and gravely rebuked the orator for his fulsome address of welcome.* The progress Londonwards commenced. At Rochester, in deference to royal command, the cardinal assumed the ancient pomp and insignia of a Papal legate, the cross and the once well-known silver pillars being borne before him. The act reversing his attainder was presented him; and he was received by Philip and Mary and their court with every demonstration of respect and affection.

Things indeed were changed in England; for in the Parliament which met this winter of 1554, at the opening service the mass was celebrated, and the Pope was prayed for by name. Then the great business of the reconciliation was hurried forward. The two Houses were at once summoned to attend the court at Whitehall, to hear the declaration of Pole, the now acknowledged cardinal legate.

The date of this striking scene was November 28, 1554. Philip and queen Mary, who was splendidly dressed, sat on a raised daïs, and Pole on their right hand, just outside the edge of the royal canopy; his silver cross and pillars had been borne before him. Bishop Gardiner, the chancellor, introduced Pole to the great assembly in the following terms: "Here is present the right reverend father in God the lord cardinal Pole, come from the apostolic see of Rome as ambassador, upon one of the weightiest causes that ever happened in this realm." Then Pole rose, and spoke in a low, weak voice. He told them that the see apostolic had a special respect to the realm of England above all others; and then slightly sketched its history in the matters of the Christian faith, dwelling, of course, on the mission of Augustine, but ignoring the whole work of the Celtic church. He touched upon the two royal Saxon pilgrims to Rome, but had little to say touching submission to Rome in Anglo-Saxon times; dwelling generally on the favours showered upon England by the Popes, and on the prosperity of the land down to the time of the late "schism"; from that unhappy day the English had been overwhelmed with calamities. Then he called attention to the woes which had been the lot of other lands who had forsaken the apostolic see. "Let the empire of Greece" (he meant the Eastern empire) "be a spectacle to the world, which by

* The words deserve to be quoted. "Thou art Pole," said Harpsfield, "the one who lights us to the Kingdom of Heaven. The sky, the rivers, the earth, these very walls" (alluding to the scarred walls stripped of colour and sculpture) "long for thee. When thou wert absent from us all things were sad. At thy coming everything becomes glad and peaceful." The Latin pun on his name can scarcely be given in any English rendering—"Tu es Polus, qui aperis nobis Polum regni cœlorum"

departing from the unity of the Church of Rome has been brought into subjection by the Turk. Let Germany, wretchedly torn with diversity of sects and factions, be a spectacle."

In his extravagant laudation of Philip and Mary, he adduced a strange and ingenious comparison which to our ears sounds somewhat profane. "The emperor Charles V., of all princes in Europe, had travailed most in the cause of religion, but he had failed in establishing peace." (Pole was, of course, alluding to the great Lutheran schism in Germany.) "He could not build the temple of Jerusalem, for like David he was stained with blood and wars; he left the finishing of it to Solomon—the *Rex Pacificus*—in the person of Philip, Mary's husband." He concluded by stating that he held from the Pope full powers of reconciliation, pressing home the assertion that his mission was to reconcile, not to condemn, especially not to call anything in question already done. Then referring especially to the monastic spoils, which were to be left in the hands of those who held them, "*All matters that were past, they should be as things cast into the sea of forgetfulness.*" But all laws by which England had dissevered herself from the unity of Christ's church must, urged the legate, be abrogated. The grace of the apostolic see thus offered was dependent upon this absolute revocation by Parliament of all the anti-papal acts.

There was no delay. The "Houses" were as subservient to the will of the Tudor queen, as not many years before they had been to the will of the imperious Tudor king her father. Their very unanimity showed how little they represented the heart of the nation, rent asunder as it w by the claims of the Reformers on the o hand, and of the lovers of the old mediæv forms and doctrines on the other. B feeble and impotent as were the t Houses, their will when expressed was t law of the land. One day sufficed for t settlement of the momentous question. was seen at once that the formal rep of the many obnoxious acts would ta considerable time, and the impatient P brooked no delay. He would conte himself with requiring a joint petiti from the two Houses to their majesti in which, promising without delay repeal all the anti-papal laws, they sho pray the king and queen to intercede the removal of the interdict.

This act of complete submission was settled in a few hours. The questi whether England should return to obe ence to Rome was decided in the affirm tive by the peers unanimously; by commons—360 in number—with only t dissentient voices. The petition drawn up by a joint committee of lords and commons, and was positiv ready for presentation on the day but following the speech of Pole to the k and queen and the assembled Houses the royal chamber at Whitehall.

The eventful day of the reconciliatio a date memorable in the story of Church of England—was St. Andre day, November 30, 1554. The early ho of the morning were occupied by Court in attending a solemn mass s at Westminster. It was the festival the institution of the illustrious orde the Golden Fleece, and king Philip accompanied by 600 noblemen and gen

CARDINAL POLE RECONCILING THE REALM OF ENGLAND TO THE ROMAN COMMUNION.

men of Spain, and by the knights of the English order of the Garter. Dinner was served at 2 o'clock in the afternoon; and then in the gloaming of that winter day once more Parliament assembled at White hall in the presence of Mary and her Spanish husband.

As on the first meeting two days before, Gardiner, the chancellor, acted as spokesman, and asked the august assembly if they continued still in the same mind. A unanimous assent followed. The chancellor continued, Should he proceed in their names to pray for absolution? Again the assembled Parliament signified their assent. He then, after presenting the document to the queen, read aloud the petition which had been drawn up by the joint committee of the two Houses. It was humbly worded, and ran in the names of the lords spiritual and temporal and the commons of the present Parliament, representing the whole body of the realm of England. They declared themselves "very sorry and repentant for the schism and disobedience committed in the realm against the see apostolic, by making laws against the supremacy of the sacred see"; and they besought their Majesties (Philip and Mary), "as persons undefiled in the offence toward the holy see, to obtain from the see apostolic absolution from all danger or such censures and sentences as by the laws of the church they were gotten into; and they prayed that as children repentant they might be received into the unity of Christ's church, in order that the noble realm (of England), in unity and perfect obedience to the see apostolic and the Pope for the time being, might serve God and their majesties to the furtherance of His honour and glory."

Cardinal Pole replied, without at firs rising from his seat, "Much indeed ha the English nation to thank the Almight for recalling them to his fold. Once agai has God given a token of his special favou to this realm; for as this nation in th time of the primitive church was the firs to be called out of the darkness of heathen ism,* so now they were the first to whor God had given grace to repent of thei schism.† How would the angels, wh rejoiced when one sinner was converte triumph when a whole noble nation wer brought home."

The legate then rose to pronounce th solemn words which removed the inte dict from England. The queen and Phili knelt, and the whole assembly with them to receive the absolution, which Pole pro ceeded to pronounce. The voice was lo but in the deep hush every word of th strange forgiveness was audible.

"Our Lord Jesus Christ," so ran th great Papal pronouncement, "by H mercy absolves you, and we, by apostoli authority given unto us by the most hol lord Pope Julius the Third, His vicegeren on earth, do absolve and deliver you wit this whole realm from all heresy an schism, and from all judgment, censur and pain, for that cause incurred; and w restore you again into the unity of ou Mother the Holy Church—in the name o the Father, of the Son, and of the Hol Ghost." ‡

* Pole was evidently referring here to the di tradition of king Lucius' conversion.

† This was an allusion to the Continenta Teutonic nations, who remained steadfast to th principles of the Reformation and to separatio from Rome.

‡ *Cf.* Froude: Hist., chap xxxii.

The news of the submission of the English nation was received at Rome with extraordinary joy. Pope Julius, it is said, embraced the bearer of the glad tidings, and then fell on his knees in prayer. In the Eternal City the most extravagant joy was manifested at the repentance of England, and no suspicion or doubt seems to have crossed the mind of the Pope and his cardinals, of the sincerity of the solemn act of submission and reconciliation. The king and queen and Parliament had ratified the great submission, the expression of a national sorrow for the past. It was surely the voice of repentant England.

The real truth was different. It was *not* the voice of the nation. The Spanish marriage, the presence of Philip and his Spanish followers, had already struck the first deadly blow to the progress of the mediæval reaction under Mary, which followed the hated government of Northumberland, and the sacrilegious excesses of the extreme party of the reformers. The restoration of the Papal power inflicted a still more fatal wound. The unpopularity of the Reformation, which, from various causes already detailed, threatened to undo the true work of the earnest and devoted scholars of the new learning among the people, was fast giving way to bitter regret on the part of thousands of serious Englishmen, when, as they became conscious of the growing influence of Spain and the reactionaries, they saw the English Bible taken away, and the English services proscribed, and ceremonies and rites they had come to recognise as superstitious and idolatrous, restored. And these feelings were enormously intensified when they found the yoke of Rome, so long and bitterly hated by the vast majority of Englishmen, once more firmly riveted on the national church. The words of Pole on that November day in 1554, when in the Pope's name he removed the interdict from the country, gave an undreamed-of impulse to the Reformation cause in England. But Mary and Philip, even Gardiner, much more the rejoicing Julius III. in distant Rome, were all blind to this. They had no suspicion of the tremendous force with which their policy and acts were working for the cause they hated with so intense a hate.

There was a third and mighty impulse still to be given to the apparently dying Reformation in England, and which we have yet to treat of at greater length, which followed immediately after this memorable reconciliation with Rome; but it may be interesting first very briefly to relate the remaining personal incidents in the life-story of that interesting adventurer who worked unconsciously so cruel a mischief to his native land. We use the word "unconsciously" advisedly, for even those who most intensely disapprove his policy and his disastrous influence over Mary, can find no flaw in his own spotless character, and are compelled reluctantly to acknowledge the generally unselfish nobility of his aims and purposes.

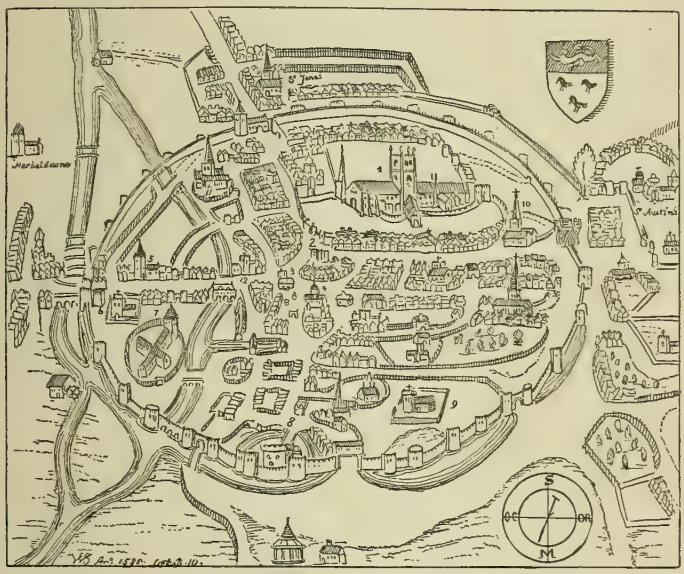
To Reginald Pole, from the very first days of his public life, the Reformation and all that the Reformation included was an unholy thing. Probably the iniquity of the divorce of Katharine of Arragon, so unhappily interwoven with the early stages of the great religious movement in

England, had first roused the indignation of the chivalrous descendant of the Plantagenets, and this indignation coloured in Pole's imagination every succeeding scene in the great drama. He would have nothing to do with what he felt was an unclean thing, and shaking off the dust of his native land, he became a voluntary exile, nobly renouncing all the advantages and high promotion which lay before him. An industrious scholar and an unwearied worker, his narrow and confined intellect failed to see the urgent necessity of a thorough reform in church doctrine, government, and practice, so patent to men like Erasmus and Colet, and even to the high-souled, conservative More. In Pole's mind the idea of the unity of the church was ever paramount, and this unity could only be obtained by an unswerving obedience to that great bishop of Rome, who to Pole and to men who thought with him was Christ's vicegerent on earth. He ignored completely the deep-seated, ineradicable English feeling of repugnance to this foreign supremacy in the church; was utterly blind to the teachings of the history of the past and the lessons of the present, so far as regarded his native country. In estimating his character, however, it must never be forgotten that his life's work was never to advance or to benefit himself, but solely to promote what he deemed the cause of true religion; and in working for this end he believed he was working for the weal of England.

His chance came in the evening of his life, when prematurely worn-out, being only fifty-four years of age when he came as legate. He was received in England, as we have seen, with all imaginable honours, and, though in weak and failing health successfully carried out what he had long so passionately desired—the reconciliation of his country with Rome. It was his lot to pronounce the formal absolution, and to remove the interdict from England. This was done in the November of 1554. In the early months of the following year (1555) the Marian persecution began. This was simultaneous with Pole's obtaining almost supreme power at court; and the terrible burning of so-called heretics with rare intervals, continued until the end of 1558, when Pole and his royal mistress passed away. In the August of 1555 Philip left England, only to return again for a brief visit. In the November of the same year the statesmanlike chancellor, Gardiner of Winchester, died; and from that date Pole's solitary influence was supreme with Mary.

Upon the sickly and hysterical queen during the last three years of her sad life disappointments and disillusionments, one after the other, pressed very sorely. She found the love of her subjects turned into hate. Philip, whom she adored with an almost idolatrous love, had deserted her. Gardiner, the wise minister, for whom she never cared, though almost invariably trusting him, was dead. The hope of a child, heir to all her greatness and far-reaching plans, at last had vanished. Only Pole remained to her, her faithful friend of past years, who had brought the message of forgiveness from the Pope whom she regarded with no feigned belief as God's vicegerent on earth; who once had been gravely suggested to her as a possible husband, and who thought as she thought on every matter connected with

religion, now her chief and almost her only care. Seldom have an adviser and a sovereign been brought into such intimate relations of friendship and common interests as were Pole and Mary during those last three or four years of their life. They were scarcely ever apart, the ecclesiastic and the queen. As Mary moved restlessly from



PANORAMIC VIEW OF CANTERBURY IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

one palace to the other, now residing at St. James's, now at Greenwich or at Richmond, the archbishop—for this he became when Cranmer passed to his rest in the spring of 1556, in the flames of Oxford—usually accompanied his royal friend and mistress. Rarely were they separated; and it was their custom to spend two or three hours together daily.

One who has given us some interesting pictures of the time thus writes of him: "On the shoulders of this man now rests the whole weight of the government of this realm, both with regard to secular and spiritual affairs. He is a man of great learning and goodness of heart. His opinion is of such authority with the queen, that by a mere sign with his hand he could remove any person from the situation he holds or bring him to punishment. Therefore he is envied and hated by the principal ministers. With all this, he uses his power with great discretion and humility."* All contemporary evidence, indeed, proves that certainly, from the date of Philip's departure from England to the end of the reign, cardinal Pole was the solitary friend and adviser upon whose counsels Mary relied.

Of the cruelties which were exercised during those years of persecution, which have made Mary's reign a byword in

* Micheles, quoted by Dean Hook: "Lives of the Archbishops," vol. viii., chap. iv.

English history, and have associated the dread and too well-deserved epithet of "bloody" with her name, Pole must therefore be considered, with the queen, the joint author. With absolute truth Froude writes on this point: "Is it to be supposed that in the horrible crusade which henceforth was the business of Mary's life, the Papal legate, the sovereign director of the ecclesiastical administration of the realm, was not consulted, or if consulted, that he refused his sanction? But it is not a question of conjecture or probability. From the legate came the first edict for the episcopal inquisition; under the legate every bishop held his judicial commission; while, if Smithfield (where bishop Bonner was supreme) is excepted, the most frightful scenes in the entire frightful period were witnessed under the shadow of his own metropolitan cathedral." His apologists can only urge that Pole was not cruel, nor loved to see others suffering; but notwithstanding the 300 burnings were ordered to be carried out, and were carried out by the cardinal and the queen, "in the delirious belief that they were chosen instruments of Providence."

A strange nemesis befel the archbishop in the course of the year 1557. Cardinal Caraffa, a personal enemy of the English cardinal, had been elected to the papacy, a dignity to which, when Caraffa was chosen, Pole was deemed to have just claims. Between Caraffa, known as Pope Paul IV., and Philip, Mary's husband, a fierce enmity arose, with the details of which here we are not concerned. Pole was in a strange dilemma; bound by every tie of affection and interest to Philip and Mary, and at the same time linked by the most awful spiritual bonds to their bitterest enemy, whom he himself acknowledged as his absolute chief on earth, and whose commission as legate he bore. He naturally attached himself to his own sovereign, and vainly tried to mediate between Philip and the Pope. The haughty pontiff, who of old disliked Pole, summarily revoked the legatine commission of the English archbishop, and named as his legate an old Observant friar of Greenwich, one William Peto, who in the far-back days of Henry VIII. had distinguished himself by his bold opposition to the king. Never was so strange, so unlooked-for an insult offered to a faithful servant of Rome. The strongest remonstrances were made from England. Letters from Pole himself, from the Anglican bishops, from the nobility of the realm (the last probably emanating from the council), were sent to Rome, deprecating the insult offered to the most faithful servant of Rome and the church represented by Rome, probably living on earth; but to no avail. A joint letter even from Philip and Mary deigned to entreat Paul IV. not to take away the legatine dignity from the one man who was fitted to guide the confused and unsettled fortunes of the Church of England, in the hour of perplexity and danger through which the church was then passing. But remonstrances availed nought. An old and ill-grounded charge of heresy against Pole was even hinted at; and the Pope wrote to the king and queen, in reply to their letter of strong and bitter remonstrance, that his appointment of the aged and comparatively unknown Peto as legate in the room of Pole was the result of a divine inspiration!

Pole was never reinstated in the legatine office. Very deeply the iron of the cruel and undeserved insult entered into his soul, as is manifest from his words in a communication addressed by him to Paul IV. early in 1558. In this he strangely likens himself to Isaac in the proposed sacrifice in the Genesis story, when Abraham's hand was stayed by the angel, Abraham being represented in the curious simile by the Pope. "I see not an angel sent to stay your hand, as in the case of Isaac, but I see a host of angels—Philip and Mary, Catholic kings, defenders of the faith; I see a legion of pious men [referring to the signatories of the English protest] coming to snatch that sword, the process of accusation [alluding probably to the old and easily disproved charge of heresy], out of your hand."

But the Pope, shrouding himself in silence, deigned no further reply. The cold neglect of Rome; the suspicion that he, who had devoted his life to further the papal cause, was charged with heresy; the deprivation of the legatine office, which Pole prized far above his dignity as archbishop; no doubt weighed sorely on the trusted and all-powerful adviser of Mary, and contributed largely to undermine his weak and failing health. He had no strength left to fight against the fever and ague, which in the summer of 1558 had begun to ravage England—a veritable pestilence, to which the queen herself succumbed. Everything seemed against him. In the beginning of the year 1558 the arms of England suffered a terrible reverse on the Continent, and Calais and the last remnant of her possessions in France were torn from her. This unlooked-for misfortune, which affected rather the pride than the prosperity of England, was an additional blow to the already hateful government of Mary, and was quickly followed by a long-continued and fatal epidemic of the nature of fever and ague (not improbably a serious outbreak of the disease known in our own times as influenza or *la grippe*). The queen sickened with this widespread malady in the September of 1558, breathing her last on the 16th November. When the queen died, Pole too was lying between life and death at Lambeth, and at first his attendants kept the news of the passing away of his dearest friend and mistress from him; but the intelligence was inadvertently conveyed to him, and from that moment the dying cardinal never rallied.

His confidant and devoted friend, Priuli, in his letters has left us some interesting details of his last hours. He tells us how he spoke such words as moved the bystanders to tears, as he dwelt on that Divine Providence which throughout his chequered life had, even in all his afflictions, calmed and consoled him. He drew a vivid parallel between his life and the queen's, relating how he had sympathised with her in the sorrows of her early life, and then had shared in all her troubles and anxieties since she had become queen. They were not to be separated, he added, by death. Later, when his pains grew easier, he caused himself to be lifted in front of the altar, and, bowing to the ground with tears and sobs, said the *Confiteor* and received the Holy Communion. Later in the day he listened to vespers and then to compline. At last he said the end was come, and asked for the commendatory

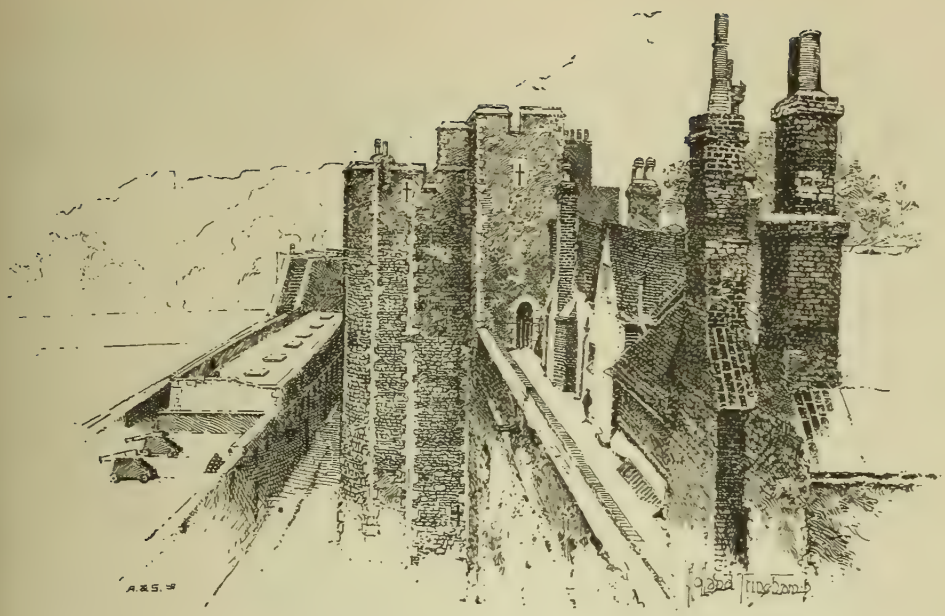
prayers, and so calmly fell asleep, only twenty-two hours after Mary had breathed her last.

Thus Pole passed away to his great account, in all the odour of sanctity, without, so far as we know, ever having breathed one sigh of regret for the unspeakable woe and misery he had brought, during his three or four years of supreme power, on his native land; unconscious, apparently, of the execrations which from thousands of outraged hearths and homes were being uttered against the remorseless Roman cardinal. His successor in the arch-see, Parker, has deliberately called him "the executioner and scourge of the Church of England" (*Carnifex et flagellum Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*). And yet "his character was irreproachable; in all the virtues of the [Roman] Catholic Church he walked without spot or stain; and the system to which he had surrendered himself had left to him of the common weaknesses of mankind his enormous vanity alone. But that system had extinguished in him the human instincts, the genial emotions by which theological theories stand especially in need to be corrected. He belonged to a class of persons, at all times numerous, in whom enthusiasm takes the place of understanding, who are men of an idea. . . . Happily for the welfare of mankind, persons so constituted rarely arrive at power; should power come to them, they use it, as Pole used it, to defeat the ends which are nearest to their hearts."*

He lay in state at Lambeth for forty days, while masses were being said for the repose of his soul. The body with much ceremony was then taken to Canterbury, and once more all that was mortal of Pole was received by a great crowd of curious, perhaps of admiring and respectful citizens and clergy. A sermon in his praise in Latin and in English was delivered when his remains were laid, as he had wished, in St. Thomas's chapel of the historic cathedral. The simple words, *Depositum Cardinalis Poli*, mark the place of the interment of the last cardinal-archbishop who presided over the Church of England.

* Froude: "History," chap. xxxv.

CARDINAL POLE'S TOMB IN CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL.



PRISONERS' WALK, TOWER OF LONDON.

CHAPTER LIII.

THE MARIAN PERSECUTION. RIDLEY AND LATIMER.

Revival of the Laws relating to Heresy—The First Martyrs, Rogers and Hooper—Imprisonment of Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer—Cranmer's Condemnation for Treason—His Respite and its Reasons—Trial for Heresy of the Three Bishops at Oxford—The Three Propositions concerning the Sacrament—Reply of the Bishops—Their Condemnation—Its Illegality—Interference of Rome—New Roman Trial—Cranmer Tried Separately—His Defence—Condemned by the Pope Himself—Trial of Ridley and Latimer—Ridley's Exposition of the Sacrament—Latimer's Identical—The Condemnation—Ridley's Formal Degradation—His Last Night—The Two Martyrs at the Stake—Their End—Ridley's Public Epistle of Testimony.

THE persecution of the reformers, which we have termed the third of the important pieces of Marian policy, was the direct outcome of the first two already spoken of—viz. the Spanish marriage and the reconciliation with Rome. The first completely alienated the queen from her subjects ; the second, carried out with the full consent and approval of her Spanish consort, was the especial work of the man whom Mary from the hour of his landing in England chose as her trusted adviser and confidant, Cardinal Pole. It had been the one object he had aimed at for years.

A glance at the dates of the great reactionary measures, will show how little time was lost in pressing forward the ghastly scenes we are about to speak of. On the 25th July, 1554, Philip and Mary were married. On the 24th of the November following the king and queen received

the cardinal-legate with all state at Whitehall. On the 30th November the "reconciliation" was formally ratified, and the interdict removed. In the few remaining days of this same year the obsequious Parliament not only fulfilled its undertaking to the legate, when he removed the interdict, by enacting a comprehensive statute repealing all the anti-papal acts, but passed a terrible statute reviving the old heresy laws, ordering that this statute should come into force in a few weeks' time—viz. on the 20th of the January following.

The cardinal-legate was now at the queen's right hand, and on the 4th of February in the year 1555, the first of that long roll of martyrs, whose story will never be forgotten in England, perished in the flames at Smithfield in the presence of a vast crowd of appalled and dismayed spectators. This was Rogers, the well-known prebendary of St. Paul's. On the 9th of the same month bishop Hooper suffered at Gloucester, while on the 8th and 9th of the same month similar death-scenes were witnessed at Coventry, in the Midlands, and at Suffolk, in the eastern counties. Other burnings rapidly followed, of which brief details will be given presently. In our picture of this unhappy reign, some account of the terrible sufferings to which those singled out as victims among the Reformed party were subjected, will of course be necessary. Many words and details will not be needed, but we shall describe at some length the proceedings taken against the three most prominent among the sufferers in the Marian persecutions; and from the accusations brought against Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, and their replies, we shall gather a fair idea of the charges under which the less distinguished in the party of reform suffered the same awful penalty which was exacted from the chiefs.

Within three months of Mary's accession, the three famous Reformer bishops had found their way to the palace-prison of the Tower of London. At first, as regarded Cranmer and Ridley, considerable leniency seems to have been exercised; but the treatment of Latimer was more severe, the excessive freedom of speech of the great preacher having probably excited more enmity than the more reserved and thoughtful utterances of the archbishop and bishop of London. Latimer, for instance, complained of the cold he suffered. The three were, however, freely permitted at all events to communicate with each other, and the conferences (apparently written) between Ridley and Latimer are preserved, and are of the highest interest, as showing some of the points in dispute insisted on by these great teachers.

"I cannot consent," wrote *Ridley*, "to the mass in a strange tongue, without communion, made a private table, and where there be many priests that will communicate, every one of them having their altars, masses, and tables: the cup denied to the laity." The following among the Tower utterances of the "Three" are remarkable. *Latimer:* "Speaking like aliens or madmen! making that private which Christ made common. The Lord's death is not shown in the Supper, unless there be a partaking not of the bread only, but of the cup." *Ridley:* "They servilely serve the sign, instead of the thing signi-

Photo: Gillman & Co., Oxford.

OXFORD.

fied, adoring and worshipping the bread." *Latimer:* "Deny such a corporal presence and transubstantiation, and their fantastical adoration will vanish away." *

Cranmer in the first six months of Mary's reign had been tried with lady Jane Grey and the Dudleys for treason in the matter of the succession, and condemned. His arch-see for all purposes of administration was deemed void by his attainder, but no further proceedings were for the present taken against him, and he was left in prison. Indeed, the whole question of the treatment of the heretics, as the Reformers were termed, was at first left undetermined; only in Cranmer's case there was never any intention of sparing him. "The archbishop will be executed," wrote Renard, the Spanish ambassador. His great spiritual office and the sacred pall he had received from Rome preserved his life for a time, until an ecclesiastical tribunal should confirm the sentence of death passed by a court Rome deemed an irregular tribunal. The important share which the archbishop had taken in the matter of the divorce of Mary's mother, Katharine of Arragon, had virtually excluded him in the queen's eyes from any possibility of pardon. To this, without doubt, Cranmer owed his final condemnation in 1556, in spite of his unhappy recantation, which by every principle of justice and honour ought to have at least saved his life; but Mary's sullen revenge gave him that splendid chance of atoning for his momentary weakness—a chance of which he availed himself in the last awful scene at Oxford which closed his eventful life.

* Quoted by Canon Dixon: Hist., chap. xxiii.

In the April of 1554, some nine or ten months after Mary became queen, the three bishops were transferred from the Tower to Oxford, and the old university city became the scene of their famous trial and subsequent sufferings. It must be remembered that *two* distinct and prolonged trials of these three illustrious men were held; the first in the April of 1554, immediately after the removal of the prisoners from the Tower. The proceedings of the first trial and condemnation were quashed by Rome as illegal, not being conducted under her auspices. The second was deferred for eighteen months, and was also held at Oxford, under a special commission issuing from the Pope. The sentences passed by this second or Roman trial were carried out in all their dreadful severity.

The first Oxford trial took the form of a theological discussion on the following propositions. They are of great importance, as the acceptance or denial of the substance of them was virtually made the text of heresy or orthodoxy in most of the prosecutions of the following years. They were three in number:—

(1) In the sacrament of the altar, by virtue of the divine word uttered by the priests, the natural body of Christ, conceived by the Virgin Mary, is really present under the species of bread and wine, and also His natural blood.

(2) After consecration the substance of bread and wine no longer remaineth, neither any other substance, save only the substance of Christ, God and Man.

(3) In the mass there is a life-giving propitiatory sacrifice for the sins of the dead as well as the living.

The commissioners, or rather the judges, in the first Oxford trial of 1554, thirty-three in number, were made up of some of the more famous of the Marian divines, partly consisting of a deputation delegated by Convocation under Dr. Weston, the prolocutor; to these were joined from the university of Oxford the vice-chancellor, rector of Lincoln College, afterwards dean of Westminster and then of Windsor, the masters of Pembroke and Queen's Colleges, and others; from Cambridge among notable theologians came the vice-chancellor, the provost of King's, the master of St. John's, Gardiner's chaplain, and the master of Queen's. The scene of the trial was the university church of St. Mary's, and there the commissioners took their seats in front of the altar, the doctors appearing in their scarlet robes.

Cranmer was summoned first, and standing leaning on his staff listened to an opening address of Weston, in which he was charged with having cut himself off from the unity of the church, as a setter-forth of new doctrines, every year putting out a new faith. A copy of the above rehearsed articles was given him, and after a short questioning the archbishop was sent back to his prison to write a formal answer, books such as he should require for his reply being promised him.

Ridley was then brought before the commissioners. His answers to them on this occasion, Foxe tells us, were "sharp, wittie, and very learned." He, too, received the materials out of which he might compose a formal answer.

Latimer was next summoned. The great preacher was then an old and somewhat infirm man. He is described on this occasion as coming in "with a kerchief and two or three cappes on his head, his spectacles hanging by a string at his breast, and a staffe in his hand." The contrast of Ridley and Latimer's appearance at each of these painful scenes is dwelt on by their biographer; Ridley being ever carefully, ever handsomely apparelled, and Latimer roughly and poorly, as though he cared nothing for those things connected with his person. The great crowd which pressed upon Latimer is several times alluded to. To the crowd he was apparently the best known and probably the most popular of the three great Reformers.

They had scarcely two days for writing their replies, one of these days being Sunday. The disputation, or rather the interrogation of Cranmer which followed after the two days, was long and somewhat confused, with many interruptions on the part of the "judges." "The learned, moderate, and noble exposition which Cranmer had so quickly penned, remained unread." A few of Cranmer's words must be quoted as showing what was his undoubted view of the great doctrine which formed the real subject in dispute between the Reformers and the Marian theologians. "The true body of Christ," said the accused archbishop, "is present to those that truly receive Him—but spiritually it is taken after a spiritual sort; Christ is present by the grace and efficacy of His passion. I deny that He is present in bread, or that under the bread is His organised body—that is, having parts or members." And again, "We receive with the mouth the sacrament, but the thing and matter of the sacrament we receive

CRANMER AT TRAITORS' GATE.

(By permission, from the picture by F. Goodall, R.A.)

by faith. Inwardly we eat Christ's body, outwardly we eat the sacrament."* Towards the end of the disputation Cranmer was charged with corrupting some of the old fathers and the schoolmen in his books on the Eucharist, notably Justin Martyr, Duns Scotus, and St. Thomas of Aquinas.

When Ridley was examined, he read much of his written answers, which were learned and carefully prepared. He was, however, frequently interrupted, and was sharply questioned by his many adversaries. In the course of his written answers, he even went so far as to write of the doctrine of the carnal presence, which he opposed, as amounting to "anthropophagy," and was then accused by one of the judges of uttering blasphemies. "I little thought," said Ridley then, "to have such contumely from one who was once my friend." The decree of the Council of Lateran, which affirmed transubstantiation, was quoted against him. Ridley demurred as to the authority of this council. "What," cried out Dr. Tresham, one of the canons of Christ Church, "you reject the Council of Lateran! Write it down; write it down!" "Write it a dozen times," said Ridley.

In the end the assembly was broken up by the prolocutor with the words, "Ye see the stubborn, the crafty, the inconstant mind of the man; ye see the unshaken strength of the truth. Shout after me the song of victory—*Vicit veritas, vicit veritas!*"

Ridley's doctrine of the sacrament was absolutely identical with that of Cranmer. In the course of this long and important trial, the great theologian uttered the following memorable words, which subsequently were virtually embodied in one of the Thirty-nine Articles of queen Elizabeth: "Evil men do eat the very true and natural Body of Christ sacramentally and no further; but good men do eat the very true Body, both sacramentally and spiritually by grace."

Latimer was brought before the commission a day or two after, also by himself. He, too, had written his answers; they were rougher, less profound, than the careful treatise-like replies of his two friends who preceded him, who were deep theologians; but his replies were characterised, like his sermons, with brilliant, playful expressions, and were written partly in English, partly in Latin. The doctrine, however, was the same as that of his friends. He expressed himself as fearful lest he should be thought to make the Sacrament nothing else but a bare sign; so he repeated that therein he acknowledged a spiritual Presence which was sufficient for a Christian man, and that this might be called a real Presence. He pleaded as an excuse for his brevity his great age, his weakness, even faintness; but his readiness of wit and old brilliancy never seem to have failed him. "*Ecclesia papistica*," he said in his quaint Latin, "*erravit et errat*," adding in English "I think for the space of six or seven hundred years there was no mention of any eating but spiritually, for before these years the church did ever confess a spiritual manducation, but *ecclesia Romana peperit errorem transubstantiationis* ('the Roman Church produced the error of transubstantiation'). My lord

* Compare Canon Dixon: History, chap. xxiii.

of Canterbury's book handleth that very well, and by him I could answer you if I had him." And later he again referred to Cranmer's celebrated treatise in the words, "I refer me to my lord of Canterbury's book wholly therein."

Weston, the prolocutor, with some force from his standpoint, toward the close of the examination said: "Well, Master Latimer, we wish you well, and exhort you to come to yourself. Remember that out of Noah's Ark is no salvation. Remember who were the beginners of your doctrine—a few flying apostates, running out of Germany for fear of the faggot. Remember what they were who have set forth your doctrine in this realm—flingbrains and lightheads, never constant in one thing, as might be seen in the turning of the table, one day west, another day east, one that way, another this way, when like a sort of apes they could not tell which way to turn their tails. They say they will be like the apostles, and have no churches . . . your stubbornness is all vain glory, and that will do you little good when a faggot is in your beard . . . the queen is merciful, if you will turn." "You shall have no hope in me to turn," replied the steadfast old man, "for the queen I pray daily that she may turn from this religion." Weston then rose, saying, "You see the weakness of heresy against the truth; he denieth all truth and all the fathers."

The sentence was a foregone conclusion. Cranmer was once more brought before the commissioners; and in the same week the three bishops, this time together, appeared before the court, and were formally condemned as heretics. After they had heard the sentence, they replied in beautiful and touching terms as follows. We follow the report of Foxe:—

The archbishop of Canterbury (Cranmer): "From this your judgement and sentence, I appeale to the just judgement of God Almightie, trusting to be present with Him in heaven, for whose presence in the altar I am thus condemned."

Dr. Ridley: "Although I be not of your companie, yet doubt not I that my name is written in another place, whither this sentence will send us sooner than we should by the course of Nature have come."

Mr. Latimer: "I thanke God most heartily that he hath prolonged my life to this end, that I may in this case glorifie God by that kinde of death."

To these words the prolocutor Weston replied: "If you go to heaven in this faith, then I will never come thither, as I am thus persuaded." The three then returned to their separate places of confinement; and on the day following there was "a masse with a general procession and great solemnitie," the condemned reformers beholding it—the archbishop and Ridley from their prison, and "Latymer, also being brought to see it, thought he should have gone to burning," and refused to look at the sight. "Dr. Weston carried the Sacrament, and foure doctors carried the canopie over him." Eighteen months, however, passed before the last act of the famous tragedy was played out in the old university city.

This first notable trial, on which the eyes of all England were fixed—which was watched, too, in many countries separated from England by the silver streak of sea—took place in the April of 1554. The

solemn sentence pronounced by that court, at least august in the numbers, rank, and dignity of those who composed it, affirmed that the three "were no members of the church, and therefore they, their fantasy, and patrones were condemned as heretics." The dignified and touching words of the prisoners thus condemned, clearly showed that they looked for death as the outcome of the sentence, although they repeated, that as things then stood "there was no law to condemn us." Touching this lawlessness on the part of the tribunal, Hooper wrote in a letter to Ferrar and others, bearing date the May following in the same year, quoting in the same letter some words used by Weston, the prolocutor of Convocation, when this unlaw was alleged: "It forceth not," quoth Weston, "for a law; we have a commission to proceed with them; when they be despatched, let their friends sue the law."

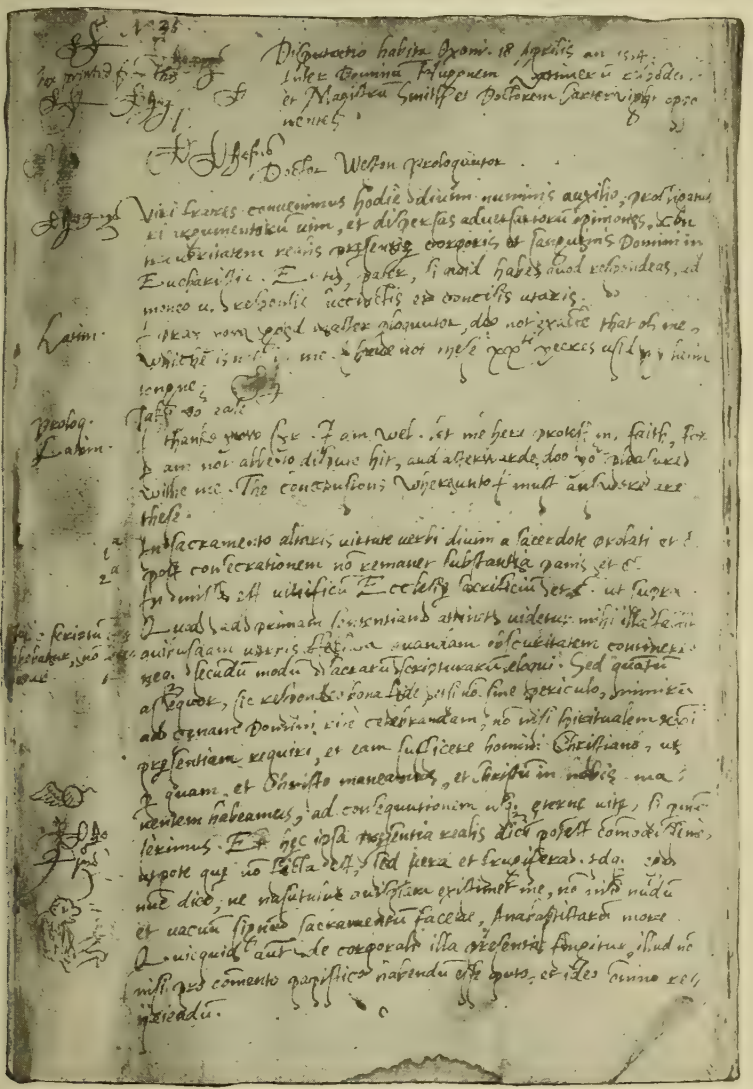
The Heresy Acts under which these so-called heretics might be legally condemned (especially the acts against the Lollards [2 Henry IV.], which enacted that the obstinate who refused to abjure . . . . were to be delivered to the secular authorities and burnt in a high place before the people) were only re-enacted in the *December* of that year, 1554, and came into force the 20th January, 1555. It is probable that this difficulty saved the three for the time, from the martyrdom they evidently looked for as their speedy guerdon.

In the meantime, the cold disapproval of Rome when these famous proceedings at Oxford became generally known, prevented any further action being taken for the present. The archbishop, Ridley, and Latimer, were simply detained in confinement, some eighteen months. From the April of 1554 until the close of September 1555, they languished in their Oxford prisons, waiting for death. Then Rome—now reconciled with England—with its old imperious disregard of all important ecclesiastical measures which were not based upon direct sanction from the Papal chamber, formally issued a commission on the petition of Philip and Mary completely ignoring the official condemnation pronounced at the close of the lengthy proceedings at Oxford in the April of 1554, and only recognising those proceedings as an open disputation held in Oxford.

The new trial, which took place at the close of September, 1555, this time under the direct auspices of Rome, was differently ordered in the case of Cranmer. The archbishop had received originally, in the days of Henry VIII., the pall from the Roman pontiff. The Pope alone—so it was determined by the Roman cabinet—could judge and condemn so exalted a dignitary. Cranmer for form's sake was summoned to Rome; but the charge of the case was entrusted, with a view to a trial at home, to cardinal del Puteo. The cardinal appointed as his delegates in England Brooks, bishop of Gloucester, the dean of St. Paul's, and the well-known Harpsfield, archdeacon of Canterbury; only the first of these, Brooks of Gloucester, officiated at the archbishop's trial.

In the cases of Ridley and Latimer less exalted authority was deemed sufficient to give directions for their trial, as Rome denied their episcopal rank altogether; so, as Foxe tells us, a commissio

was issued, about a fortnight after Cranmer's trial, from "Cardinale Pole, legate



ACCOUNT OF A DISPUTATION HELD AT OXFORD APRIL 18, 1554, BETWEEN LATIMER AND MASTER SMITH, AND DR. CARTERIGHT BEFORE DR. WESTON. IN ENGLISH AND LATIN. FOXE PRINTED FROM THIS MS., AS APPEARS FROM A NOTE AT THE LEFT HAND TOP CORNER. (*British Museum.*)

à latere, to John White, bishop of Lincoln, to doctour Brooks, bishop of Gloucester, and to doctour Holiman, bishop of Bristowe (Bristol), that they should have full power to examine . . . . and to judge Latimer and Ridley, pretensed bishops of

Worcester and London, for sundry erroneous opinions which they did hold and maintain in open disputation had in Oxford as also long before in the time of perdition." It was thus Pole characterised the reign of Edward VI. and a large portion of the reign of Henry VIII.

Much had happened in England during the seventeen to eighteen months which had passed since the condemnation of the three leading Reformers at the Oxford trial. In quick succession followed the doings of Parliament — the sweeping away into the dust-heaps of the past the many and various acts of Parliament which at first had limited, and then destroyed the mighty and far-reaching power of the bishop of Rome in England. Then followed the re-enactment of the bloody acts, forged in another age as a weapon to be used against the comparatively weak and puny school of the now-forgotten Lollard teachers; scarcely ever put in force, but now to be turned under queen Mary into a tremendous engine of war against a far more numerous and powerful "heretical" school. Closely, anxiously were the important Oxford captives watched; their words spoken at the famous trial remembered, quoted, repeated in a hundred centres of harassed England. The acts against heretics came into force in January, and the stern persecution at once began to rage in certain parts of England, all through the spring and summer months of 1555. Many witnessed a good confession, and passed away; but the doom of Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer still tarried. At length the machinery of Rome was completed; and a new and stately death-scene arranged, in which the great three were to play the leadin parts.

The Roman trial of Cranmer came firs by a few days. It was a strange and im pressive scene in the well-known church o St. Mary at Oxford, that September day o the year 1555. When the papal delegate bishop Brooks of Gloucester, representin the Pope's person (as Foxe hath it) sat i his "pontificalibus" on "a solemn scaffol ten feet high under the sacrament of th altar, at the east end of the church, t judge an archbishop of Canterbury, th like had never been seen before in England not even in the days of the enormous me diæval power of the bishops of Rome! O the right hand of the Pope's delegate, bu *beneath* him, sat the king and queen's com missioners, doctors Martin and Story; an underneath them were other doctor scribes, and Pharisees, also with the Pope collectors and a rabblement of such othe like, as Foxe delights to call them.

Cranmer was sent for to come befor them. He was clothed in a fair blac gown, with his scarlet doctor's hood, an was still addressed by the court a "Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury." T the royal proctors representing the quee of England, Martin and Story, he made humble obeisance, bowing his knee to th ground and pulling off his cap. D Martin was chancellor of Winchester unde Gardiner. Dr. Story was chancellor o Lincoln. But he looked steadily at th bishop of Gloucester, the Pope's delegate and putting on his cap again, made n sign of obedience at all, justifying th startling act of disrespect, and saying h had done it advisedly, having once take a solemn oath never to consent to th

admitting the bishop of Rome's authority into the realm of England again. "This not once bowing or making any reverence to him who represented the Pope's person was wonderously marked of the people that was there present and saw it."

The bishop of Gloucester, whose conduct throughout the trial—the result, of course, being pre-arranged—was quiet and dignified, and marked with considerable respect and consideration for the distinguished prisoner, in his opening address dwelt upon the fact much insisted upon by the Marian divines, the strangeness of the departure of Cranmer from what he (Brooks) termed the universal and Catholic church, from the received faith of all Christendom. He reminded the prisoner how from a low degree he had been raised to the proud position of metropolitan of England—the "legatus natus" of the holy see; adding the somewhat startling suggestion that if he would repent, even then (to give his very words), "it were ten to one that where you were archbishop of Canterbury and metropolitan of England, that ye shall be as well still, yea, and rather better."

Dr. Martin, the royal proctor, followed, briefly setting forth the articles of accusation, including charges of perjury to the Pope, adultery in the matter of his marriage, and the books of heresy partly written by him, partly set forth by his authority. Then Cranmer obtained leave to reply.

His defence was somewhat elaborate and very able, and mainly dealt first with his view of papal interference in England, then with the doctrines he had enunciated in respect to the Holy Eucharist. Subsequently the questions concerning the supreme headship of the church and the marriage of Cranmer occupied the court. The accused archbishop prefaced his words by kneeling down, and, with his face towards the west, said the Lord's Prayer and recited the articles of the creed. The westward position he adopted to avoid any suspicion of kneeling before and paying any adoration to the consecrated wafer which was displayed in the pyx on the altar above the papal delegate's throne.

He expressed himself in very strong terms as utterly opposed to the acknowledgment of any Roman supremacy in England; "the state of England," as he said, "being so repugnant to it." The religion, too, he added, which the see of Rome had published in late years was contrary to what the ancient fathers, the apostles, and Christ had taught. The expressions he used in speaking of the Pope were very strong, and even violent. He plainly alluded to him as the enemy of God, as contrary to God and injurious to His plain laws, even as anti-Christ, dwelling especially on one conspicuous instance. "Whereas God would have the people come to church and hear His Word expounded to them, and, that they might the better understand it, to hear it in their mother tongue which they know, the Pope willed the service to be had in the Latin tongue, which they do not understand"; thus sharply reproving the reactionary measures passed under Roman influences, which swept away one of the most beneficent works of the Reformation—viz. the adoption of public prayer in English, and replaced the English formularies again by the Latin breviary and missal.

As touching the Eucharistic doctrine,

Cranmer's words on this occasion were memorable. "As concerning the Sacrament," he said, "I have taught no false doctrine of the Sacrament of the Aultar. For if it canne be proved by any doctor above a thousand years after Christ that Christe's bodie is there reallie, I will give over. My book was made seaven years agoe, and no man hath brought anye

JOHN FOXE.
(*From the portrait in his "Acts and Monuments." Ed.* 1641.)

authors against it. I believe that who so eateth and drinketh that Sacrament, Christ is within them—whole Christ, His nativitie, passion, resurrection, and ascension, but not that corporaltie that sitteth in heaven." Cranmer's doctrine of the most holy Sacrament was clear and definite. To the above important declaration it will be well, so as to make his meaning perfectly clear, to quote the archbishop's words spoken at the first Oxford disputation or trial of 1554. "His true bodie is truly present to them that truly receive him, but spiritually; and so it is taken after a spiritual sort. . . . As oft as you shall do this it shall put you in remembrance of the breaking of my bodie and the shedding of my blood; that as truly as you receive this Sacrament, so truly shall you receive the benefits promised, by receiving the same worthily." And even more forcibly in a writing which the archbishop put in or exhibited at the same interrogatory: "Thus, therefore, true bread and true wine remain still in the Eucharist until they be consumed of the faithful." And again: "Moreover, He abideth also in them which worthily receive the Sacrament." *

The book referred to by Cranmer was either his "Defence of the true and Catholic doctrine of the Sacrament," written in Latin, or even more probably the exhaustive treatise on the same subject written in reply to Gardiner. Of one or other of these profound works Ridley thus nobly and generously spoke in the course of his disputation, when a prisoner in the Tower, with Feckenham and others: "Quoth I, that book was made of a great learned man, and of him which is able to do the like again; as for me, I ensure you (be not deceived in me), I was never able to do or write anie such like thing. He (Cranmer) passeth mee (Ridley) no lesse than the learned master his young scholler."

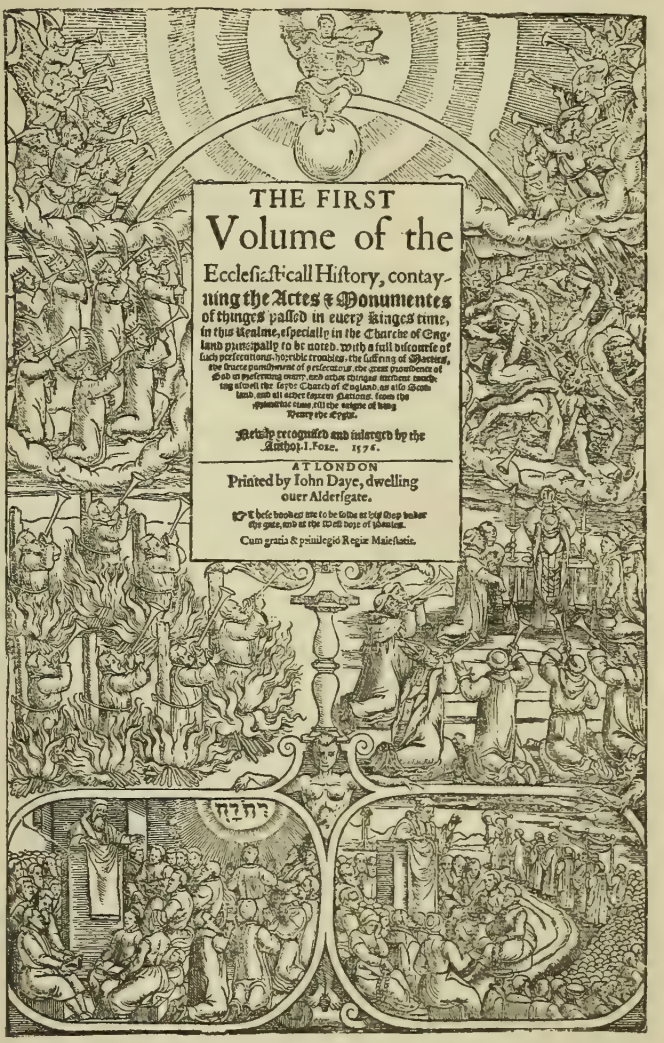
On being somewhat roughly and coarsely charged with having been twice married, the archbishop freely admitted

* See Foxe, quoted here at length in the "Lives of Bishop Latimer, Ridley, and Archbishop Cranmer." Dr. Wordsworth: "Ecc. Biography," vol. i. Compare also Dean Hook: "Archbishops" (Cranmer), vol. vii., p. 363, where the doctrine of the great reformer is clearly summarised.

it, boldly repeating that he saw no shame in it.

The whole process against Cranmer, when concluded, was drawn up in Latin, and sent to Rome. A consistory was held, and cardinal Puteo, the delegate appointed by the holy see to conduct the matter, reported that the charges—"wicked and execrable"—were held to be proved. On the 4th December the same year, archbishop Cranmer was pronounced by Pope Paul IV. to be excommunicated, anathematised, and deprived; and was ordered to be handed over to the secular authorities as a notorious heresiarch. The terrible condemnation of Rome arrived in England in due course, with the consequences hereafter to be related; but in the meantime the simpler matters of the other two Reformer chiefs, Ridley and Latimer, had been disposed of. We must tell their tragic story.

John Foxe—1517–1587—the famous historian and martyrologist, whose great work, "Foxe's Book of Martyrs," we have so frequently referred to, and whose vivid and picturesque description of the Marian martyrs is so helpful to all historians of this period, was born in the year 1517. He received his education at Oxford, and became a fellow of Magdalen College, and was reported to be a careful and elegant scholar. He subsequently applied himself to the study of divinity, and became well


THE FIRST
Volume of the
Ecclesiasticall History, contayning the Actes & Monumentes of thinges passed in euery Kinges time, in this Realme, especially in the Churche of England principally to be noted. With a full discourse of such persecutions, horrible troubles, the suffring of Martyrs, true bretheren, straunge Apostasies, the great providence of God in preserving every, and other thinges worthy memorie, touching the state Church of England, as also Scotland, and all other forreyn Nations, from the Apostolike time, till the raigne of king Henry the eight.
Newly recognised and inlarged by the Author. I. Foxe. 1576.
AT LONDON
Printed by Iohn Daye, dwelling ouer Aldersgate.
These bookes are to be solde at his shop before the gate, and at the well boye of Ierusalem.
Cum gratia & priuilegio Regiæ Maiestatis.

TITLE-PAGE TO FOXE'S BOOK OF MARTYRS.
(*Ed.* 1576. *British Museum.*)

versed in the Greek and Latin fathers and the schoolmen, and was also a fair Hebrew scholar. Becoming attached to the principles of the Reformers in 1545, he was ejected from his fellowship, and for a lengthened period lived in straitened circumstances. We hear of him as a private tutor in more than one powerful family. Through the influence of one of these—that of the duke of Norfolk—he regained his lost Oxford position; but in the reign of Mary he became once more a wanderer and an exile. At this period of his life parts of his great work were written. At the accession of Elizabeth he returned to England, and was made a prebendary of Salisbury, and eventually vicar of St. Giles, Cripplegate, dying in 1587. His famous "Book of Martyrs," it is said, occupied the patient, tireless scholar some eleven years. He had the rare advantage of some personal knowledge of most of his heroes, of whom he was the contemporary. In some of his details Foxe is not always accurate; against his so-called "Puritan" prejudices the fair historian has constantly to be on his guard; but on the whole, the estimate "that John Foxe is one of the most faithful and authentic of historians" is scarcely an exaggerated one. The importance of Foxe's monumental writings, and their simplicity and charm of style, is by all serious students of the English Reformation now acknowledged.

It was a fortnight after Cranmer's trial, on the 30th September, 1555, that bishops Ridley and Latimer were brought before the commissioners of cardinal Pole, legate *a latere*, in the Oxford divinity school. The cardinal's representatives were men of the highest rank in the church—Dr. Brooks, bishop of Gloucester, Dr. Whi bishop of Lincoln, and Dr. Holyma bishop of Bristol. This court practica ignored the condemnation passed so eighteen months before. The Reforme were accused of holding divers erroneo opinions, which they maintained "in op disputations, held in Oxford in the previo year, 1554, and elsewhere in the time perdition," thus characterising the days Edward VI.'s reign. If they were prepar to recant these opinions, "giving a yielding themselves to the determinati of the universall and Catholicke churc planted by Peter in the blessed see Rome," then the judges deputed by t cardinal-legate were empowered "to min ter unto them the reconciliation of t holy father the Pope;" but if the accus were stubborn, and chose to defend a maintain their erroneous opinions, t judges were to proceed according to t law of heretics, to degrade them fr their dignity, to cut them off from t church, and yield them to the secu power to receive punishment due to su heresy and schism.

Ridley appeared before the court of t legate's commissioners first. Like Cranm he refused any acknowledgment of t Pope, declining to raise his cap or bow t knee to the legate's representatives. T first part of the trial mainly turned up the question of the papal supremacy, t bishop of Lincoln requiring Ridley receive the true doctrine of the chur which he boldly affirmed "was first found by Peter at Rome immediately after t death of Christ, and from him by lin succession hath been brought to this c time." Ridley replied at some length, a

with force and eloquence, to the startling but not unknown claim for Rome made by the legate Pole's episcopal commissioner, who did not hesitate to affirm that there were two powers—"The Sword and the Keys." The sword was given to kings; the keys were delivered by Christ to Peter, and by him left to all the successors (in the see of Rome). Ridley declared in the midst of his learned argument that he perceived the greater part of Christendom was infected "with the poyson of the see of Rome. I repaire," he went on to say, 'to the usage of the primitive church, which I find cleane contrary to the Pope's decrees." Then he gave an instance, "As in that the priest receiveth alone, that it is made unlawful to the laitee to receive in both kinds and such like. Wherefore it requireth that I prefer the antiquity of the primitive church before the novelty of the Romish church."

It was not without pathos, however, that the bishop of Lincoln urged upon bishop Ridley the memory of old times: "Remember, Master Ridley, it is no strange country whither I exhort you to return. You were once one of us. . . . It is not so long ago sith you separated yourself from us."

But the more important part by far of the famous trial of this the greatest of our reformer theologians, was his reply to the Articles." They were the same as had been proposed to the three bishops on the occasion of the first series of disputations a year and a half before; and it will be remembered that they briefly but clearly set out the teaching of the later mediæval church on the Eucharistic doctrine, the first two Articles dealing with the question of transubstantiation, the third affirming the doctrine that in the mass was a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and dead. As Ridley was so largely concerned in the framing of the formularies now possessed by the Church of England, it is of the highest moment for us to be able to refer to his very words when questioned, at this supreme juncture of his life, on these difficult and disputed points of doctrine.

To the first Article, which affirmed that "the true and natural bodie of Christ after the consecration of the priest is present in the Sacrament of the Altar," Ridley in the course of his reply said: "My lord, . . . We confesse all, one thing to be in the Sacrament, and dissent in the manner of being there. I, being fully by God's Word thereunto persuaded, confesse Christ's naturale bodie to be in the Sacrament indeede by spirit and grace, because that whosoever receiveth worthilie that bread and wine receiveth effectually Christ's body and drinketh his blood—that is, he is made effectually partaker of his passion; and you make a grosser kinde of being, enclosing a naturall, a lively, and a mooving bodie under the shape or forme of bread and wine."

To the second Article, that "in the Sacrament of the Altar after consecration there remaineth not the substance of bread and wine, nor any other substance save the substance of Christ, God and Man," Ridley answered thus: "In the Sacrament is a certain chaunge, in that that bread which was before common bread is now made a lively representation of Christ's body; and not only a figure, but effectuously representeth his bodie, that even as the mortall bodie was nourished by that visible bread,

so is the internall soule fed with the heavenly foode of Christ's bodie which the eye of faith seeth, as the bodilie eye seeth only bread. Such a sacramental mutation I grant to bee in the bread and wine, which truly is no small chaunge, but such a chaunge as no mortal man can make, but onelie that omnipotency of Christ's word."

Upon the bishop of Lincoln desiring of him a more direct answer, Ridley continued: "That notwithstanding this sacramentall mutation of which he spake, and all the doctors confessed, the true substance and nature of bread and wine remaineth, with the which the bodie is in like sort nourished, as the soule by grace and spirite with the bodie of Christ. Even so in baptisme the bodie is washed with the visible water, and the soule is cleansed from all filth by the invisible Holy Ghost, and yet the water ceaseth not to be water, but keepeth the nature of water still. In like sort in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper the bread ceaseth not to bee bread."

The bishop of Lincoln, however, declined to accept this analogy between the two sacraments, because that Christ said not by the water, "This is the Holie Ghost," as He did by the bread, "*This is my body.*"

Respecting the third article, which affirmed that in the mass was a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead, Ridley replied: "Christ, as St. Paule writeth, made one perfect sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, neither can any man reiterate that sacrifice of His; and yet is the Communion an acceptable sacrifice to God, of praise and thanksgiving; but to say that thereby sinnes are taken awaie (which wholie and perfectlie was done by Christ's passion, of the which the communion is onlie a memorie), that is a gr derogation of the merits of Christ's passi for the sacrament was instituted that receiving it, and thereby recognising a remembering His passion, should be p takers of the merits of the same. otherwise dooth this sacrament take up it the office of Christ's passion, whereby might follow that Christ died in vaine."

It was in the course of the seco day's examination that bishop Brooks Gloucester, in the course of his address Ridley, made the sarcastic comparison wh is so often quoted: "Latimer leaneth Cranmer, Cranmer to Ridley, and Ridley the singularitie of his own witte; so t if you overthrow the singularitie of Ridl witte, then must needs the religion Cranmer and Latimer fall also." To t later in the day, Ridley, with that gener courtesy which was ever a characteristi the great reformer, replied: "And wher here the bishop of Gloucester says Cran leaned to him, that was most untrue, that he was but a young scholler in c parison of Cranmer; for at what time was a young scholler, then was Cranme doctor; so that he confessed Cranmer mi have been his schoolmaster these ma yeeres."

Latimer was introduced into the co which was to condemn him, alone. stood before his judges an old man, t eighty years of age, dressed as seemed have been his wont, shabbily, even mea His well-worn New Testament and spectacles were as usual slung round h "The greatest man, perhaps, then liv in the world," Froude styles him—a stra estimate it seems on first thoughts, w we remember his two fellow prison

chose weighty writings have had for so long a mighty influence on our great English Church. But the influence of Latimer, too, had been wide, all through the drama of the English Reformation; with his wonderful oratory, his intense burning convictions, he had perhaps done more to sway men's hearts than any other of the leading Reformers. The work of Ridley and Cranmer largely lay in the future. Their writings swayed the thoughts of men of another generation and reign, when the hands that penned the deep, profound thoughts had become ashes, and the great souls of the two had already passed to their eternal rest. But Latimer had been ever the popular teacher, whom men loved and hated with a strangely intense love and hate; so, in some respects, the brilliant historian's estimate was a true one. Latimer was especially the people's hero.

On that sad morning he had been kept long waiting in a cold and draughty ante-room. Before his examination he reproached his judges thus: "My lords, if I appear again, I pray you not to send for me untill you be readie, for I am an old man, and it is great hurt to mine old age to tarrie so long gazing upon the cold walles." The bishop of Lincoln expressed his sorrow for this seeming discourtesy, and

ST. MARY'S, OXFORD.

the trial went on, much after the fashion of Ridley's. The answers, too, were not very different, for the two had long been dear friends, and they thought alike on all the burning questions of the day; only Latimer's replies, although to the same effect as Ridley's, wanted naturally the clear-cut precision of the great theologian's statements.

Latimer's answer to the second Article was remarkable, and shows what the teachings of the great preacher must have been in his many soul-stirring sermons: "There is, my lord, a change in the bread and wine, and such a change as no power but the omnipotence of God can make, in that that which before was bread, should now have that dignitie to exhibite Christ's body; and yet the bread is still bread, and the wine still wine: for the change is not in the nature but in the dignitie, because now that which was common bread hath dignitie to exhibit Christ's body; for whereas it was common bread, it is now no more common bread, neither ought it to bee so taken, but as holie bread sanctified by God's word."

To the third Article he replied: "Christ made one perfect sacrifice for the whole world, neither can any man offer Him againe, neither can the priest offer up Christ againe for the sinnes of man, which He took away *by offering Himself* once *for all* (as St. Paul saith) upon the crosse, neither is there any propitiation for our sinnes, saving His cross only.'

On the following day, after further examination, Ridley was formally condemned, and committed to the secular powers for punishment; in addition he was excommunicated by the great excommunication. Latimer was then sent for, and after somewhat lengthy examination receive like Ridley, his formal sentence of co demnation. The press of the peop crowding to see the illustrious prisone is especially mentioned. Only one cer mony more—that of public degradation- remained before the dread sentence w carried out.

For about a fortnight the two prisone waited for death. During these last da they were both visited by the well-know Peter de Soto, a Dominican friar, on the confessor of the emperor Charles V an eminent theologian of Salamanca, wh came to England in the train of Philip Spain, Mary's husband, and was subs quently appointed a public professor lecturer at Oxford, in order, we read, undo the mischief worked by Peter Marty Latimer, however, refused to hold an converse with him. It was a curio destiny for this learned friar, who w so active at Oxford at the time of th burning of the three martyrs, that in th end he himself fell under the ban the Inquisition.

On the 15th October, 1555, the day befo the two friends were burned, the bishop Gloucester, the vice-chancellor, and othe leading men of the university, came t the mayor's house, where Ridley was i carcerated, to perform the office whic formally degraded the condemned hereti Foxe gives us many details of the painf ceremony. Once more the Reformer w asked to recant, and the queen's mer was offered him as a guerdon; but Ridle stoutly refused, and said he was prepare to seal the doctrine which he had taug with his blood. Then bishop Brook

epared to degrade him from the priest-
od only, for he said, "We'e take you for no
shop." In putting on the various priestly
stments, which were to be stripped from
m, some force had to be used, for Ridley
fused to assist in the ceremony.* When
e words of the papal ceremony were read,
king from him the office of preaching the
spel, Ridley sighed, and looking up to
aven said, "Lord God, forgive them
eir wickedness." After "the degrada-
n was ended, very sollemlie the pris-
er said to bishop Brooks, 'My lord, I
sh that you would read over a little
ok of Bertram's doings concerning the
crament. I promise you that you shall
d much good learning therein.'" This
is the celebrated treatise of Bertram, or
ltramn, "De corpore et sanguine Domini,"
vitten at the request of king Charles le
(nauve (the bald) in the middle of the
nth century, from which work, it will be
membered years before, Ridley, when
staying in Cranmer's house in the reign
c Henry VIII., had first learned the true
rinciples of the doctrine of the Eucharist.
He thus commended this book almost
vth his last breath to the man who had
judged and condemned him.

Latimer was similarly degraded, but no
rticulars of the ceremony in his case
lve been preserved.

The same evening (October 15) a strange
sene took place in the house of the mayor,
t whose custody Ridley had been entrusted.
Ish, the mayor, seems to have treated
is distinguished prisoner with considera-
tn and courtesy. His wife was a bigoted
Romanist. Before the supper Ridley care-
fully washed himself. His care for his
personal appearance and dress throughout
all his troubles was a characteristic feature
of our famous theologian. While sitting
at the table, with pathetic humour he bade
his hostess to his marriage. "'For,' saith
hee, 'to-morrow I must be married,' and
so shewed himself to be as merrie as ever
he was at any time before."* Death had
no terrors for Ridley. The Romanist wife
of the mayor upon this began to weep.
"Oh, Mistress Irish," went on Ridley, "you
love me not now, I see well enough. For
in that you weep, it doth appear that you
will not be at my marriage . . . but
quiet your selfe; though my breakfast
shall be somewhat sharp and painful, yet I
am sure my supper shall be more pleasant
and sweet."

His brother-in-law was allowed to be
with him that last evening. When they
rose from table he offered to watch all
night with the condemned man. But
Ridley said: "No, no, that you shall not;
for I minde (God willing) to go to bed and to
sleepe as quietlie to-night as ever I did in
my life." So his brother-in-law left him,
bidding him to be of good cheer.

The morning of the 16th October was
bright and sunny. Lord Williams of
Thame with a strong guard was in attend-
ance, in the event of any tumult arising.
The prisoner walked to the place appointed
for his execution—in the ditch over against
Bailey college, on the north side of Oxford.
For the last time Ridley carefully apparelled
himself. He was dressed "in a faire blacke
gown, furred, such as he used to wear when

* This will be detailed at greater length when we
ne to speak of the degradation of archbishop
Cranmer.

* Foxe's vivid and picturesque narrative is
closely followed here.

a bishop, a tippet of velvet and fur about his neck, a velvet nightcap upon his head, and a corner cap upon the same." He walked calmly to the stake between the mayor of Oxford and an alderman. After him came Latimer, carelessly and poorly dressed as usual, in a Bristol frieze frock, all worn, a long new shroud hanging over his hose to the feet, "all ready to the fire." Many of the bystanders grieved sorely as they watched the two great men pass, when they remembered who they were, and thought of "the honour they sometime had, and the calamitie whereunto they were fallen."

As Ridley passed under the well-known Bocardo prison, where Cranmer was confined, he looked up, "hoping belike to have seene him at the glasse window," and to have exchanged some farewell words with his old dear friend and colleague; but the archbishop was busied in controversy with the Dominican Soto and others, and so heard not the tramp of the death procession as it passed. Then Ridley, looking back, espied Latimer coming after, "unto whome he said, 'Oh, be ye there?' 'Yea,' said Latimer, 'have after as fast as I can follow.'"

The two arrived at the stake. Ridley held up his hand and earnestly gazed up to the bright blue heavens, then, with a cheerful face, turned to his companion and kissed him, saying: "Be of good heart, brother, for God will either assuage the furie of the flame or else strengthen us to abide it." Then he knelt down by the stake, kissed it, and engaged a while in silent prayer, Latimer kneeling hard by. Then the two arose and talked for a time together. What they said in that little solemn conversation no one heard. T sun was shining all the while so bright that those who were superintending t death-scene moved out of the glare.

It was the custom in those days, such an execution, for a divine appoint specially for the purpose to preach a sh discourse. A doctor Smith, who seems one time to have been a reformer, but w had changed his views, and at that ti held high office in the university, was t preacher. He took what from his po of view was an appropriate text enoug "Though I give my body to be burn and have not charity, it profiteth nothing" (2 Cor. xiii.). It was an abus piece of oratory. Occasionally as launched out into peculiarly bitter invecti the prisoners raised their eyes and ha heavenward, as it were calling God to b witness to the truth. He only spoke about a quarter of an hour.

The doomed bishops were not permit to reply to the cruel words, but w bidden to prepare themselves for the sta Ridley took off his furred gown a tippet, and handed them to his broth in-law, who stood near. The bystande some of them his friends, and pers who wished him kindly, asked for so mementoes of him; not a few of th were pitifully weeping all the while. one he gave a new groat, to others n kins or nutmegs, bits of ginger, his d and other things as he had about h "Some plucked the pointes of his ho Happie was he that might get any rag of him." Latimer had nought to gi but he undressed quietly and stood erect in his shroud, strong and uprig Men said when he was thus made rea

or the fire, he no longer looked the withered, bent, aged man of the trial scene, shivering with cold, but a hale and

RIDLEY'S LAST BEQUESTS.

hearty old man. Ridley still preserved some of his clothes, but, quoth his brother, "It will put you to more pain, and the fusse you are wearing will do a poore man good." "Be it in the name of God,"

replied the bishop, and he undressed himself then to his shirt. Then standing all ready on the stone by the stake, he said: "Heavenly Father, I give Thee most heartie thanks for that Thou hast called me to be a professour of Thee even unto death." The smith, then taking a chain of iron, fastened the martyrs to the stake.

His brother-in-law brought Ridley a little bag of gunpowder, and proceeded to fasten it round the neck. "Yes," said the sufferer, "I take it to be sent of God; I will receive it as sent of Him. And have you any for my brother?" On hearing there was some reserved for Latimer, he added: "Then give to him betime, lest ye come too late." "Then," goes on the pitiful, true story, "they brought a faggotte kindled with fire, and laid the same downe at Ridley's feet, to whom Latimer spoke in this manner: 'Bee of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man; wee shall this day light such a candle by God's grace in England, as I trust shall never bee put out.'"

As the flames mounted, Ridley was heard to say with a loud voice: "In manus tuas Domine commendo spiritum meum; Domine recipe spiritum meum," and constantly all through his agony repeated again and again the last words in English, "Lord, receive my spirit." Latimer's prayer, which rose from the other side of the stake, was: "Oh, Father of Heaven, receive my soul." Latimer received the first burst of flame as it mounted upwards as though he were embracing it. Then he was seen stroking his face with his hands; but he soon expired, as it appeared, "with little paine or none." Probably the powder exploded soon, and the brave martyr became senseless. Fuller, in his "Holy State," thus touchingly comments upon the old man's speedy release: "Though Latimer came after Ridley to the stake, he got before him to heaven. His body, made tinder by old age, was no sooner touched by the fire but instantly this old Simeon had his *nunc dimittis*, and brought the news to heaven that I brother was following after."

The end of Ridley was a more terrib one. In his case "the wooden fagots we laid about the fosse . . . the f burned first beneath, being kept down the wood, which, when he felt, he desir them for Christ's sake to let the fire co to him. His brother-in-law, who w standing near, with mistaken kindn threw on yet more wood, and the flam burned yet slower beneath. His feet a legs were all burnt, and yet no vital p was touched. The agony was extrem he was noticed to writhe and struggl and men heard him say: 'I cannot bur His body remained long untouched by t cruel flames. 'Lord, have mercy on m he cried again and again; 'let the f come to me: I cannot burn.' At leng one of the bystanders with his bill to away the faggots, and at once the fire sh up. With a dying effort he struggled wards the flame, and at last the gunpowd exploded and he moved no more. So the poor charred body fell, as it we at the feet of the dead Latimer." " moved hundreds to tears," goes on t vivid recital of Foxe, "in beholding t horrible sight. Signs there were of sorr on everie side—some took it grievouslie see their deathes, whose lives they h full deare; some pitied their persons th thought their soules had no need there . . . Who considered their preferme in time past, the places of honour th they sometime occupied in the commo wealth, the favour they were in with th princes, and the opinion of learning th had, could not choose but sorrow wi teares to see so great dignitie, honour, a

estimation . . . so many godly virtues, the study of so manie yeres, such excellent learning, to be put into the fire and consumed in one moment. Well, dead they are, and the reward of this world they have alreadie. What reward remaineth for them in heaven, the day of the Lord's glorie, when Hee cometh with His saints, shall shortly, I trust, declare." *

Thus died two out of the three foremost men of the English Reformation; and dying, they "lit up," in Latimer's well-known parting words to Ridley, "such a candle in England as by God's grace shall never be put out." They were the most prominent, the best loved, of that noble army of martyrs who "made the Reformation in England possible." One of our purest and most English poets, who has well voiced the judgment of two generations of his countrymen, chose "the two" as the heroes of his striking verses, in which he paints them as men who—

". . . Constrained to wield the sword
Of disputation, shrunk not, though assailed
With hostile din, and combating in sight
Of hostile umpires partial and unjust;
And did thereafter bathe their hands in fire,
So to declare the conscience satisfied:
Nor for their bodies would accept release;
But blessing God, and praising Him, bequeathed
With their last breath, from out the smouldering flame,
The faith which they by diligence had earned,
And through illuminating grace received
For their dear countrymen, and all mankind.
O high example, constancy divine!" †

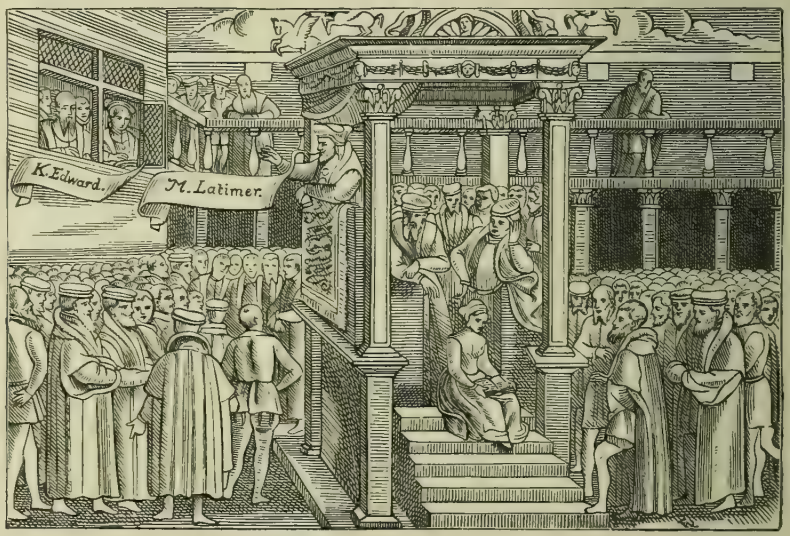
During that long and weary year and a half of his imprisonment at Oxford, between his first condemnation and the final trial by the commissioners of the cardinal-legate Pole, Ridley wrote from his prison various letters of exhortation and farewell to Bradford and other fellow-sufferers, some of which have been preserved. The most remarkable of these is an eloquent and touching paper, or letter, addressed to all his true and faithful friends. The farewell to his friends passes into a still more striking farewell to the sees over which he had presided; and it closes with a strong admonition to the temporal lords who, under the influence of the court and government of the day, had abandoned the Reformation cause.

This remarkable treatise or letter began in the name of Jesus; and then as a man minding to take a far journey, contains some simple and earnest farewell messages to his kinsfolk, addressing them severally by name. Then he passes into a more general valediction addressed to his countrymen. He pictured what the Reformation in England had done for religion, dwelling especially on the truer form of the Lord's Supper it had introduced, and upon the use of the vulgar tongue in the services of the church. Then he painted the change back to the mediæval customs; the re-introduction of the mass, the doing away with the English tongue and substitution of the Latin language in the prayers and rites. He bade next a solemn farewell to his university of Cambridge, especially to his well-loved college of Pembroke Hall. In a touching passage he dwelt on the orchards and gardens of Pembroke, where he had used to pace up and down committing to memory, as he said, almost all Paul's epistles, thus laying the foundation of his vast theological knowledge. Then he turned to Canterbury, of which cathedral in old days he had been an honoured

* Foxe. † Wordsworth: "Excursion," book vi.

member, and mourned over the sad changes which brooded over the metropolitan see. To Rochester, where he had been bishop for a season, he spoke a few words. But to London, over which he had presided for three years when Edward VI. was king, he had much to say: "O London! London! to whom now may I speak in thee; to whom shall I bid farewell? Of all them, alas! that loved God's word, and were the true setters-forth thereof, some have been burnt and slain, others have been exiled, others are still languishing in prison." He alluded, though not by name, to his successor Bonner's cruel rule and work, apostrophising it thus: "O thou most wicked and bloody see, why dost thou set up again many altars of idolatry? Why hast thou overthrown the Lord's table? How darest thou deny to the people of Christ His holy cup? Why babblest thou to the people the common prayer in a strange tongue? . . . . Thou wicked lim of Antichrist; thou bloody wolf. Wh slayest thou and makest havoc of th prophets of God? Why murderest tho so cruelly Christ's poor sheep?" (Th persecutions under Bonner in Londo were fiercer than in any other city an diocese in England.) He also appealed t one or two who had filled the office lord mayor, addressing them by name an reminding them of the part they had onc played. The striking paper ended with fervent address to the temporal lord whose attitude of sullen indifference an careless acquiescence, to men who share Ridley's views, was inexplicable.

The death of Ridley and Latimer in Mary fires at Oxford, did for the Reformatio cause they loved so well, what the pen the one and the voice of the other neve would have accomplished. These tru great ones did not die in vain.



LATIMER PREACHING BEFORE EDWARD VI.
(*From a woodcut in Foxe's Book of Martyrs. Ed.* 1563.)

CHAPTER LIV.

THE BURNING OF CRANMER. THE MARIAN MARTYRS.

Pre-eminence of Cranmer and his Work—Sees the Martyrdom of his Friends—Letter to the Queen—Pole's Reply—Rome's Unceasing Efforts to Work upon the Prisoner—His Formal Degradation—Continued Artifices of the Roman Divines—Cranmer's Recantations—Execution Resolved upon notwithstanding—Its Infamy—Scene in St. Mary's Church—The Recantation Publicly Withdrawn—Anger and Dismay of the Romanists—Noble Death of the Archbishop—Summary of Cranmer's Life and Character—Brief Sketch of the Marian Terror—Ferocity of the Persecution maintained to the Last.

THERE was a third Reformation leader in some respects more distinguished than the two, the story of whose brave confession we have been telling. In dignity he was their superior. Latimer was somewhiles bishop of Worcester; Ridley at the accession of Mary was bishop of the important see of London; but Cranmer for long years had sat in the seat of Augustine at Canterbury, as primate of all England. As an ecclesiastic, his position was confessedly the most dignified and influential, after that of the bishop of Rome, in western Christendom. In addition he had been the trusted adviser of Henry VIII., and the friend and confidant of his son, the boy-king Edward VI. In popular gifts, however, he was Latimer's inferior. The famous archbishop never found that key to the hearts of the people of England, which Latimer had found and used in a hundred ways.

As a theologian some prefer to underrate Cranmer; yet no serious scholar can turn over the pages of his works without the conviction stealing upon him of his vast erudition and conspicuous ability, though as a theologian Ridley was confessedly greater. He was really Cranmer's teacher, though in his graceful courtesy he would never allow it; an affecting rivalry existed between the two fathers of Anglican theology—not for the higher, but for the lower seat. The sunny, generous nature of Ridley would never allow that Cranmer was his inferior; very lovingly he would declare before men and angels that in Cranmer he had found his master. As a statesman—as the calm pilot who guided the ship of the church in the hour of her greatest peril, as it rocked to and fro in the wild Reformation tempest—the archbishop ranked far before his two friends. In those profound formularies, still the cherished treasure of the Anglican Church—formularies composed amidst the stress and storm of Edward's reign—if the thoughts were often Ridley's, the words well-nigh always were the words of Cranmer; while the far-seeing wisdom, the well-balanced mind of the great archbishop, never permitted him to disfigure the Reformation cause with such regrettable acts as the desecration of the old mediæval altars, so deep a blot on Ridley's work.

In the course of that awful death-march to the stake through the streets of Oxford just pictured, we caught sight of Ridley looking up as he passed under the grim Bocardo prison, hoping for a last sight of,

a last greeting from, his dearest friend of so many eventful years. But Cranmer was too busily engaged in listening to the specious arguments of the Dominican Soto to think of Ridley or of Latimer, doomed that day to die; so the friends saw each other face to face no more on earth. It is said that though Ridley was disappointed at not beholding the well-known face at the window, the archbishop was told by someone in Bocardo that his friends were passing by on their way to the stake. Cranmer rushed to the window; alas! it was too late, the mournful procession had passed by. So he hurried up to the roof, whence he could gaze on the last scene from a distance. It was, as we have said, a singularly bright sunny morning, and he could see in the distance the figures of his two friends, talking together and embracing for the last time. He could mark the seemingly long pause occupied by the delivery of the death-sermon of Smith. Then he could dimly catch sight of Ridley distributing his little gifts to the bystanders, and noted the erect figure of the old man Latimer in his long shroud. He could see them lifting up their hands in prayer as the guards chained the brave martyrs to the stake; then as he gazed he could perceive the flames creeping up and forming a glory nimbus about the bodies of the saints. And when he had seen these things, Cranmer could look no longer! * He was now alone; the souls of the men whose constancy had helped him in his own long agony were safe in the Paradise of the blest—they had joined the company of just men made perfect. For Cranmer there was an awful solitude. The loneliness of Cranmer accounts for much in his sad history. From that day, it seems, now that his friends of so many years had left him, having witnessed their witness, his heart apparently began to fail him.

The archbishop after his trial, while waiting for the condemnation to be confirmed by Rome, wrote to queen Mary a remarkable letter, possibly in the hope that she would let him accompany his friends to the stake without waiting for the final Roman decision in his case. In this writing there was no plea for mercy. He calmly repeated the opinions for which he had been condemned at the Oxford trial, dwelling especially on what he termed the new doctrine of transubstantiation, and the sin of withholding the cup from the laity in the Sacrament of the Holy Communion. The most remarkable sentences in his letter, however, were those in which he enlarged upon the indignity done to the constitution of England, when the king and queen, as if they had been subjects in their own realm, complained and required justice from a stranger (the Pope) against one of their own subjects being already condemned by the law of the land. "Death could not grieve him much more than to have his most dread and gracious sovereigns, to whom under God he owed all obedience, to be his accusers in judgment before a strange and outward power" *—that of Rome.

This letter cardinal Pole was deputed to answer. Pole's letter in reply seems to have been somewhat delayed, but Cranmer received it some time in that period of doubt and despair which elapsed between

* Hook: "Lives of the Archbishops": Cranmer.

* Froude: "History," chap. xxxiii.

his condemnation and the last scene in St. Mary's. It was a terrible letter. It charged the fallen archbishop with having corrupted Scripture, and broken through the communion of saints; with having pretended to use reason to lead men astray, after the manner of the serpent in Paradise. "With the same instrument," wrote Pole, "have you destroyed your king, the realm, and the church; and you have brought to perdition thousands of human souls. . . . Never had the Church of Christ a worse enemy than you have been. . . . Say not in your defence that you have done no violence, that you have been kind and gentle in your daily life. Thus I know men speak of you, but cheat not your conscience with so vain a plea. The devil, when called to answer for the souls that he hath slain, may plead likewise that he did not desire their destruction; he thought only to make them happy. . . . So did you with your king, for you gave him the woman that he lusted after [Anne Boleyn]; you gave him the honour which was not his due [the title of supreme head of the church on earth]; and last and worst, you gave him poison in covering his iniquities with a cloak of righteousness . . . you tempted him into the place where there is no repentance, no hope of salvation . . . for your own profit you denied the presence of your Lord, and you rebelled against His servant, the Pope. Now, even now, by my mouth, Christ offers you mercy, and with the passionate hope which I am bound to feel for your salvation, I wait your answer to your Master's call."*

* *Cf.* Froude: "History," chap. xxxiii., whose précis of Pole's letter has been followed.

In these dreary weeks of waiting, eminent controversialists constantly visited the archbishop; among these were Soto the Dominican, of whom we have spoken before as visiting Ridley and Latimer, and John de Villa Garcina, another learned Dominican of Valladolid, very learned in Plato and Aristotle, one of the new lecturers in Oxford, and one friar Rescius or Richard. These eminent theologians were unwearied in their attendance in Cranmer's prison. At times, it seems that he was taken from his dreary confinement and entertained with kindness and consideration at the deanery. Nothing was omitted which might work upon the disturbed and harassed, friendless and doomed man.

In recounting the circumstances which attended the famous and lamentable recantations of archbishop Cranmer, the dates are interesting and important. In the middle of September, 1555, he was condemned at Oxford, as the result of what we have termed the second or legatine trial. The condemnation was sent to Rome for confirmation, and the archbishop was formally cited to appear at the Italian tribunal. This last form was simply a mockery, for Cranmer was kept a close prisoner at Oxford. On the 4th December the same year, sentence was pronounced by the Sacred College at Rome, and Cranmer was pronounced by Pope Paul IV. to be excommunicated and deprived, and was ordered to be handed over to the secular power as a notorious heresiarch, a follower of heresiarchs like Wyclif of damned memory, and Martin Luther.

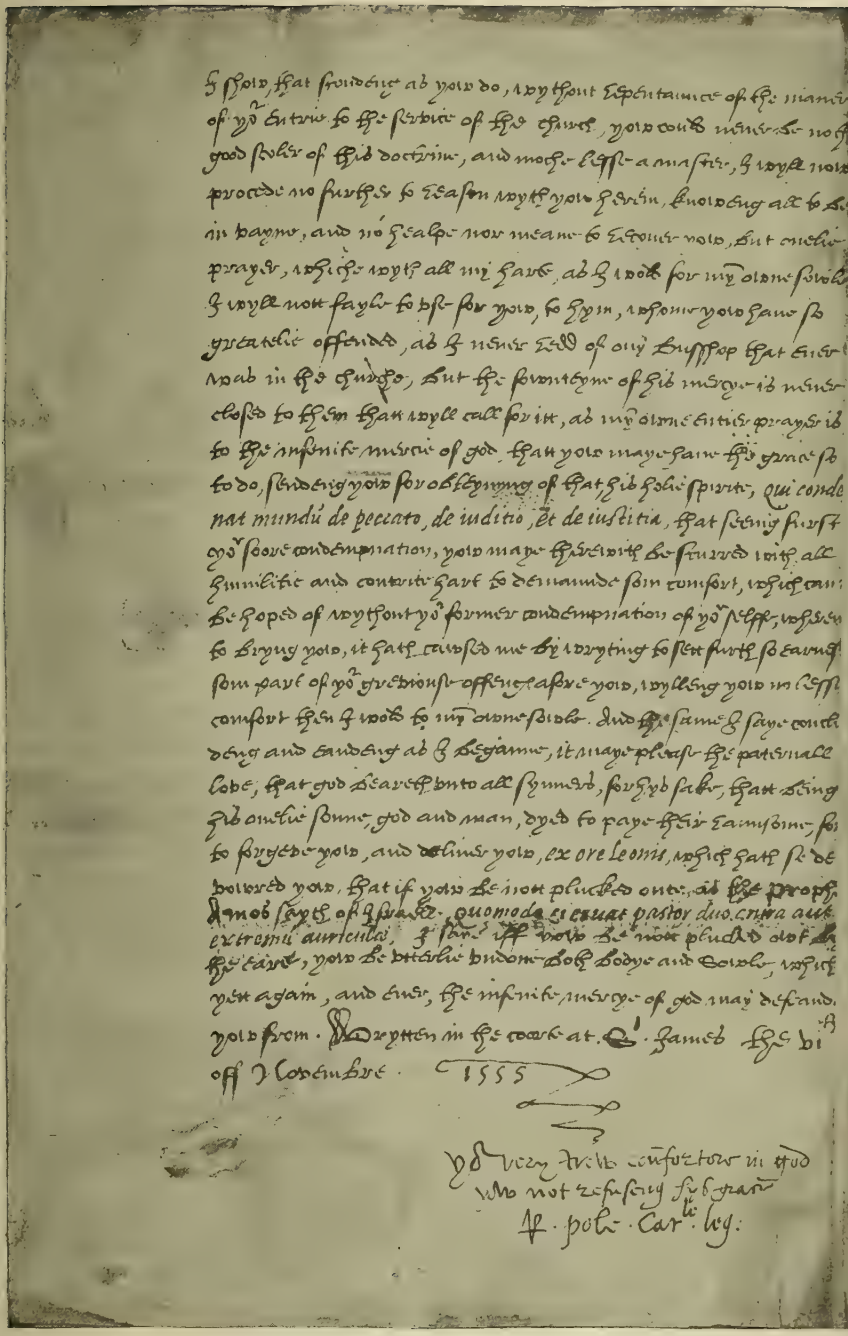
Some two months elapsed, however,

before the bull for the degradation of the archbishop arrived from Rome. Bonner, bishop of London, and Thirlby, bishop of Ely—the latter once an intimate friend of Cranmer—were entrusted with carrying out the painful ceremony on February 14th, 1556. It was in the course of these two months that Cranmer wrote or signed the documents known as the first two recantations or submissions. They were brief, and simply admitted the authority of the Pope as far as the laws of God and England allowed; he was moved, he wrote, to this act considering that the king, queen, and parliament had recognised the Pope as the chief head of the Church of England.

The formal ceremony of degradation was performed by Bonner and Thirlby on February 14th "in the quier of Christe's Church" (Oxford). We follow Foxe's description here. "They put on him a surplice and an albe, after that the vestiment of a subdeacon, and every other furniture, as a priest ready to say masse. When they had apparailed him so farre, 'What,' said he, 'I thinke I shall say masse.' 'Yea,' sayde Cousins, one of Boner's chaplaines, 'my lord, I trust to see you say masse for all this.' 'Doe you so?' quoth hee; 'that you shall never see, nor I will never doe it.' Then they invested him in all manner of robes of a bishop and archbishoppe, as he is at his installing, saving that as everie thing then is most rich and costly, so everie thing in this was of canvas and olde cloutes, with a miter and pall of the same suite doone upon him in mockerie, and the crozier staffe was put into his hand."

Bonner's insulting words addressed to the archbishop are curious: "This is th man who hath ever despised the Pope holiness, and now is to be judged by hin This is the man who hath pulled down so many churches, and now is come to b judged in a church. This is the man tha contemned the blessed sacrament of th altar, and now is come to be condemne before that blessed sacrament hanging ove the altar." Against this unmannerly rude ness, Thirlby of Ely gently protested. I the course of the ceremony Cranmer pre sented an appeal from the Pope to th next general council. The bishop of El received it reluctantly, as he said the commission expressly excluded all righ of appeal.

The sad ceremony went on. Whe they proceeded to take off the pall—th special archiepiscopal insignia bestowe on Cranmer by the Pope in the days Henry VIII., before the king broke wit Rome—the archbishop said: "Which you hath a pall to take off my pall? Thirlby and Bonner replied, it was tru that as bishops they were his inferior but they were acting on this occasion the Pope's delegates. Foxe goes on t relate the rest as follows: "Then a barb clipped his haire round about, and th bishops scraped the tops of his finge where he had been anointed, where bishop Bonner behaved himself as rough and unmannerly as the other bishop w to him soft and gentle. . . . Lastl they stripped him out of his gown int his jacket, and put upon him a poo yeoman bedle's gown, full bare and near worne, and as evil favouredly made as or might lightly see, and a townes-man's ca on his head, and so delivered him to th



END OF CARDINAL POLE'S LETTER TO CRANMER (*see p.* 295).
(*From the Original in the British Museum.*)

secular power. After this pageant of degradation, and all was finished, then spake lord Bonner, saying to him, 'Now are you no lord any more.' And then with great compassion and pitie of every man, in this evil favoured gown was he carried to prison."

As Cranmer in this pitiful guise returned to his prison, it is said a compassionate stranger procured and threw over him his own gown again.

Canon Dixon adds some curious particulars of the fantastic ceremony, translated from the quaint Latin of the Roman formulary of degradation, not mentioned by Foxe; among these are the words accompanying the removing of the mitre from the head: "Of the mitre ornament of the pontifical dignity, because thou hast defiled it by governing ill, we denude thy head." The Gospel book or Evangelary was taken from him with the words: "Render back the Gospel, for we deprive thee of the office of preaching, by despising which thou hast made thyself unworthy of God's grace." The ring was drawn off the finger with: "The ring, the symbol of fidelity, we justly draw from thee, who hast violated the church, the spouse of God." "The pastoral staff we take from thee, for thou mayest not exercise the office of correction." The cup and wine, the paten and host, were handed to the degraded bishop, and then taken from him, thus: "We take from thee the power of offering sacrifice to God, and celebrating mass for the quick and the dead." The chasuble was stripped from his back with: "As thou hast lost all innocency, we strip thee of the sacerdotal vest denoting charity." And the stole with: "Thou hast cast off the mark of the Lord, signified by this stole, which therefore we remove from thee, and render thee incapable of any priestly function." There is much more but this is enough to give a fair idea of the strange rite performed by Rome's order over the fallen archbishop.

Two days after the ceremony of degradation he was visited by Bonner in prison and to him he delivered two more short documents, known as his third and fourth recantations. These, however, were less "Romish" than his first and second, made before the ceremony of degradation. In the third he simply submitted himself to all the queen's laws, as well those concerning the Pope's supremacy as others. In the fourth he stated he believed the Catholic faith as the Catholic Church had taught it from the beginning.

During the next few days, Foxe tells us, a different treatment was tried with the unhappy prisoner, so anxious were his enemies to extort from him a further recantation. "To the intent that they might win him, they had him to the deane's house of Christe's Church in the said universitie, where he lacked no delicate fare, played at the bowles, had his pleasure for walking, and all other things that might bring him from Christ," while able men plied him with entreaties and fair promises. They showed him how acceptable a complete recantation would be to the king and queen; how gainful it would be to him and to his soul's health. They assured him, moreover, that the council and the nobles bore him only good will. They even gave him good hopes not only that his life would be spared, but that his ancient dignity might be restored

o him; and it was, after all, but a small hing that they required of him. He had ut to subscribe a few words with his own and, and the guerdon he would receive ould be that the king and queen would rant him either riches and dignity, or, if he esired it, would allow him to retire into a rivate life, where he would enjoy quiet est; while if he refused, he would hortly end his life in torments, in the ames now ready to be kindled, instead of rolonging his life with honour to himself nd profit to others.

So the days passed—days of prison with ll the solitude and dreariness of a harsh aptivity, alternating with days of kindly reatment and entertainment in the Christ hurch deanery; now left alone with his loomy thoughts and hopeless onlooks, ith the stake and the cruel burning in ont; now brought into contact with ever and persuasive men, who courted nd cajoled him in the deanery rooms nd pleasant gardens. At last, broken ith long and weary imprisonment, by ntold humiliations, friendless and utterly esolate, Cranmer yielded, and signed the tal paper known as his fifth recantation. was written in Latin, and is the one iven by the historian Foxe, and is indeed sad and melancholy document.

It runs thus in Foxe's words: "I, Thomas ranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury, renounce, abhor, and detest all manner heresies and errors of Luther and winglius. . . . I knowledge the ishoppe of Rome to be the supreame ead on earth (of the one holy and Catholic hurch visible), whom I knowledge to be he highest bishoppe and pope and Christ's icar, unto whom all Christian people ought to be subject. And as concerning the sacraments, I beleeve and worshippe in the sacrament of the altar, the very body and bloud of Christ, being contained most truly under the formes of bread and wine; the bread through the mighty power of God being turned into the body of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and the wine into his bloud." He further briefly expressed his belief in the other six sacraments and in Purgatory. Finally, he accepted generally what the Church of Rome taught, and expressed himself as "sorie that I ever held or thought otherwise."

The question who *wrote* this singular and crushing paper which Cranmer signed, has been much debated. It would at first sight seem most probable that it came from Mary and Pole, but later historians incline to the view that it was the work of the friars and the Oxford theologians. The authenticity of the document has been long and gravely disputed, but its genuineness is now pretty well universally admitted.

One more recantation was extorted from the unhappy man. The fifth paper, above quoted, contained a complete though brief recantation of all the doctrines held by the Reformation teachers. The sixth, on the other hand, spoke of circumstances connected with his own life, especially referring to his acts—years before—in the reign of Henry VIII. In it Cranmer compares himself repeatedly to the dying thief. "In malice," he said, "he had exceeded Saul; would that with Paul he could make amends." He owns himself deserving of no pity or favour, but of punishment, both temporal and eternal. He dwells on his

conduct in the divorce between Henry and Katharine of Arragon, of which he was the cause and author; which divorce was the seedplot of the calamities of the realm. He allowed that he had blasphemed and insulted the Eucharist, having denied Christ's body and blood to be truly and really contained under the species of bread and wine, and that he had set forth books to oppose this. Worse than Saul and the thief, he confessed he was the most wicked mortal that earth had ever borne; he was the slayer of them that had perished for lack of the heavenly food, and he had daily defrauded the dead. He concluded by allowing that he had been injurious to Christ's vicar, and he prayed the high pontiff to forgive him his trespasses against him and the see apostolic.

Only a few days had elapsed between the signing of the two last documents. That most sad confession above quoted was signed by Cranmer on March 18th, and on the 21st of the same month his enemies brought him out to die. Among the many tragic scenes which disfigure or adorn the many-coloured pages of our English history, there is none so dramatic, so full of surprises, as the one we have now to relate, when Thomas Cranmer, somewhile archbishop of Canterbury, died. We will continue the story without interruption, reserving for the present any such comments and conclusions as the reader will naturally look for.

The execution of the doomed man had been from the first determined upon. Nothing that can be ever advanced, can excuse the shameful duplicity which had deluded Cranmer during those last melancholy days with hopes of life and pardo and perhaps more. After what had ha pened, his death was simply murder. is absolutely useless to plead that th eminent men, those learned and polish courtiers, friars, and others, had "exceed their powers" in making their delusi offers to the archbishop. The recan tions and confessions were purchased the price of a pardon, and something more, as we have related; and yet in sp of this, Mary and Pole deliberately, their blind hate, arranged carefully t details of the ghastly execution. It been supposed—with good reason—t Cranmer's action in the process of unhappy and unjustly-treated moth Katharine of Arragon, never was f given. It must be remembered, that the decision arrived at, Mary had be pronounced illegitimate. The queen ne pardoned this.

Again lord Williams of Thame, a other gentlemen of mark devoted to t government, were summoned, as in t case of the burning of Ridley and Latim to be present with their company of arm attendants to see that the dread work w safely carried out on the fatal 21st Marc Different from the bright sunshine a blue skies of the day of the martyrdom the first two, the 21st March, 1556, w wild and rainy. No one will ever rea know what was in Cranmer's mind t last two days of his life. Various accou exist. That he wrote much is certai It is also clear that the great controversi ists who had seen so much of him duri the past two months, visited him in h prison of Bocardo, where he spent his fi days, on the morning of the 21st, and

he last probably assured him that his ife was in no danger. The friars left him n Bocardo on the morning of the fatal 21st March, expecting to receive his par-lon at the stake, and in this expectation Cranmer composed his melancholy re-nunciation of his recantation.* It is also

THE MARTYRS' MEMORIAL, OXFORD.

ertain that neither these friars nor any ther had any conception whatever of hat was about to happen in the church f St. Mary.

Had the day been fine, it was intended hat the proceedings which had the church r their scene should have been carried it at the place of execution; but the in induced the authorities to choose St. Mary's as the scene for the sermon, and for Cranmer's last address. The rain descended in torrents as the melancholy procession moved from the prison of Bocardo to the church of St. Mary's. The prisoner walked between the two Dominicans, John de Garcia and friar Richard or Rescius, the mayor and aldermen preceding. Lord Williams of Thame and a large company of armed men and retainers surrounded the little band. The friars and others chaunted psalms as they moved along. When they arrived at St. Mary's, as Cranmer stepped across the threshold of the church, the choir within burst into the joyful strain of the *Nunc dimittis*. It was intended, so the elaborate and cruel drama had been arranged, to

* *Cf.* Hook: "Lives of the Archbishops" Cranmer.

typify the victim's joy at being allowed to depart in peace, and after his troubled weary life to join the saints in glory at last. The archbishop, without a word—so far as we know—went to the place appointed him by a pillar* opposite the pulpit. "Who," eloquently writes Foxe, "could not pitie his case and bewaile his fortune, and might not feare his own chance, to see such a prelate (who so lately had been archbishop, primate, and metropolitan of England), so grave a counsellour, in his old years (he was 66–7 years old), and of so long continued honour, after so many dignities, to be deprived of his estate, adjudged to die, and in so painefull a death to end his life, and now presentlie from such great ornaments to descend to such vile and ragged apparell?"

Dr. Cole, provost of Eton, was appointed to preach the sermon, which was very long and tedious, lasting about two hours. It was an elaborate and carefully prepared address, giving at length the reasons why, even after the prisoner had recanted his grievous errors, he was still condemned to die. He had been a *traitor*, in that he had dissolved the marriage between the mother of the queen and Henry VIII., besides his work in driving out the Pope's authority. He had been a *heretic*, from whom, as from the only fountain, all the heretical doctrine that had for so many years prevailed in England did first rise and spring. And lastly—strangest death-plea of all—it was meet that he should die, according to the law of equality. The execution of Nort umberland balanced, said the preacher, t execution of Sir Thomas More, but t deaths of Ridley, Hooper, and Ferrar we not sufficient to balance the murder Fisher (bishop and cardinal); to mal even, that man's death, Cranmer too mu die! Then he drew various lessons for h hearers, generally to the effect that nothi among men is so high that can promi safety on earth: God's vengeance reach all. The poorest wretch would not no change places with the prisoner standi there, who for long had been the seco person in the kingdom. Then turning the archbishop he comforted him with t Savour's promise to the thief dying on t cross, "To-day shalt thou be with me Paradise." So it would be with Cranm to whom he promised the church wou say for his soul diriges and masses in the Oxford churches. Once more turni to the people the preacher said, "Now le any man should doubt of Cranmer's earne repentance and conversion, they wou hear Cranmer's own voice telling his ow story." Then there was a great hu when the archbishop, accepting the cha lenge, cried, "I will do it, and that wi a good will."

Upon this Cranmer drew forth from h bosom a paper, on which was written striking and earnest prayer to the eve blessed Trinity, which he had composed, which he besought the mercy of Go "Cranmer," writes Foxe, quoting here t pathetic description of a contempora papist (an eye-witness), "in all this mea time, with what griefe of mind he sto hearing this sermon, the outward shew of his bodie and countenance did bett

* The pillar by which Cranmer stood is still marked with the incision made on it that morning to receive the wooden platform; the pulpit opposite is still preserved in part, being built into the wall.

expresse than any man can declare—one while lifting up his hands and eies unto heaven, and then agane for shame letting them downe to the earth. A man might have seen in him lively expressed the very image and shape of perfect sorrow. More than twentie severall times the tears gushed out aboundantly, dropping downe marvellously from his fatherly face. They which were present doe testify that they never sawe in any childe more teares than brast out from him at that time, all the sermon while, but specially when he recited his prayer before the people. It is marvellous what commiseration and pitty moved all men's harts that beheld so heavy a countenance and such aboundance of tears in an old man of so reverent dignity."

The archbishop, after his prayer, and having repeated the Creed, said:* "I believe every article of the Catholic Church, and every word and sentence taught by our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, His apostles and prophets in the New and Old Testaments." He exhorted the people to avoid all worldliness, to obey the king and queen, to love one another, and if rich, to abound in alms-deeds. He prefaced his address with very moving and solemn words, to the effect that every man desireth at the time of his death to give some good exhortation that others may remember after his death, for one word spoken of a man at his last end will be more remembered than the sermons made of them that live and remain.* "So I beseech God grant me grace that I may speak something at my departing whereby God may be glorified and you edified." It has been suggested with great probability that Shakespeare, calling to mind this moving scene of the martyrdom, had in his mind this thought —and perhaps the very words of Cranmer— when he put into the mouth of the dying John of Gaunt the magnificent lines—

"O, but they say the tongues of dying men
Enforce attention like deep harmony:
Where words are scarce they are seldom spent in vain,
For they breathe truth, that breathe their words in pain.
He, that no more must say, is listened more
Than they whom youth and ease have taught to gloze;
More are men's ends marked than their lives before:
The setting sun and music at the close,
As the last taste of sweets, is sweetest last,
Writ in remembrance more than things long past." †

* We possess "four sources" which may be considered contemporary for this famous scene in St. Mary's, and for Cranmer's words spoken on March 21, 1556. (1) Cranmer's own memoranda, written previously in Bocardo. (2) A letter of "J. A.," a papist, to his friend, dated two days after the archbishop's death. (3) Another narrative, conjectured to have been written by some of the religious exiles shortly after Cranmer's death. Scory is supposed to have been one of the writers. And (4) Foxe's account, which is more or less derived from these three. They differ slightly, as might be expected, in the words attributed to Cranmer. The differences are, however, unimportant, while the general sense is the same in all. Bishop Bonner in his "Register" places on record the fact that Cranmer, immediately before his burning, publicly revoked his former recantations, and expired persisting in his errors. Thus absolutely the historical truth of the dramatic circumstances attending the death of Cranmer is established.

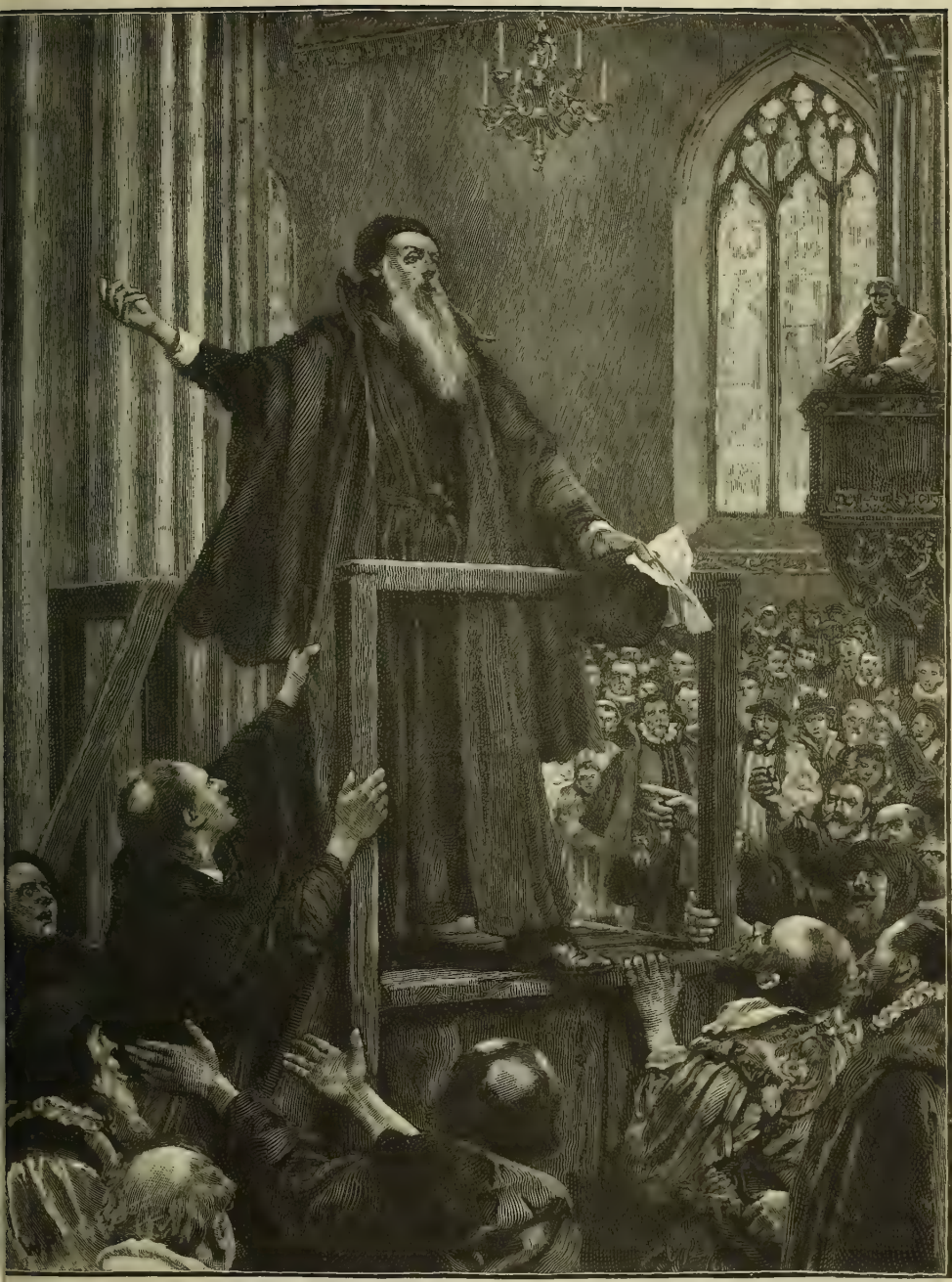
* The exact words here quoted are the words of "No. 3" of the sources above referred to, the account supposed to have been written by Scory and another of the exiles for religion; but the sense is the same in each of the other three contemporary accounts of the never-to-be-forgotten scene.

† *King Richard II.*, act ii., scene i. Entered at Stationers' Hall A.D. 1597, forty-one years after the burning of Cranmer.

Nothing, however, in the first part of Cranmer's address justified the extraordinary solemnity of the opening sentences. It was quiet, devout, and earnest, but commonplace. Of a sudden, we may suppose that a change passed over the venerable bowed form of the broken man: voice, bearing, attitude, were altered; another and a different Cranmer stood on that rough, wooden platform by the pillar opposite Dr. Cole's pulpit, when he spoke the words never forgotten in England since, words with which he utterly discomfited his remorseless and short-sighted enemies, and made a noble atonement for his brief moment of mortal weakness. "And now I come," said he, "to the great thing, that so much troubleth my conscience, more than anything I ever did or sayde in my whole life: and this is the setting abroad of a writing contrary to the trueth, which now here I renounce and refuse as things written with my hand contrary to the trueth which I thought in my hart, written for feare of deathe and to save my life if it might bee; and that is, all such billes and papers which I have written or signed with my hand since my degradation, wherein I have written many things untrue. And forasmuch as my hand offended, writing contrary to my hart, my hand shall be first punished therefore, for may I come to the fire it shall be first burned. . . . And as for the Pope, I refuse him, as Christ's enemie and anti-Christ, with all his false doctrine. . . . And as for the Sacrament, I beleeve as I have taught in my book against the bishop of Winchester, the which my book teacheth so true a doctrine of the Sacrament, that it shall stand at the last day before th judgement of God, when the papistica doctrine contrarie thereto shall be ashame to shew her face."

Here there was great confusion in th church; murmurs from all sides aros then subdued cries were heard. Lor Williams of Thame, who superintende generally the day's proceedings, raisin his voice, addressed the archbishop, askin him whether he was in his right mind, an bidding him not dissemble. To whor Cranmer replied, "Alas! my lord, I hav been ever a man that hated falsehood, an against the truth never did I dissembl until now. I am grieved for my fault. must now say that I believe concernin the sacrament what I taught in my boo against the bishop of Winchester." Th cries in the church now grew more menac ing, and Dr. Cole from the pulpit bade th bystanders to stop the heretic's mouth an to take him away.

With some violence, as it appeared, th prisoner was pulled from his wooden pla form, and was hurried from the church Some order was at length restored, an the procession moved rapidly towards th spot where the stake had been erecte and the fire had been arranged. There wa about a quarter of a mile to go. Som sympathising friends grasped him by th hands, more though, railed at him. "Hi friends," said the papist eye-witness in hi letter above referred to picturing th strange scene, "sorrowed for love, hi enemies for pity, strangers for a commo kind of humanity, whereby we are boun one to another." The Dominicans Garci and Rescius, calculating truly upon th enormous effect which Cranmer's act re



CRANMER'S LAST TESTIMONY.

voking so formally his recantations would exercise upon the world generally, pressing close up to him, pressed him with angry questions. "What madness," asked one of them, "hath brought thee again into this error, by which thou wilt draw innumerable souls with thee into hell?" The other kept repeating in Latin *Non fecisti, non fecisti*, probably meaning by these half-incoherent words, "You have not done this, surely?" But Cranmer was now serene and confident; nothing could move him more. In vain the Dominicans now intreated him, now threatened him.

When they arrived at the stake, Cranmer at once kneeled down and for a very short space prayed earnestly; then, rising, shook hands with a few of those standing near, put off his garments to his shirt, which was long and reached shroud-like to his feet, which he left bare. His beard, long and thick, says Foxe, "covered his face with marvellous gravity"; his grave countenance moved the hearts both of his friends and enemies. For the last time the Spanish friars with passionate urging exhorted him; but lord Williams cried, "Make short, make short!" So the iron chain was made fast round his body, binding him to the stake, and the fire around was kindled. As the flames curled upwards, he was noticed by those close by to stretch out his arm and to put his right hand into the flame; he held it there so, steadfast and immovable (saving that once with the same poor charred hand he wiped his face), that men might see his hand burned before his body was touched. "His body," says Foxe, "did so abide the burning of the flames with such constancy and firmness, that standing always in one place, without moving his body, he seemed to move no more than the stake to which he was bound." His eyes were lifted up unto heaven, and oftentimes he repeated his words, "*Thou unworthy right hand*," so long as his voice would suffer him; using often, too, the words of Stephen, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit," till in the greatness of the flame he gave up the ghost. Dixon well paraphrases the several dread accounts: "The flames rushed upon his body, but he in perfect silence looked the agony down, as it were, standing, without stirring, in the greatness of the fire till life departed; he died with extraordinary fortitude." John de Garcia ran to lord Williams, crying out that the archbishop was vexed in mind and had died in great desperation; but lord Williams, fully aware of Cranmer's constancy, smiled only, and by his silence rebuked the Spanish friar's folly.

"And this was the end," concludes Foxe, "of this learned archbishop," still giving him his title, which no Roman degradation could take away. "So good was the Lord both to his church in fortifying the same with the testimony and blood of such a martyr; and so good also to the man with this crosse of tribulation, to purge his offences in this world, not only of his recantation. . . But especially he had to rejoice that, dying in such a cause, he was to be numbered among Christ's martyrs."

The question has been seriously asked, sometimes even scornfully, whether Cranmer really had any claim to the honour of martyrdom; and has been variously answered according to the views of the writers. Rather than answer such a question directly, let us briefly review

certain of the more prominent features in the life of this great and eminent servant of God — for that emphatically was Cranmer, whatever the opinion may be as to his right to wear the highest title which Christian men can give to a brother man.

And first, as the friend and adviser of the despotic Henry VIII., the impartial historian cannot by any means award the great archbishop unstinting praise. His conduct in the matter of the divorce was far from stainless. As a patriot statesman, in view of the anarchy and confusion likely to ensue at the king's death, he desired, and with good reason, the dissolution of the childless marriage; but as a Christian churchman, grave exception must be taken to his conduct. When all is said that can possibly be urged in favour of Henry's conduct, it remains that the act was an unrighteous act, and Cranmer was Henry's chief adviser all through the unhappy affair. No vulgar desire for place or power can be charged to Cranmer; the archbishopric was in a way forced upon him: yet it cannot be forgotten that the way which he trod to the archbishopric was a dark and tortuous way; nor is it possible to conceive but that his soul must have been stained, like that of the king, as far as this world is concerned, with the stains of the road which he had travelled. His character, no doubt, suffered injury. Who would venture to look for the high serene courage, the unflinching patience, the unwavering faith of a Latimer or a Ridley, in the man who at the bidding of Henry VIII. presumed to sit in judgment in the case of the hapless Katharine of Arragon? Is it too much to see in the sad surrender of Cranmer in 1556, even under circumstances of unprecedented temptation and bodily weakness, a retribution for the old sin?

But when we have said all this, the other circumstances of that great life must be carefully considered and taken into account. Through the tremendous changes which befel the church in the latter years of Henry VIII.'s eventful reign, the archbishop was the wisest of Henry's counsellors, the purest, the most unselfish. Through the dark and cloudy days of the boy-king Edward's rule, the archbishop steered the storm-tossed ship of the church with a calm wisdom and a far-sighted prudence, which cannot be overrated. With few advisers near him worthy of the name, surrounded by a group of generally selfish and greedy ministers of state, Cranmer resisted successfully the attempts incessantly made to supplant by the introduction of a foreign sect the church of Augustine and Aidan.* The Anglican churchman in a large measure owes to Cranmer the unbroken continuity of the Church of England which he loves, and of which he is so justly proud.

As a scholar ever at work; as a tireless, unwearied toiler, must the historian also give unstinted praise to Cranmer. Ungrudging admiration must follow any real study of the archbishop's life. To master the great theologic questions which agitated men's minds in that restless age of change, Cranmer worked long years, as few men on this earth have ever worked; and his vast labours bore fruit in the production of the great formularies of reformed religion —the precious treasure of the Anglican

* Dean Hook.

THE INTERIOR OF ST. MARY'S, OXFORD, SHOWING THE PILLAR (THE SECOND ON THE LEFT) BY WHICH CRANMER STOOD DURING DR. COLE'S SERMON.

communion. Not a few, too, of the noblest features of the English Reformation, either in their inception or in their development, are in great measure Cranmer's work. He was one of the two or three to whom we owe our English liturgy, so pure in doctrine, so close to the very words and thoughts of the fathers of the best and purest age of the Christian Church. With the English Bible his honoured name will also be ever closely joined.

His courage, too, save in that hour of mortal weakness when he signed the fatal papers of recantation, was of the highest order. It was again and again tested in the later years of the tyrant Henry VIII., whose arbitrary will he never shrank from resisting, at the sore peril of his life, when he felt the royal will was contrary to God's will; and Henry was noble and great enough to honour him for his resistance. In the evil day of Somerset's protectorate and Northumberland's selfish and short-sighted tyranny, Cranmer stands out among the chiefs of England almost alone, as stainlessly pure, faultlessly honourable. Alone among the magnates of the council he resisted, till resistance was useless, the warped and petulant will of the young dying king in the matter of the succession.

When Mary became queen—the Mary whom too well he knew was his relentless enemy—he disdained to fly, though he had ample opportunity, had he wished it, to escape. In the great reaction which immediately set in when Mary became queen it was Cranmer's high courage and lofty prineiple which rallied the fainting spirits of the Reformation, and he willingly and joyfully offered himself as a victim for the cause which he felt was the true and righteous cause. All through those long and painful discussions at Oxford, in the years 1554-1555, his calmness and dignity of demeanour, his gentle, noble bearing, his skill in controversy, his profound learning, touched the more worthy of his antagonists, and extorted from them a real though a grudging admiration: while the grave and unbiassed scholars of later times, with the careful reports of the

momentous disputation and trial before them, with little hesitation recognise the superiority of Cranmer to his antagonists in learning and in ability, as well as in the temper with which he approached such serious questions. It is true that the archbishop was adjudged to be vanquished in the long Oxford disputation, and was led away as a condemned heretic amid the exulting plaudits of his foes and the self-congratulatory shout of Weston, who presided, "*Vicit veritas!*" but posterity has declined to endorse the judgment of the court at Oxford, or to accept the exultant cry of Weston, its president, in the sense originally intended by the triumphant speaker.

Then came the sad end. Bereft of his friends, Ridley and Latimer, whose brave spirit and deep piety had so long given him strength and support; his health sorely enfeebled by a protracted and weary imprisonment; alternately cajoled and threatened, deluded with vain promises, and harassed with every specious plea that trained and polished masters in controversy could suggest; one day surrounded with all the grim and forbidding scenery of a dreary prison-chamber, the next courted and entertained in the luxurious rooms and fair gardens of the Christ Church deanery, scarcely are we surprised to find that the tortured spirit of the worn-out scholar-prelate succumbed in a fatal hour to the temptation, and that the great mind, broken down for a moment, but only for a moment, gave way. Yet, as we have seen, the spirit again quickly reasserted itself; the mind, shaking off its temporary aberration, after a few days recovered its balance; and in a sublime and heroic death we see once again the old brave Cranmer. It is a hard and unfeeling judgment which estimated the life-work of a great and earnest man by his temporary failure under a peculiar and awful trial at the close of a long, and, on the whole, singularly noble and beautiful career, especially when the circumstances of the utter loneliness of the old man Cranmer during those last awful months of temptation and trial are all fairly taken into consideration.

If, then, any doubt rests in the minds of some—as it does not with the writer of these lines—as to Cranmer's claim in the fullest sense to that rare, high name of honour which we are discussing, he possesses other and scarcely less weighty

FRONT OF CRANMER'S PULPIT, ST. MARY'S, OXFORD.
(*Built into the wall.*)

claims to the affection and the reverence of his England. Men of some schools of thought, whose lives and conversation compel our regard, may speak now and again slightingly of the great archbishop of the Reformation, and—perhaps unconsciously, certainly unjustly—may belittle his works and days; but the real heart of serious England will ever love his memory with a changeless love, with a love that will surely increase as time rolls on. It will love him, strange though it may seem, perhaps even the better for his frailty, for that momentary human weakness so sublimely repented of, when like the truest martyrs, whose blood has been the seed of the Christian church, fearlessly and uncomplainingly, with serene trust in the pitiful Redeemer, conscious that beneath him were the everlasting arms, he passed to his rest.

The Marian persecution lasted from the end of January, 1555, until the November of 1558, when it ceased on the death of the two principal authors of the work, the queen and the cardinal-archbishop; the latter passing away, strangely enough, only a few hours after his royal mistress breathed her last. We shall be able to describe the further features of this terrible episode in the story of our Church in a very few pages. We have dwelt at considerable length on the disputations, the trials and condemnation of the three leading Reformers, for the question upon which the Marian persecution really turned is found in the three short articles presented for acceptance or rejection to Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, in the first disputation at Oxford in the April of 1554, and which also when rejected formed the basis of their final condemnation under the direction of Rome in the Oxford trials of September and October of 1555. There is no doubt but that after the statute for the punishment of heretics came into force in the January of 1555, the prime movers in the cruel work of persecution were Mary and her confidential adviser, cardinal Pole. With Mary and Pole the question at issue belonged to another world than this. The heretic was an enemy not of her and her earthly realm, but of God and His Eternal kingdom. The "heresy" was spread over a broad field of debatable subjects, but the central point, as we see in the two Oxford trials of the three great bishops Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer, was the long-disputed question of the Presence in the Eucharist. No belief in a spiritual Presence, although such a belief was shown to rest upon the teaching of an almost immemorial antiquity, upon the teaching of doctors of the church whose orthodoxy was unimpeached, was sufficient to clear the accused. Transubstantiation in its full and complete acceptation must be confessed, or the accused heretic must suffer. It is clear that many of those in authority in that reign of blood, would have been willing to have taken in the case of the accused a broader and a vaguer view, and to have dealt gently with the so-called "heretics"; but Mary and Pole were rigid in their turn—the queen and cardinal believing, with a strange and sad belief, that in this they were the chosen instruments of the Almighty.

Thus, in relating in detail the events of the three great trials, in dwelling upon the answers of Cranmer and his companions, we have given the subject-matter of the

trials of the vast majority of the lesser men. The Marian army of martyrs suffered for the faith so nobly asserted by the great three. In the words of bishop Gardiner on the occasion of the condemnation of Rogers, the prebendary of St. Paul's, we have virtually the cause of the condemnation of them all. Rogers was condemned as a heretic who maintained that "in the sacrament of the altar there was not substantially and really the natural body and blood of Christ."

The "terror" lasted not quite four years. It is computed that about three hundred victims perished at the stake for their religious opinions, being burned by the secular powers under the "Heresy" Acts; about a hundred more must be added to the sad roll, who died during their harsh imprisonment, or from other causes and hardships connected with their so-called heresy. These numbers would probably have been largely increased had the bishops and other state authorities in good earnest carried out the wishes of Mary and her government. As a rule, however, these were happily slack in their dread work; and more than once orders were sent out from the royal cabinet to stimulate their zeal and quicken their inquisitorial efforts! But such directions were evidently only languidly obeyed, for the persecution was but partial and sporadic in its character. In some dioceses we read of no victims at all; in others the roll of martyrs, comparatively speaking, was very small; only in four or five can it be said that the prosecutions were in real earnest. Of these the diocese of London, under the auspices of Bonner, and the arch-diocese of Canterbury, under the immediate rule of cardinal Pole, occupy positions of undesirable notoriety.

Froude in his account of 1556 gives the following ghastly catalogue of the progress of the cruel work during certain months of that year. This may be taken as a fair example of a register of "the terror": "On the 23rd April six men were burnt at Smithfield; on the 28th six more were burnt at Colchester; on the 15th May an old lame man and a blind man were burnt at Stratford-le-Bow. In the same month three women suffered at Smithfield, and a blind boy was burnt at Gloucester. In Guernsey a mother and her two daughters were brought to the stake. On the 27th June thirteen unfortunates—eleven men and two women—were destroyed together at Stratford-le-Bow in the presence of twenty thousand people."* It is remarkable that with the exception of the five bishops and a few notable men, such as Rogers and Bradford, the bulk of the victims was drawn from the lower classes of the population. The same writer in another eloquent passage thus describes these poor victims: "They (the emissaries of Mary and Pole) went out into the highways and hedges, they gathered up the lame, the halt, and the blind; they took the weaver from his loom, the carpenter from his workshop, the husbandman from his plough; they laid hands on maidens and boys who had never heard of any religion other than that which they were called on to abjure; old men tottering into the grave, and children whose lips could but just lisp the articles of their creed; and of these they made their burnt-offerings."

As time went on, the persecuting rage

* Froude: "History," chap. xxxiv.

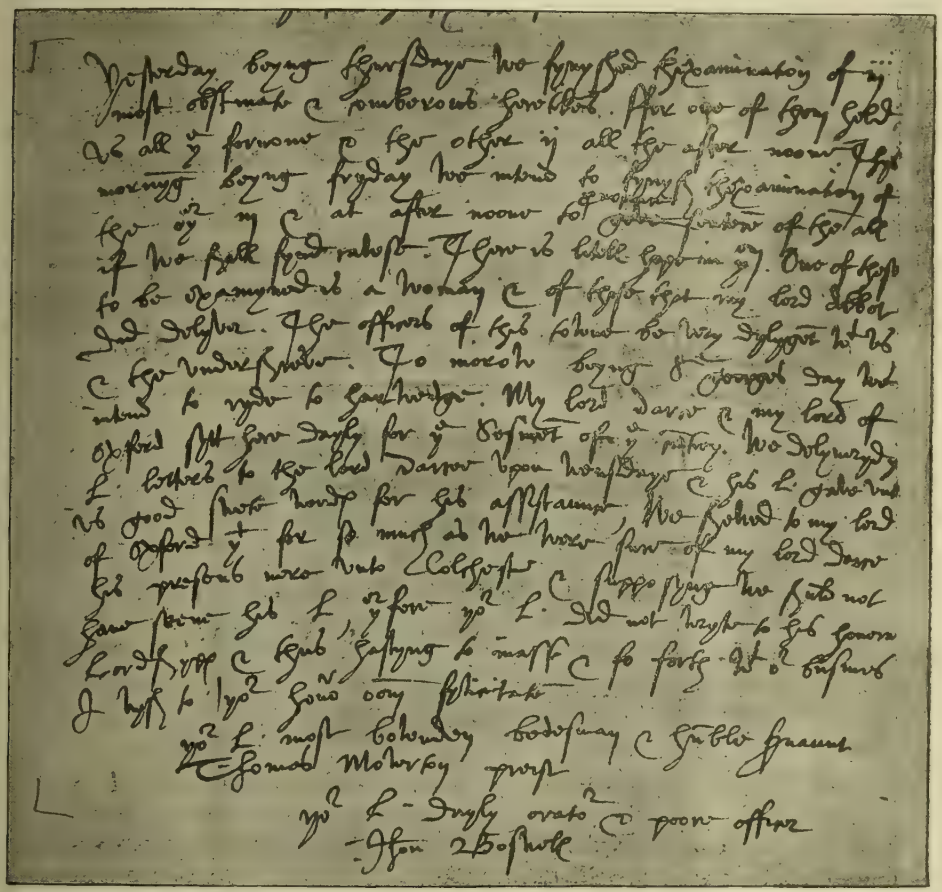
STEEL BAND THAT FASTENED CRANMER TO THE STAKE.
(*Now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.*)

grew even fiercer; Oxford and Cambridge became the scenes of an unedifying prosecution of the dead. At Cambridge the bodies of the great Reformer-teachers Bucer and Fagius were disinterred, and the churches of St. Mary and St. Michael's, where their honoured remains were resting, were even placed under a temporary interdict, as defiled with the bones of notorious heretics. The dead were summoned to appear before a commission appointed to try their cases. No one, however, presented himself to defend the once loved and sought-after professors, who were in consequence condemned; and surrounded with a curious heap of Bibles and prayer-books, and other forbidden works of the Reformation, the bodies of the great dead, chained to a stake, were publicly burned in the market-place.

At Oxford a somewhat similar outrage was perpetrated. Peter Martyr, whose vast influence in the late reign we have already noticed, had married one Catherine Cathie, who had been a professed nun. Dying at Oxford before Mary came to the throne, Catherine had been interred in the cathedral of Christ Church, near the tomb of St. Frideswide. The body of Peter Martyr's wife was taken up and cast into a cesspool at the back of the deanery. When Elizabeth became queen, she ordered that the dishonoured remains of Catherine should be sought out and replaced in their old sacred resting-place; and in consequence, Catherine and St. Frideswide still rest together, it is supposed, in close proximity beneath the pavement of Christ Church.

PIECE OF THE STAKE AT WHICH LATIMER AND RIDLEY WERE BURNED AT OXFORD
(*Now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.*)

With a singular ignorance of the English character, Mary and her advisers supposed that the spectacle of the public tortures endured by the condemned here-



OPY OF A LETTER FROM THOMAS MOWRSON AND JOHN BOSWELL, PRIESTS, TO BISHOP BONNER, CONCERNING THE "EXAMINATION OF iii MOST OBSTINATE AND COMBEROUS HERETICS."
(*From the Foxe MSS. in the British Museum.*)

ics would strike terror into the hearts of he people. The terrible sight had a contrary effect. The brave patience and noble onstancy of the martyrs evoked constantly burst of sympathetic admiration from he bystanders. It was said that some of the witnesses even endeavoured to throw themselves into the fire, and so to perish alongside the brave victims. So great, indeed, was the sympathy shown by the people on some of these occasions, that Mary later in her reign issued a proclamation forbidding her loyal subjects to approach or speak to the condemned. Such an order, as might have been expected, was contemptuously disregarded. On one

occasion, we read of a scene at Smithfield, where seven of these heroic martyrs were being done to death in the flames. The people crowded round the stake "with passionate demonstrations of affection. One Thomas Bentham, when the faggots were lighted, stood out in the presence of the throng, and cried, 'We know that they are the people of God, and therefore we cannot choose but wish well to them, and say, God strengthen them—God Almighty, for Christ's sake strengthen them.' The multitude shouted in reply, 'Amen, Amen.'"

Such expressions of approval, sympathy, and admiration were sternly forbidden by orders from the queen and council; those who ventured to express their feelings o pity and regret, or who endeavoured t strengthen the constancy of the dyin martyrs, were ordered to be apprehende But the passion of the people was to strong to admit of any official repressio and the feeling of disgust and horror gre in intensity as the days of Mary drew t a close. Still there was no cessation in th stern measures; the burnings were co tinued till the queen had breathed he last; and while Pole was actually dyin five persons perished by fire in his ow cathedral city of Canterbury! But thes were the last victims of the Maria persecution.

TITLE-PAGE OF A BOOK OF PROVERBS BY PHILIP MELANCTHON, ONCE IN THE POSSESSION OF CRANMER, WHOSE NAME APPEARS AT THE TOP OF THE PAGE.

(*Now in the Library of the Leigh Grammar School.*)

CHAPTER LV.

MARY'S FAILURE AND DEATH.

Profound Effect of the Martyrdoms upon England—Other Ecclesiastical Measures of Mary's Reign—Celibacy again Enforced upon the Clergy—Deprivation of the Reforming Bishops—Attempts to Restore Monastic Property—Their Failure—Attempts to Restore Monastic Life—Pole's Schemes of Church Reform—His Injunctions—Brief Account of the Marian Romish Divines—Bishop Bonner—Character of the Queen—Disastrous Influences upon it—Absence of English Advisers—Tragic Failure of her Whole Policy—Her Last Illness and Death—The Marian Exiles.

REVIEWING generally the strange episode of the mediæval reaction under queen Mary, the historian of the church feels that when he has related the story of the restoration of the *Papal supremacy* in the church; the bringing back of the *mass*, that strange mediæval development or rather corruption of the simple solemn communion instituted by Jesus Christ; and the curious reinstatement of the *Latin tongue* as the language of the public services of the church, in place of the vernacular English understood by the people, there is little more to be told. The dramatic interest of this sad reign is painfully kept up owing to the stern and cruel measures directed against such subjects of the English crown as refused to accept these religious changes. But of the population of the country comparatively few resisted the royal will; though enough were found who did "resist unto blood" to make the short eight years of Mary's reign a byword for ever of tyranny and cruel oppression.

The ease with which these tremendous changes in religion were brought about is curious, who look back on the events of the unhappy period in question, almost inconceivable. The almost slavish subservience of the two Houses of Parliament, and the quiet acquiescence of Convocation, is a testimony to the enormous power and influence of the crown in the Tudor period; the joyful acceptance of the renaissance of mediæval superstition by many among the people, and the sullen consent of the great majority, tell us that from one cause or other Reformation principles had not yet rooted themselves deeply in the hearts of the people. Something more was needed than the mere words and writings of the teachers of the new learning, to open the eyes of the masses to see the beauty and the truth of the Reformation. That something was provided by the stern resistance unto death of the three hundred Marian martyrs, largely made up of the rank and file of the English people, but including in their glorious company five of the more famous bishops of the new learning—men whose names had for years been on all Englishmen's lips, and whose words and writings henceforth would be in every Englishman's heart. Once more, the moving events of the middle years of the sixteenth century had demonstrated the

truth of the oft-quoted saying, that "The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church."

Little else remains to be told of interest in the history of the church during this sad reign of Mary, and our task in gathering up these few fragments will soon be done. Very early in the reign, in the queen's letters and articles of 1554, addressed to the bishops as a necessary corollary to the mediæval revival she had determined on, the old and tyrannical direction respecting the necessity of enforcing celibacy among the clergy was renewed. For the last time in the history of the Church of England, queen Mary and her ecclesiastical advisers woke up the old and peremptory demand of the Roman see, so often resisted, that all priests of the church should be unmarried. The bishops, so ran the stern Marian letters and articles of 1554, were to deprive and declare deprived all spiritual persons who, "contrary to the state of their order and the laudable custom of the church, had married wives." The cruel and unnatural edict was carried out with severity, the number of deprivations and of voluntary resignations being very considerable.*

As might have been expected, early in the reign, under various pretexts, most of the "Reformation" bishops were deprived of their sees. A few, by timely submission, retained their dignity; a few who really sympathised with the old state of things, of course remained. As early as the year 1554 we hear of seven of these prelates being deprived; and in the course of the reign, as we have alr related, five out of the number of refor bishops suffered at the stake, and wo the majority of Englishmen love to th the crown of martyrdom.

On two important points the ear desires of queen Mary were compl foiled. From the beginning of her r she passionately longed that restitu should be made to the church of the l and possessions which had been t away from the suppressed monastic or and from hospitals and chantries, by father, Henry VIII., and her bro Edward VI. As we have before rema this confiscation will ever be a dark upon the pages which contain the formation story; and there is no true earnest son of the Church of England will not be tempted to sympathise Mary here. It was emphatically a r longing on the part of the unhappy qu Mary showed her earnestness in this m of restitution by formally offering to re all the church and monastic lands ren ing in the possession of the crown; ferring, as she said in the language o resolution, delivered in the presence o high treasurer, the marquis of Winche and other ministers of state, the salva of her soul to the maintenance of imperial dignity, if it could only be served by the aid of such means.

But the project was found to be practicable. The church spoils gath in the two last reigns had been shame wasted or widely distributed, and in case of the majority of the recip would never have been tamely yielde This was felt even by the most dev adherents of Mary and Rome. In

* Canon Dixon in his "History" (chap. xxiii.) gives some exhaustive details respecting this cruel Marian edict.

rdinal Pole, before he was admitted into ngland as a legate, brought with him papal dispensation for all possessors of onastic and collegiate lands to hold them ll. And the Pope's bull assuring the ssession of abbey lands to the then hampton, and the hospital in the Savoy, were resuscitated under Mary's care. But the attempt, on the whole, was a failure, and only nine or ten of the dissolved foundations were restored.

In the matter of ecclesiastical legislation,

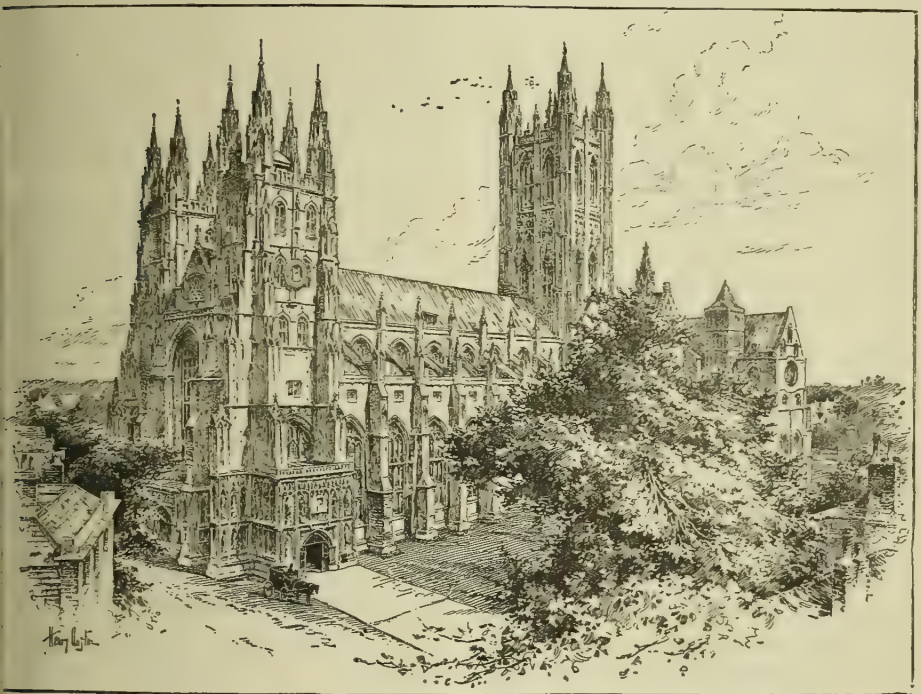


Photo: Chester Vaughan.

CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL, FROM THE SOUTH-WEST.

ders, was read in Parliament in the r 1555.

Another project dear to Mary's heart s the revival of monastic life in England. th very limited means at her disposal, succeeded in refounding a few—but y a few—religious houses and collegiate ablishments, notably the abbey of West- nster and the nunnery at Sion. The itary order of the knights of St. John, colleges of Manchester and Wolver- cardinal Pole, who even in the lifetime of Cranmer was made administrator of the diocese of Canterbury, held in 1555 a synod, at which he proposed an elaborate scheme of reformation of the English Church. In this the "fearful evil of non-residence" was to be sternly guarded against. Deans and other cathedral or collegiate officers, and archdeacons, were to reside, or to lose the fruits of their preferments. The scheme dwelt upon the

fact of the churches being in solitude, because so few of these dignitaries observed the rule of residence. Bishops were to preach, and vicars and curates likewise, on Sundays and holy days. Luxury in food and apparel was forbidden. Matrimony was prohibited to religious persons of both sexes. Clerical habits were to be worn, and the tonsure was to be enforced. The canonical hours were to be observed. The greatest care was to be taken in conferring holy orders, grave scandals having arisen owing to a rash imposition of hands. Bishops were not to transfer to others the burden of examining candidates. Long vacancies in clerical appointments were to be avoided. Visitations of all churches, beginning with the cathedral churches, were to be made. Libraries were to be visited, to discover whether they contained heretical or prohibited books. But all these and many other proposals of important measures of reform came to nothing, save that a copy of them, carefully revised, was sent to the Pope. The disturbed and unsettled state of affairs in England, and the premature death of Mary and Pole, put an end to all these elaborate schemes of monastic reconstitution and of church reformation on mediæval lines, as laid down by Mary and her adviser.

Another notable piece of work that issued from Pole's cabinet was a set of Injunctions, sent down to Brooks, bishop of Gloucester. Bishop Brooks had been cardinal Pole's delegate in the important Oxford trial of Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, which accounts for the fact of the Injunctions being specially sent to him. They were, however, no doubt issued to other diocesans. Their chief interest lies in the nature of the directions which t contain; and they show us that Pole really earnest in his wishes to promot zealous God-fearing life among the cle of the Church of England. Some of points dwelt on are of real value importance, and might well have b urged by the most saintly of the occupa of St. Augustine's chair; and even doctrinal and ritualistic portions of th Injunctions, from Pole's own standpo belonged to the life and duties of ev true pastor.

They desired the clergyman of parish to preach, *if he had the gift*, quently and diligently, not forgetting declare from time to time the use of ceremonies of the church. Authoritat homilies were to be published, and in meantime portions of bishop Bonn *Necessary Doctrine* were to be read the people. The Creed, the Lord's Pray the Ten Commandments, were to be tau in English. The Sacraments were to ministered reverently and uniformly; div service was to be celebrated distinctly; priest was to haunt alehouses; and "celibacy" direction was to be rigi observed. The sick were to be visited w diligence; the priest was enjoined to g them good counsel for their souls, and to remind them to make their wills time and charitably to remember the po and other deeds of devotion. Confess was enjoined; and the names of all w confessed not in Lent, and who recei not the Holy Sacrament according to ancient order of the church, were to sent to the ordinary. Inventories of lands, jewels, plate, and ornaments belo ing to the churches were to be made.

There were, however, in these Inıctions not a few directions which emind us of the great change which had ıst come over the church; such as the rder to provide a decent tabernacle, set ı the midst of the high altar, to preserve ne most blessed Sacrament under lock nd key; a taper or lamp was to be kept urning before the same; a rood five feet ı length at the least, not painted in cloth r boards, but cut in stone or wood, was to e provided. Parishioners were urged to esort to their churches, and to hear all ivine service. Tithes were to be duly paid; he Holy Sacrament was to be received at aster, while in Lent confession was to be ade; reverent kneeling was enjoined at ıe time of the elevation of the Host in ıch places in the church where the blessed acrament might be seen and worshipped. he observance of the ceremonies practised the mediæval church, to which, as ıperstitious, such grave exception had en taken by the reformers, was carefully sisted upon—such as the use of holy ead, holy water, bearing of candles and palms, receiving of ashes, creeping to e cross, going in procession. In addition these things, the Injunctions of Pole rected that public-houses should be osed in time of divine service, and that booths or merchandise should be perıitted in churchyards on Sundays.

The singular dearth of conspicuously le men in the ranks of the mediæval ıvivalists of Mary's party was remarkable. ot one distinctly great churchman arose ong the queen's adherents. Gardiner, e bishop of Winchester, the chancellor, ong these emphatically holds the foremost place. But Gardiner cannot be considered to have been either an ecclesiastic or theologian or statesman of the first rank; and singularly enough, he also never seems thoroughly to have enjoyed the queen's confidence. Between him and Pole, although outwardly friends, a mutual jealousy existed; but when Gardiner died, worn out with work and crushing anxieties, in 1555, queen Mary lost her ablest theologian and minister. Of the rest, cardinal Pole, although an earnest and bigoted Romanist, and a loyal and devoted servant of the queen, was a rash and imprudent statesman; and, as a theologian, he certainly occupied no distinguished position. Heath, the archbishop of York, who followed Gardiner as chancellor, was a man of considerable learning and of blameless character, and was largely respected for his integrity of purpose, but as a minister of state was inferior to Gardiner. Tunstall, the bishop of Durham, whose name so often appears in the history of these times, was one of the foremost of the Marian prelates. He, too, was generally respected and looked up to, but he was no leader of men; and as a theologian his powers and attainments can be fairly measured by his refusal to enter into any colloquy with Cranmer on the occasion of the long-drawn-out Oxford trial and disputation, when the great reforming archbishop was publicly interrogated, as we have seen, with a view to his deposition and degradation. Tunstall on this occasion declined to enter into any controversy, strangely alleging that Cranmer would rather shake his faith than be convinced by him.

Another of the more famous Marian divines has obtained in history the un-

enviable distinction of being the principal instrument of the cruel persecution—viz. Bonner, bishop of London. An attempt —not very successful—has been recently made by a confessedly able and scholarly historian* to advance some pleas in extenuation of the acts of this relentless

STEPHEN GARDINER, BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.
(*From the Engraving by W. N. Gardiner.*)

persecuting bishop. "Bonner took his horrible burden; he was not actuated by cruelty, but by a sense of duty pressed on him doubly by reason of the importance of his diocese (London). If it was a miserable thing that such a notion of duty was possible to any bishop, that is not to be laid to his charge. He was not a man of great character: he was some-

* Canon Dixon: "History," chap. xxv.

thing of a buffoon; but he was not th monstrous brute that has been painte over his name. Compared with any age of the holy office (the Inquisition) he w a well of mercy . . . perhaps son regard may be paid at last to the uncou woe with which he cried at the end

many a desperate case, 'I have soug no man's blood.' . . . He was a man resolution, who having undertaken wh he held to be a duty, neither shrank fro executing it like some, nor feigned execute it like others . . . he show himself not unkind, but long-sufferin considerate, and generous." In spite this kindly judgment, the fact remai that the most atrocious cruelties whi

disfigure the records of the reign were perpetrated under the immediate sanction of this man. The estimate which was formed of him in the following reign—and fully endorsed by posterity—seems on the whole absolutely just.

[The burning of Tho. Tomkins hand by B. Boner, who not long after burnt also his body.

(*From Foxe's Book of Martyrs.*)

The lesser lights of the Marian age—such as John Harpsfield, chaplain of Bonner, archdeacon of London; Nicholas Harpsfield, archdeacon of Canterbury, a writer of some note; Weston, dean of Westminster, subsequently dean of Windsor; Brooks, bishop of Gloucester; Thirlby, bishop of Norwich, later of Ely; Tresham, canon of Christ Church; Oglethorpe, president of Magdalen, afterwards bishop of Carlisle; Pie, dean of Chichester; White, bishop of Lincoln; Holyman, bishop of Bristol—who were for the most part engaged in the Oxford trials and disputations which preceded the condemnation of the Reformer bishops, were all conspicuously inferior in every way to the eminent men who stood before them as accused. Indeed, none among the group of Marian divines—with, perhaps, the solitary exception of Gardiner—can be reckoned either as a scholar or even a statesman of the first class.

Of Mary herself we must speak at somewhat greater length. The historian

of the Church of England must ever be on his guard, when he speaks of the unhappy queen whose sad life and sadder reign closed in such clouds and thick darkness. It is the fashion to couple her name and her memory with the gloomy epithet by which this name is, alas! best known among the English people—"bloody Mary"—and to associate her character with the stern summary of Hume, who speaks of her "obstinacy, bigotry, violence, cruelty, malignity, revenge, and tyranny." There is a French estimate which is perhaps juster. After condemning her acts and general policy, it sums up thus: "In spite of her reign of tyranny, there was a vein of nobility and generosity in her character which Protestant historians have ignored." We must ever, in speaking of Mary, remember the circumstances of her early life, her mother's cruel wrongs—wrongs which she traced, not without some justice, to the influence of the Reforming party—her sad childhood, her melancholy and deserted girlhood and womanhood, and the attempt to eject her from her rightful inheritance. All these things coloured Mary's character, and sadly influenced her fatal policy to the last.

There was also the fatal influence of her disastrous marriage, which led her ever to lean upon Spanish and foreign counsels, rather than upon English advisers; and Spanish counsels were always given with a solitary view to foreign interests, utterly disregarding what was best and wisest for England. But most of all, the cruel disappointments which resulted appear to have actually affected her mind. We read of her sitting long hours on the floor of her apartment, with her knees draw up to her face, brooding over her misery which she interpreted by the light o her dark mediæval superstitions. Wha pondered the unhappy queen, had sh done to draw upon her head the venge ance—for so she regarded it—of heaven Surely, she had been too slack in drivin out the accursed heresies of the Reforma tion! With this evil spirit inspiring he the partly-crazed Mary pressed on thes cruel persecutions, which are such a dar blot upon her character and reign.

Then, too, it must be borne in min that no really great Englishman eve stood by Mary's side as friend and cou sellor. The wisest and most patrioti Englishman who ever shared her counse without doubt, was Gardiner, bishop o Winchester, a determined enemy to th Reformers and the spirit of the new learn ing. But even Gardiner's influence wa neutralised by the cloud of Spaniards wh after the marriage with Philip hovere about the English queen; and Gardine died all too soon for England. Whe he passed away, Mary was absolutel without one true Englishman near he Pole, to whom, when Gardiner was gone Mary gave her whole confidence, had live too long in exile to understand th character of the English people. H measured the subjects of Mary with measure he was accustomed to use i estimating peoples in foreign lands. H utterly mistook the English spirit, and th means he devised for the conversion o England had an effect Pole never dreame of. They familiarised the masses wit the words and thoughts of Cranmer an Latimer, and taught them Ridley's theology

with a power Ridley, as an Edwardian bishop, was never able to attain. Pole's work surrounded the whole Reformation party, so nobly represented in the persons of its devoted chiefs, with a halo of glory which it had never possessed before.

The entire policy of Mary was thus a tragic failure. Nothing had succeeded that she attempted. Her foreign policy had resulted in the shame and disgrace which culminated in the loss of Calais, and the last remnant of the foreign possessions of the English crown. She was condemned by the public voice, and not unjustly, as unpatriotic, as one who loved and preferred the honour and prosperity of Spain rather than of the England of which she was queen; condemned as opposing the determined will of England in endeavouring to restore the Papal tyranny in church and state. The last months of the year 1558 found Mary unloved, well-nigh deserted by her husband for whom she had sacrificed so much, childless, well-nigh friendless. The cause of the religion she loved with so passionate fervour had not been advanced one whit by her deadly persecuting measures, but, as she too clearly saw, fatally injured. She saw her country impoverished, fallen in prestige, sorely afflicted with a strange and mysterious sickness. She saw her sister Elizabeth, of whom she was terribly jealous, daily growing in popular estimation and favour.

With everything thus against her, she had no strength, no spirit to combat the fatal disease which in its wide-spread ravages attacked the queen too, and she was sadly conscious for weeks that she was dying. Everything in her world was awry. Pole, her minister and archbishop, was fallen into dire and hopeless disgrace with the Pope, for whom she and he had sacrificed so much. To crown all, the friend of her youth and womanhood, her kinsman Charles V., passed away at this juncture. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that Mary and Pole died almost on the same day of the same malady—a broken heart! And this unhappy queen, with her splendid opportunities, with much, too, in her character noble, religious, strong and magnanimous, only six short years before had been the most beloved personage in the realm.

It was a strange coincidence that both the queen and her faithful friend and minister who had advised her so consistently against her truest interests, passed away within a few hours of each other. Many circumstances in the death scenes of Queen Mary and Cardinal Pole were similar. They were both quiet, serene, full of hope to the last. Both chose to confess repeatedly during the last few days; both chose to receive in their final hours the blessed sacrament. When for the last time the mass was celebrated in the queen's bed-chamber, as the Host was elevated, she looked up to heaven, and shortly after breathed her last, so gently that among those who stood by, only the physician knew that she had passed. A few hours later Pole died at Lambeth.

In the final settlement of church order in England, to be narrated in our succeeding chapters, the influence of various returned Marian exiles will have to be alluded to. There is no doubt that the

weight of their opinion was considerably felt by Parker, the future archbishop, and Cecil, the minister of the queen, and the more moderate of Elizabeth's advisers; and that the accentuation of opinion produced during their banishment for conscience sake, upon so many men of more or less influence, had a very perceptible effect upon the ultimate formularies and order of the Church of England. It is necessary, therefore, before dismissing the events of this unhappy reign, to devote a few brief paragraphs to these exiles and their story.

In the earlier days of the great change brought about by Mary and Gardiner, before the dark cloud of the bitter persecution of Pole had broken over the church, many distinguished divines and laymen, who had in the days of Edward VI. been prominent for their attachment to the new learning and the views of the Reformation, left England, no longer a safe home for men who were mortally opposed to Roman influences and to any return to mediæval rites and doctrines. These exiles included in their numbers the bishops of Winchester (Ponet), Bath (Barlow), Chichester (Scory), Exeter (Coverdale), and Ossory (Bale); also the deans of Christchurch, Exeter, Durham, Wells, and Chichester; the archdeacons of Canterbury, Stow, and Lincoln; as well as many other divines and scholars of reputation, and not a few eminent laymen—in all numbering about eight hundred. Their sufferings in many cases were great. Deprived of their preferments and offices, and often of their possessions, large and small, we hear of the sad straits to which not a few of these exiles were reduced; some, we find, even sought a liveliho in some of the printing establishmer of Strasburg and other learned forei centres. As a rule, they were unwelcor guests in Germany, and in many citi were positively refused hospitality. W know, however, of English congregatio being established at Embden in Ea Friesland, at Wesel, in Frankfort-on-th Main, in Strasburg, at Geneva, and Züri and Basle.

At Frankfort-on-the-Main a lar number of the English were allowed settle, and to use for their services a chur which had been assigned to a number French "Protestants." At first a conditi was made that they should conform the confession of faith of the Fren reformers, and in general to their usag also. The Frankfort exiles were joined other fellow-refugees from Strasburg a different centres. John Knox, from Genev was among these. The influence of th eminent but extreme reformer induced t Frankfort exiles to adopt a service large impregnated with Calvin's theologic opinions. The more thoughtful among them, however, among whom was Dr. Co the well-known Oxford reformed theologia perceived how dangerous such concessio to Calvin, if formally accepted, would to the church should the reformation ev be restored in England. Dr. Cox and h friends were thus intensely opposed to a such concessions being made to Knox a his friend Calvin, by such an important co gregation of Englishmen as that gather together at Frankfort. His influen happily prevailed, and Knox and his mo devoted followers in the end left Frankfo and betook themselves again to the mo

congenial atmosphere of Geneva. There is a letter still extant, addressed by Grindal, who in after years became a very prominent personage under Elizabeth, to Ridley, then a prisoner for the faith in England, in which

Photo: A. G. Ryder, Winchester.

BISHOP GARDINER'S CHANTRY, WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL.

the following words occur: "Here (in Frankfort) is a church, now well settled by the prudency of Master Cox and others which met here for that purpose, who most earnestly and unceasingly do cry unto God for the delivery of His church." The date of this letter was May, 1555.

During their exile some bitter dissensions arose among these banished English clergy. Others were unfortunately influenced by the great foreign reformers, as was bishop Coverdale by Calvin — so gravely, that this distinguished man, from conscientious scruples, was unable afterwards to accept a see under Elizabeth. On the death of Mary, the return of these "embittered children of the Reformation," as they have been termed, and their influence, was one of the many grave difficulties which the wise advisers of Elizabeth had to encounter in their work of "conservative" Reformation.

CHAPTER LVI.

ACCESSION OF ELIZABETH. CECIL, PARKER, AND JEWEL.

General Joy at Elizabeth's Accession—Support of Spain—Distracted State of the Realm—Circumstances which Favoured the Queen—Elizabeth's Early Life—Her Great Minister, Sir William Cecil—Elizabeth's Natural Sympathies with Mediævalism—The Pope's Insolence Forces her towards Protestantism—Cecil Appoints a Religious Commission of Inquiry—Convocation Protests against the Contemplated Changes—A Disputation—Adoption and Revision of the Prayer-Book—A General Visitation—Treatment of the Romanist Bishops and Clergy—Archbishop Parker—His Early Life—His Character—Repugnance to Accept the Primacy—Care for the Episcopal Succession—The New Hierarchy—Bishop Jewel—Jewel as an Apologist—And as Bishop and Preacher—Vain Attempts of Rome at Reconciliation.

IN the August of 1553 Mary, the daughter of Katharine of Arragon, the hope of the Romish party in England, had been welcomed in London with enthusiastic joy; the bells of the great city pealing, the cannon of the soldiery thundering forth their salute, the citizens, with few dissentient voices, shouting a welcome. The poor twelfth-day queen, as the French ambassador, Noailles, termed her in his scornful courtesy—Jane, the hope of the reformers' cause, one of the noblest and purest of women—remained in her sad prison-room absolutely unpitied, well-nigh forgotten by the people, who seemingly with one voice acclaimed Mary as queen of England. In five short years and two or three months from the date of her accession the same Mary lay dead, unregretted and unpitied, in St. James's Palace; while her sister Elizabeth, in her turn the hope of the long-persecuted reformers, was received by the same city which had so loudly and almost universally shouted a welcome to Mary, not only with similar plaudits, but with a joy almost as delirious as that which noisily applauded Mary. And in both the reception of Mary in 1553, and the welcome of Elizabeth in 1558, London fairly represented the general feeling of England.

In this instance the proverbial fickleness of the people, which to-day cries "Hosanna!" to some popular idol, and to-morrow is ready and wishful to crucify the object of its once passionate love, was fairly justified. Mary had recklessly thrown away the chances of her party. A bitter and remorseless persecution of all who differed from her in religion, had excited first a profound pity, and later, an ungrudging admiration for her victims; had invested with a halo of respect and love a religious party which had signally failed in the day of its power to win the heart of England. In addition to her grievous mistakes in religious policy, the dead queen had failed to show herself a lover of England. She had ever preferred the interests of her Spanish husband to the interests of her own country; and, more or less, during her reign England was an appanage of Spain. Nor had her unpatriotic foreign policy been crowned with any success. Disgrace and defeat accompanied the English arms on the Continent; and the loss of Calais, the poor remnant of the once magnificent continental dominions

of her great ancestors, was the crowning humiliation of her hated reign.

Singularly fortunate, too, was Elizabeth when she ascended the throne, in finding no serious rival for the crown ready to dispute her inheritance. Only one such rival lived; and, strangely enough, at this juncture that rival was politically impossible. Mary Stuart of Scotland, whose royal descent in some eyes was purer than Elizabeth's, was dauphiness of France, and her accession would have been more disastrous to mighty Spain and her empire than even that of the heretic Elizabeth. Better, thought the astute and wily Spaniards, a suspected heretic like Elizabeth on the throne of England, than a princess who belonged by every tie of affection and interest to France, the rival and bitter foe of Spain. Strange as it seemed, therefore, Elizabeth was supported during the first part of her reign by all the power and influence of Spain. Spain also had hopes —not quite groundless—that the heretic princess might, as time went on, throw in her lot with the enemies of the Reformation; hopes, however, signally doomed to disappointment. But for the present, Spanish influence strongly backed up Elizabeth. King Philip at first even hoped to make this sister-in-law of his, his wife. He little knew Elizabeth.

But it was a shattered and divided England, after all, that Elizabeth inherited in the winter of 1558. As it has been well summarised from a contemporary record, "The queen poor, the realm exhausted; the nobility poor and decayed, good captains and soldiers wanting; the people out of order, justice not executed; all things dear; excesses in meat, diet, and apparel; division among ourselves, war with France, the French king bestriding the realm, having one foot in Calais and the other in Scotland; steadfast enemies, but no steadfast friends." * Added to all this, a subtle pestilence hung over the land; while the gravest religious differences among the people seemed to forbid anything like united action. Never had England sunk so low; never had she been so surrounded with dangers, within and without; while the dark shadow of Spain brooded over all, and threatened her very existence as a nation. But the most pressing danger, after all, that the young queen had to confront, was the hopelessly divided state of her people, owing to the grave differences in religion.

Roughly, we may divide the English nation at the close of 1558 into four parties. The first and largest was made up of those who, more or less, were inclined to a moderate reformation; who longed to see the acknowledged abuses in the church corrected, and the discredited mediæval fables and superstitions which disgraced true religion swept away. These moderate reformers, as a rule, detested the Pope and loathed the papal policy; they wished for services they could understand; they earnestly desired a purely English ritual, not a Latin and foreign service which few could follow. The Bible, as translated by the men of the new learning, was inexpressibly dear to them. But these—and they formed the majority of Englishmen at this period—were generally averse to sweeping changes such as had characterised the Reformation movement in Germany

* Froude: "Summary of Domestic MS.," vol. vii., chap. i.

and Switzerland. With these moderate reformers the young queen sympathised, as did the principal advisers who formed her inner council—men like Sir William Cecil, her secretary of state, Nicholas Bacon, her lord keeper, and others.

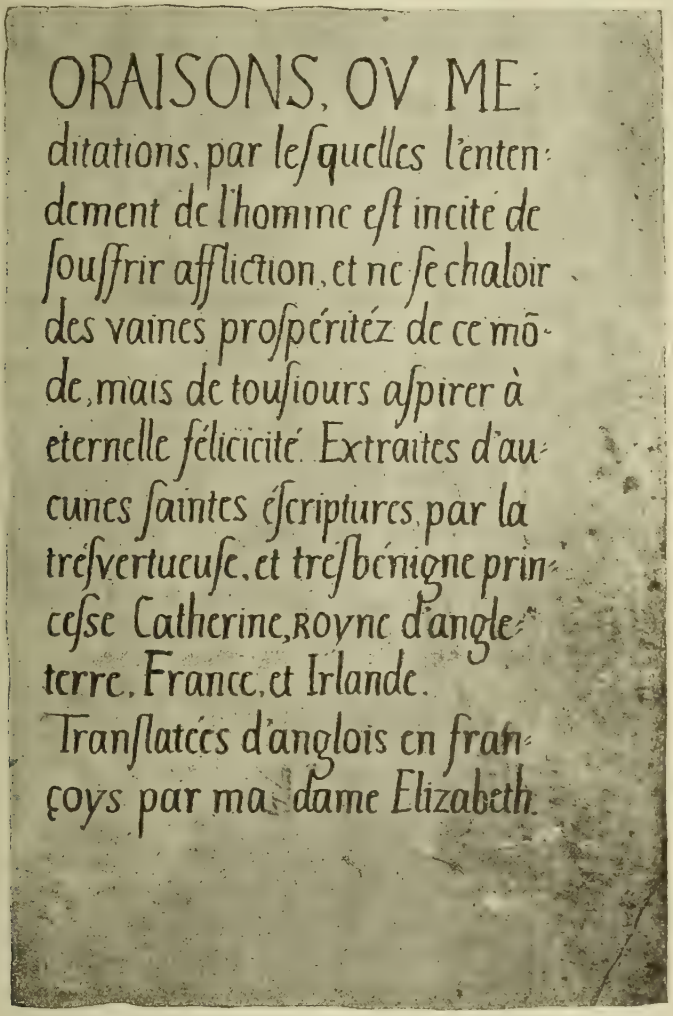
The second party was influenced by the Marian exiles, of whom we have already written ; many of whom returned to England on the welcome news of Mary's death and Elizabeth's accession. They were able and devoted men, these exiles, who looked with scorn upon such a half-hearted Reformation as that above sketched out and desired by Elizabeth and Cecil. They were now strongly imbued with the thoughts, the aims, and the hopes of the foreign reformers. Some were attached to the principles of Luther ; a few to the far more destructive views of Zwinglius ; a still greater number were adherents of the stern and rigid Calvin. But they all desired many and sweeping changes, which would, if carried out, effectually have destroyed, not reformed, the ancient and immemorial Church of England.

A third party were the legitimate descendants of the old Lollards ; men of extreme views in religion and politics very earnest, very determined ; but their success would have been fatal alike to throne and altar ; revolutionaries they must be considered. They were a grave menace to the established state of things Socialists we should call them in modern nomenclature. They became later the Anabaptists, a discontented, unruly faction hateful alike to the statesman and the churchman, and dreaded alike by both as a real danger to the well-being and good order of the realm.

The fourth party was a smaller one, but was powerful and influential from the rank and position of its leaders, and of many

ROOM IN THE TOWER OF LONDON IN WHICH PRINCESS ELIZABETH WAS IMPRISONED.

ts adherents. It was the party purely nd simply devoted to Rome, steadfast in :s allegiance to the Pope; desirous to fitful session, chose to propound or to decide under the supreme sanction of the Pope. The adherents of this Romanist body were


ORAISONS, OV ME-
ditations, par leſquelles l'enten-
dement de l'homme eſt incité de
ſouffrir affliction, et ne ſe chaloir
des vaines proſpéritéz de ce mõ-
de, mais de touſiours aſpirer à
eternelle félicicité. Extraites d'au-
cunes ſaintes éſcriptures, par la
treſvertueuſe, et treſbénigne prin-
ceſſe Catherine, royne d'angle-
terre, France, et Irlande.
Tranſlatées d'anglois en fran-
çoys par ma dame Elizabeth.

ITLE-PAGE OF A VOLUME OF PRAYERS OR MEDITATIONS WRITTEN BY QUEEN CATHERINE PARR, TRANSLATED INTO FRENCH BY PRINCESS ELIZABETH, AND WRITTEN WITH HER OWN HAND. (*British Museum.*)

old fast to the old mediæval forms of eligion, with such additions or alterations s the Council of Trent, then in somewhat bigoted, earnest, uncompromising in matters of religion; and disloyal when the claims of Rome and its bishops jarred and came into

conflict with those of their own country and of their own sovereign. Five years of uninterrupted supremacy and power under Mary had welded them together, and had enabled them to capture the bishoprics and many of the leading positions in the church.

It is, however, a strange mistake to suppose that the great body, or even that a respectable minority, of the clergy sympathised with them. The action of the Marian bishops — men, of course, selected because of their known pronounced views—has misled many in this particular; but it is a curious error to suppose that, at the accession of Elizabeth, the English clergy as a body were Romanists at heart. When, a few months later, the Elizabethan changes were formulated, as we shall presently see, out of 9,400 clergy only 192 refused the oath of supremacy. To picture this enormous majority of avowed servants of the church as mere time-servers, would be simply ridiculous, and would be contrary to all experience. It is undeniable that the mass of the English clergy were hostile to the pretentious and arrogant claims of Rome, and were generally averse to the elaborate mediæval ceremonies, which they had come to see were superstitious, and alien to the spirit of primitive antiquity. The reintroduction of the Latin tongue in the services, too, they felt would be hurtful to the advancement of true religion among the masses of the people. But when all this was taken into account, the Romanist party in 1558 was still a compact and formidable party, and numbered in their ranks the Marian bishops, some in the higher ranks of the clergy, and a fair number of the older and historic hou of the realm.

Such was the England—impoverish sorely split up into parties at home, credited abroad; weak in fortresses, ships, and soldiers; with a hostile Scotl in the north, and a powerful hostile Fra across the narrow silver streak of se over which the young and untried El beth was called on suddenly to rule dangerous and precarious heritage inde it seemed. But England in her hour supreme weakness was saved by the fie and irreconcilable jealousy that existed tween Spain and France; Spain throw the shield of her great power over E land, to preserve the coveted island and diminished though still vast wealth fr falling into the hands of Mary Stuart France. As time went on, each year shall see England growing stronger more united, while the great Continen powers waxed weaker and more divid In France, the formidable Huguenot risings sorely maimed its influence abro and completely occupied it at home. for Spain, the terrible and determi revolt of the Netherlands, which s began to assume formidable dimensio struck a blow at the power and wealth the mighty kingdom of Philip from wh it never really recovered; and when Fra through its internal dissensions, had cea to be a standing menace to England, friendship and hostility of Spain, occup with its awful series of wars and bloo revolts in the Low Countries, were al disregarded by England and its que Then too, as time went on, Elizabet most dangerous rival, Mary Stuart—t beautiful and popular princess who was

ope of the Romanist party—by deliberate
id continued indulgence in a woman's
issions and weaknesses, became com-
etely discredited, and in the end sadly
piated an unfortunate, perhaps a wicked
e in the hall of Fotheringay, little
ourned, though perhaps very largely
tied.

What had been the life-story of that
ung princess who, at the early age of
enty-five, became queen of England—
een with all the boundless power
ssessed by the Tudor sovereigns of our
untry—at such a momentous juncture,
d who in the providence of God was
gely instrumental in consolidating the
urch of England, so large an element
the surpassing greatness of the modern
itish empire?

There was comparatively little known
Elizabeth's great powers before her
ter's death. She had been carefully—
en elaborately—educated, and for some
e shared with her brother Edward the
truction of some of the first scholars
the day, such as Sir John Cheke, the
nous Cambridge scholar, and Roger
cham. She was evidently a brilliant
ld, for we hear of her at an early age as
ficient in French and Italian; she was
o trained in the classics; music was not
glected, and a part of each day was
voted to religious instruction. While
m her father she inherited her great
ents and Tudor love for learning, from
r mother came that strange, pitiful love
admiration which will ever be a blot
the character of the great queen.
hile still a girl, she was almost fatally
rolved in the meshes of an intrigue with
lord Seymour, the husband of Catherine Parr, the queen dowager; and though she escaped the direful consequences which once threatened her, her conduct in the affair seems not to have been above grave suspicion. Lord Seymour, the Protector Somerset's brother, we know perished on the scaffold. Elizabeth was only sixteen, but her character was for a time sorely stained. It was a melancholy experience, and she profited by it, for we hear of no more like imprudences.

For the next year the princess devoted herself to literature, living quietly and simply with her grave tutor, Roger Ascham, under whose instruction she became an accomplished Latin and Greek scholar. Thanks to her retired, studious life, as the girl passed into the woman her early reputation as a shameless coquette was gradually forgotten. At the court of Edward VI., in 1551, we find Elizabeth present, and in sympathy with the Reform views of her brother and his advisers. On one occasion the young king welcomed Elizabeth as "his dear sweet sister Temperance." The astute princess had succeeded in completely living down the scandal of her girlhood. "Her maidenly apparel," we are told, "made the noblemen's wives and daughters ashamed to be dressed and painted like peacocks."

All through the reign of her sister Mary the position of Elizabeth was extremely difficult. She was in full sympathy with the views held by the moderate Reformers during the latter years of her father, Henry VIII., and during the reign of her brother, Edward VI., was generally credited with sharing the king's ideas of religion; but when Mary was queen she temporised,

even asking her sister for "ornaments" for her private chapel. With all her caution, however, she excited Mary's jealous fears, and not without reason; for the enemies of the Romanising queen made no secret of their designs to substitute Elizabeth for Mary on the throne. There is no proof that Elizabeth was ever a party to these plots; but she was nevertheless committed to the Tower as a prisoner, and for a season even her life was in danger. She was subsequently liberated, and after a time allowed to return to her house at Hatfield, where she was strictly watched. All through this trying time king Philip, as a rule, was generally her friend. Her religious views she kept carefully in the background—anxious to give no possible grounds of offence to her bigoted sister and her advisers.

As Mary's health declined, Elizabeth's position and popularity steadily grew. A contemporary thus writes of her: "There was no lord nor knight in the kingdom who would not enter into her service, or send there his son or brother, such is the affection and love which is felt towards her . . . She contrives to win the favour of the Spaniards, and especially of the king (Philip of Spain), with whom she is a great favourite; if it were not for his influence and the fear of an insurrection, the queen (Mary) would undoubtedly find some occasion for punishing her, if not for past at least for present offences, for there is no conspiracy in which, justly or unjustly, her name is not mentioned, and some of her servants involved. But the queen (Mary) is obliged to dissemble her dislike, and constrain herself to receive her in public with ki ness and honour."*

Her real sentiments in matters of ligion were, however, scarcely veiled; the count de Feria (the Spanish amb sador) wrote to king Philip shortly bef Mary's death in the following terms: " great subtlety she adds very great van She has heard great talk of her fath (Henry VIII.) mode of action, and me to follow it. I have great fear that thinks ill in the matter of religion, fo see that she inclines to govern by m who are suspected as heretics."

The personal appearance of the fam queen is thus described by an eye-witn the above-quoted Venetian ambassado little more than two years before accession: "She is at present of the of twenty-three, and is esteemed to be less fair in mind than she is in bo Albeit in face she is pleasing rather th beautiful, but her figure is tall and w proportioned. She has a good complexi though of a somewhat olive tint, beaut eyes, and, above all, a beautiful hand, wh she likes to show. She is of admira talent and intelligence, of which she given proof by her behaviour in the d gers and suspicions to which she has b exposed. She has great knowledge languages. . . . She is proud haughty, for, in spite of her mother, holds herself as high as the queen equally legitimate."

Such was the young princess who, wh her sad sister breathed her last in James's Palace, took her seat upon throne of the Plantagenets and the Tud

* Giovanni Michele, the Venetian ambassa quoted by Creighton.

virtually unopposed. It was a weak and divided England whose destinies she was called at the age of twenty-five to rule over; an England, as we have already painted, threatened with the gravest perils within and without. Difficult problems, ambitious coquette, would order herself when face to face with all the thorny questions which then perplexed men's minds, was indeed a grave question. All that could be said in Elizabeth's favour when she became queen, was that she was well

PRINCESS ELIZABETH BEING EXAMINED BY THE ROMISH BISHOPS.
(*From the picture by Frederick Newenham in the Salford Art Gallery.*)

political and religious, were before her; problems which imperatively called for an immediate solution, or at least a partial solution. With the intricate political questions which confronted her we have in this history comparatively little to do; our work lies with the second, the religious difficulty. How this young and unmarried woman, the daughter of such a queen as Anne Boleyn, the beautiful, frivolous, equipped for her difficult task. Not only had she been carefully, even elaborately, educated under the direction of some of the foremost scholars of the day—an education of which she had amply availed herself—but she had, too, young though she was in years, received a training of personal experience. "She had been in imminent danger, both under Edward and under Mary. She had suffered . . .

she had lived amongst perils, and had been taught the need of prudence. Self-mastery and self-restraint had been forced upon her. Bitter experience had taught her how little she could satisfy her own desires; how little she could confide in the wisdom and discretion of others. She had spent long hours in enforced solitude and reflection as the drama of events passed before her. She had seen the failure of other lives, their disappointments, and their tragic end. And in all this she had been no idle spectator, but one whose fortunes were deeply involved. . . . Her training had been severe; but to that severity was due the character and the qualities which enabled her to face the work which lay before her." *

When Mary died Elizabeth was a singularly lonely woman; she had no relatives whom she cared for or trusted, and indeed no friends. By her side certainly stood Cecil; yet Cecil, though an adviser, and a trusted adviser, was scarcely a friend. But he never forsook her, and, from the hour of Mary's death, for forty years (he died in 1598) he never left her. Cecil was emphatically *the* minister of her reign.

Sir William Cecil, afterwards lord Burleigh, was born in 1520. His political career began early. He held high office under the Protector Somerset, and then under his successor, Northumberland. When Mary became queen he lost his official position, but purchased security by conforming to Romanism. It is not known how he was first introduced to Elizabeth, but in her sister's lifetime he became devoted to her, and attached himself to h fortunes; and on her accession she once appointed him secretary of state. acted forthwith as her chief adviser. entrusting him with his high office, is reported to have said to him: "T judgment I have of you: that you be corrupted by no gift, that you will faithful to the state, and that, with respect of my private will, you will g me that counsel that you think be During his long term of office—one of most enduring, perhaps, ever recorded history—Cecil, better known among m as lord Burleigh, never failed his ro mistress.

His sympathies were wholly with reforming party, whose interests he fai fully served. "Cecil governs the quee wrote the Spanish ambassador, De Fe to Philip. "He is an able man, but accursed heretic." But he was rat a statesman than an earnest religi man, as was shown by his readin to conform to Mary's views when became queen. As a statesman he incomparable, and his unerring instinct him in most cases to choose wise and g men for the great church appointment men conspicuous not merely for their lea ing and piety, but also for their fairness a moderation; men, to use a modern te well known to us, who were *in touch* w the majority of religious, earnest Engli men. His calm, calculating wisdom again and again shown during the lo wise, patriotic reign. Elizabeth trus him implicitly, though, during his lo tenure of power as her chief adviser, often sharply rebuked him; but in t long run she usually followed his coun

* Bishop Creighton: "Queen Elizabeth," chap i.

nd when he died—far on in her long eign—she mourned for him as the truest, visest minister who ever stood by a overeign's throne.

An unwearied worker, his pleasures and is thoughts were wholly concentrated in hose high and responsible duties entrusted o him. They were his life. When still student, he fell in love with and married he sister of his scholar-friend, Cheke, hose mother was in poor circumstances nd kept a little wine-shop at Cambridge. his early marriage seems to have been n unsuitable and rash union; but it nly lasted three years, when his wife died. ecil then married again, his wife on is occasion being Mildred Cooke, whom e most tenderly loved, and who was said o be the most highly-educated and in-llectual woman of that age; her sister as the mother of Francis Bacon.

Froude gives the following picture of is ordinary life some time after he had sumed the general direction of affairs nder Elizabeth: "Cecil was the presiding irit; everywhere among the state papers these years Cecil's pen is ever visible, ecil's mind predominant. In the records the daily meetings of the council, Cecil's the single name that is never missed. the queen's cabinet or in his own, etching Acts of Parliament, drawing in-ructions for ambassadors, or weighing paper the opposing arguments at every isis of political action; corresponding th archbishops on liturgies and articles, th secret agents in every corner of urope, or with foreign ministers in every urt, Cecil is to be found ever restlessly isy; and sheets of paper, densely covered th brief memoranda, remain among his manuscripts to show the vastness of his daily labour, and the surface over which he extended his control. . . . Nothing was too large for his intellect to control, nothing too small for his attention to condescend to consider." *

We have thus dwelt upon the character and life of the chief minister of the reign, because his work and patient, thoughtful care had so much indirectly to do with bringing into shape the somewhat perplexed and confused conditions of the Church of England. It was Cecil, lord Burleigh, who helped the queen to select the wise instruments who moulded the reformed formularies of faith into the shape in which we now possess them—the instruments who amended and supplemented the reformed liturgies, where emendations and corrections were imperatively necessary to give expression to primitive Catholic truth. It was this great minister's far-seeing wisdom which guided her to select for this all-important work such men as Matthew Parker, Grindal, Whitgift, and Jewel, and the conspicuously able men who seconded their labours during those anxious years of stress and struggle through which the Church of England passed in the days of Elizabeth.

With extraordinary rapidity the council was quietly reconstructed. The bigoted Romanists who had surrounded Mary and Pole quickly disappeared from the scene of government, and their places were filled with men who sympathised with or directly favoured the new learning, whose preference for the Reformation and all that it meant for the church was well known.

* "History of England," vol. vii., chap. vi.

The most important of these changes was the substitution of Sir Nicholas Bacon, Cecil's brother-in-law, for the gentle but earnest Romanist archbishop of York, Heath, who, though Elizabeth was personally attached to him, at once ceased to be Chancellor, Bacon succeeding him with the title of Lord Keeper.

When Elizabeth ascended the throne she had no very definite religious convictions ; she was perhaps nearer Rome than Geneva. Utterly averse to persecution in any form, she would have been contented to see restored the formulas accepted by her father, Henry VIII., with an English ritual and the Communion Service of the First Prayer-book of her brother, Edward VI. But much had happened in England during late years ; a different spirit was now abroad, and the queen was constrained to sanction, as we shall see, a far more sweeping reform in the church than Henry VIII. had ever contemplated.

Although the queen from the first, however, was resolved upon certain changes in ritual and practice hereafter to be determined, her attachment to much of the "old use" was manifest. The mass was still continued in all the churches ; the obsequies of her sister Mary * were carried out in the chapel of St. James's Palace and in Westminster Abbey with extraordinary splendour, and with most careful observation of all the ancient mediæval rites. the course of the stately ceremony we re of the mass of requiem, the mass of t Holy Ghost, the mass of Our Lady bei said ; of the dirge being repeated, and t corpse being censed by various prela who were officiating. This was the l funeral of an English sovereign at whi these mediæval rites were observed. this was done, be it remembered, at t command of Elizabeth. In the sa storied abbey, very shortly after, w celebrated the obsequies of the empe Charles V. The funeral of cardinal Po too, was carried out with all the stat and imposing mediæval rites at Cant bury, under the supervision of the quee and when Convocation assembled in t January after her accession, it was open formally with high mass.

The overbearing insolence of the p sionate old man, Pope Paul IV., on t occasion of the official announcement him of Elizabeth's accession by the Engli ambassador at Rome, perhaps gave t first intimation to the queen and h minister, Cecil, that her safety on t throne depended upon the friendship a alliance of others than the devotees the old learning. Paul IV. replied the courteous message of the queen England, that "the kingdom of Engla was held in fee of the Apostolic see ; th Elizabeth, being illegitimate, could n succeed to the throne ; that assumi the government without his sancti was on her part an impertinence." "A yet," added this imperious Roman p late, "being desirous to show a fathe affection, if she would renounce her p tensions and refer herself wholly to

* Mary's titles, given to her in this stately and imposing funeral ceremonial, are singular for an English queen, "Of your charity, pray for the soul of Mary, late queen of England, Spain, France, both the Sicilies, Jerusalem, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, archduchess of Austria, duchess of Burgundy, Milan, and Brabant, countess of Halspinge, Flanders, and Tyrol."

free disposition, he would do whatever might be done without damage to the holy see." This was, however, the last opportunity Elizabeth gave to the occupant of the Roman see—whose dignity and ancient claim she apparently at first wished to respect—to use such overbearing and insolent language. The Pope was henceforth utterly ignored by the queen and her ministers.

LORD BURLEIGH.
(*From the portrait by Mark Gerard.*)

Very early in the reign the queen, and Cecil also, found that no changes in ritual and practice were possible unless the party of the more earnest and determined of the reformers were conciliated. The attitude of the Marian bishops, as we shall presently see, effectually showed this. The queen saw almost at once that she must reign with the

assistance, and work with the hearty co-operation, of the men of the new learning, with those who sympathised with a real and thorough Reformation. She found that no temporising with mediævalism in church matters was possible for her. Hence the sweeping changes in church matters which we have now to record—changes, it is quite clear, not altogether according to Elizabeth's own wish. In her own royal chapel, to which men looked as the model of other places of worship, at first the ancient ceremonies were continued. On the decorated altar a crucifix stood; tapers were lighted, and incense was burned. The only sign of the influence of the new learning in the queen's mind was the introduction of the *English* litany, arranged by Cranmer from ancient sources in the days of her father in the year 1544, which concluded with the beautiful prayer of St. Chrysostom we know so well.

But the policy of Cecil was quickly shown by the almost immediate preparation of a paper of questions and advices, suggesting the mode in which the reformed religion could be most safely re-established. The names of the learned divines to whom this important commission was entrusted, indicate the spirit in which this re-establishment was to be carried out. The commission contained names soon to be famous in the history of the Church of England—Dr. Parker, Dr. Cox, Dr. Grindal, Dr. May, and others. In the meantime, pending a complete settlement, a royal proclamation was issued forbidding preaching, but allowing the gospel and epistles and the ten commandments, the Lord's prayer, and creed to be read in English, but without any exposition. The proclamation however, forbade any other manner of public prayer, rite, or ceremony in the church but that which was already by law received, save the English litany as used in the royal chapel. Thus the way was prepared for the subsequent changes and the reforming party were at once conciliated; especially as the queen on her first Christmas Day commanded Oglethorpe, bishop of Carlisle, when standing ready to say mass before her not to elevate the consecrated Host *because she liked not the ceremony.*

On the 15th January, 1559, the queen was crowned in Westminster Abbey according to the ceremonies of the Roman pontifical. The officiating prelate was Dr. Oglethorpe, bishop of Carlisle, in the presence of other bishops.* Dr. Heath archbishop of York, on whom in the vacancy of Canterbury the office devolved declined to officiate, most probably on account of the queen refusing to permit the elevation of the Host.

Events now moved quickly. Elizabeth's first Parliament met on the 30th January we have only to concern ourselves with the ecclesiastical business of that Parliament. With little opposition, save an indignant protest on the part of the bishops in the Upper House, the Firstfruits Bill passed the two Houses. This piece of legislation annexed the firstfruits of ecclesiastical benefices to the crown.

Convocation, which was then sitting protested solemnly in five articles against the oncoming changes. They, with the Marian bishops at their head, pronounced

* Soames remarks that *all the bishops* were present.

their adherence to Roman doctrines, to the belief in transubstantiation, etc. That this was not the mind of the clergy generally appears from the general acquiescence in the Act of Uniformity, so soon to become the law of the land.

A conference was ordered between the Marian bishops and a certain number of leading reforming divines. Among the divines of this school at the conference the names of Scory, Cox, Grindal, and Jewel appear, who afterwards played so distinguished a part in the religious history of the reign. The subjects for disputation were laid down. They were: (1) The use of prayer in an unknown tongue. (2) The right of national churches to ordain their own rites and ceremonies. (3) The sacrifice of the mass. It was directed that the bishops should argue first, and that the reformers should then reply. The disputation was scarcely regarded as a serious affair; and the bishops, after two days, dissatisfied with the mode of procedure, withdrew. Their action was regarded by the Government as contempt. Two of their number were committed to the Tower; the rest were left at liberty, under bail to appear when summoned. They were very gently dealt with, as we shall presently see.

The "Act for restoring to the Crown the ancient Jurisdiction over the State, ecclesiastical and spiritual," was now passed by the willing Parliament. In it the Queen, refusing the title of "supreme head of the Church," assumed the title of "supreme governor, as well in spiritual and ecclesiastical causes as in temporal." She explained her action to the Spanish ambassador thus: She did not intend to be called "head of the Church," but she could not let her subjects' money be carried out of the realm by the Pope any more.

A yet more important change must now be related with some detail. It was at first evidently in the mind of the queen and Cecil to restore the First Prayer Book of Edward VI., with perhaps some few alterations. But the influence of the Marian exiles, who had now in great numbers returned, determined Dr. Parker and his brother-theologians to advise the adoption of the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI. as the basis of the liturgical reforms. The determined opposition of the Marian bishops and the Roman party in convocation to any reforms at all, no doubt largely contributed to this later determination. It seemed as though concessions would conciliate one party, while no terms whatever would be accepted by the other. The views of the reformers were accepted, and the Second Prayer Book, with a few important alterations, was embodied in the Bill of Uniformity, which became the law of the land before the end of April, 1559.

The following were the important alterations:—In the Litany, in order to conciliate the men who were inclined towards, or who thought gently of, Rome, the intolerant expression was expunged: "From the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities." A rubric of considerable interest was omitted in which it was declared that no adoration was intended by the posture of kneeling to the Holy Sacrament. It was left to the direction of the Ordinary to permit the prayers to be offered in the body of the

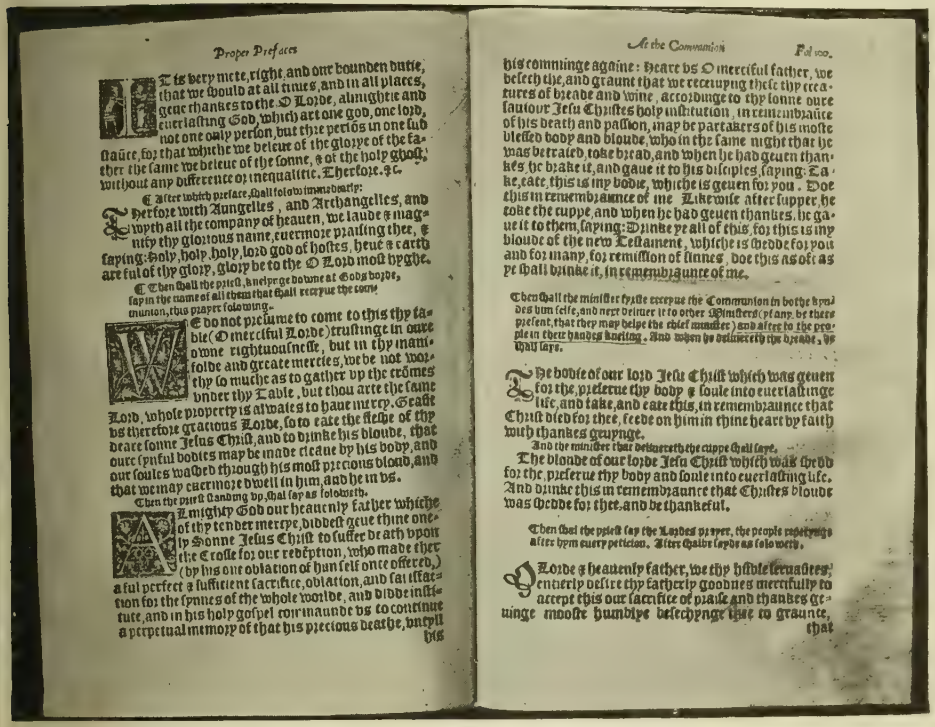
church instead of in the chancel. Special lessons for Sunday were now appointed; and prayers for the queen, the clergy, and the people were introduced, modelled upon ancient offices of the church. A rubric of great importance was introduced, generally known as the "Ornaments Rubric," which ordered "that such Ornaments of the Church and of the Ministers thereof, at all Times of their Ministration, shall be retained, and be in use, as were in this Church of England, by the Authority of the Parliament in the Second Year of the Reign of King Edward the Sixth" (*i.e.* in 1549). This rubric corrected the bareness of ornament which had marked Edward VI.'s Second Book, and which was strangely dear to some minds among the more extreme reformers. To this extreme and rigid simplicity Elizabeth was ever opposed.

But by far the most important alteration introduced into the Second Prayer Book, and which was in strict accordance with primitive antiquity, was in the administration of the elements in the Communion Service. It combined the clause used in the First Prayer Book with the balder clause adopted in the Second Prayer Book. The form of words used in delivering the elements has met with many changes. The earliest form that we can trace was simply: "The holy body," "The precious blood of the Lord our God and Saviour"; or, "The body of Christ," "The blood of Christ." In the time of Gregory the Great it appears that the form used in the Roman Church was "Corpus Domini nostri Jesu Christi conservet animam tuam." The York and Hereford missals seem to have furnished the original of our English form of the book of 1549, introduced into the Prayer Book of Elizabeth: "The body of o Lord Jesus Christ, which was given thee, preserve thy body and soul unto ev lasting life," "The blood of our Lord Je Christ, which was shed for thee, prese thy body and soul unto everlasting lif To this most ancient form the Elizabeth divines added the words of the extre reformers: "Take and eat this, in reme brance that Christ died for thee, and fe on him in thy heart by faith with than giving," "Drink this, in remembrance t Christ's blood was shed for thee, and thankful." Our present form thus c tains the most simple, ancient, and rever words of delivery, with the addition of prayer used in the time of Pope Greg the Great, and continued in the miss and also the favourite words of the extre reformers, "implying that each individ is to take and eat and drink, with application of the merits of Christ's de to his own soul." *

With these alterations, the Act of U formity, passed in the end of April, orde the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI. come into use on St. John the Baptist's d June 24th, 1559; and, with very few a unimportant changes, its services h been, save in the time of the Puri rule, continued in the Church of Engla ever since. At some of the meetings the divines above mentioned, to whom t liturgical work was entrusted, Dr. Park the future archbishop, was absent, ow to ill-health. To fill his place, Dr. Gu (or Gheast), an intimate friend of Park was added to the commission; probab through his close connection with Park

* See Procter: "The Book of Common Pray part ii., chap. iii.; and Wheatley, vi., sect. xxi

he exercised very great influence in the deliberations, and we gather from his correspondence with Secretary Cecil, that he seems to have taken a leading part in the work. This Guest was a learned man, who afterwards became archdeacon of Canterbury, the queen's almoner, and bishop of Rochester.



Proper Prefaces

IT is very mete, right, and our bounden dutie, that we should at all times, and in all places, geue thankes to the O Lorde, almightie and euerlasting God, which art one god, one lord, not one only person, but three persons in one substaunce, for that whiche we beleue of the glorye of the father the same we beleue of the sonne, & of the holy ghost, without any difference or inequalitie. Therfore, &c.

¶ After which preface, shall follow immediately:

Therfore with Angelles, and Archangelles, and with all the company of heauen, we laude & magnify thy glorious name, euermore praising thee, & saying: Holy, holy, holy, lord god of hostes, heuen & earth are full of thy glory, glory be to thee O Lord most highe.

¶ Then shall the priest, kneling downe at Gods boorde, say in the name of all them that shall receyue the communion, this prayer following.

WE do not presume to come to this thy table (O mercifull Lorde) trustinge in oure owne righteousnesse, but in thy manifolde and greate mercies, we be not worthy to muche as to gather vp the crommes vnder thy Table, but thou art the same Lord, whose property is always to haue mercy. Graunt vs therefore gracious Lorde, so to eate the fleshe of thy deare sonne Jesus Christ, and to drinke his bloude, that our synfull bodies may be made cleane by his body, and our soules washed through his most precious bloud, and that we may euermore dwell in him, and he in vs.

Then the priest standing vp, shal say as followeth.

ALmighty God our heauenly father whiche of thy tender mercye, diddest geue thine onely Sonne Jesus Christ to suffer death vpon the Crosse for our redemption, who made there (by his one oblation of himself once offered,) a full perfect & sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the synnes of the whole worlde, and didde institute, and in his holy gospel commaunde vs to continue a perpetual memory of that his precious death, vntyll his

At the Communion Fol. 100.

his comminge againe: Heare vs O mercifull father, we beseche thee, and graunt that we receiuinge these thy creatures of breade and wine, accordinge to thy sonne oure sauiour Jesu Christes holy institution, in remembraunce of his death and passion, may be partakers of his moste blessed body and bloude, who in the same nighte that he was betrayed, toke bread, and when he had geuen thankes, he brake it, and gaue it to his disciples, saying: Take, eate, this is my bodie, whiche is geuen for you. Doe this in remembraunce of me. Likewise after supper, he toke the cuppe, and when he had geuen thankes, he gaue it to them, saying: Drinke ye all of this, for this is my bloude of the new Testament, whiche is shedde for you and for many, for remission of sinnes. Doe this as oft as ye shall drinke it, in remembraunce of me.

Then shall the minister first receyue the Communion in both kyndes him selfe, and next deliuer it to other Ministers, if any be there present, that they may helpe the chief minister) and after to the people in their handes kneling. And when he deliuereth the breade, he shall saye.

THe bodie of our lord Jesu Christ which was geuen for the, preserue thy body & soule into euerlastinge life, and take, and eate this, in remembraunce that Christ died for thee, feede on him in thine heart by faith with thankes geuynge.

And the minister that deliuereth the cuppe shall saye.

The bloude of our lorde Jesu Christ which was shedd for the, preserue thy body and soule into euerlastinge life. And drinke this in remembraunce that Christes bloude was shedde for thee, and be thankefull.

Then shal the priest say the Lordes prayer, the people repeatynge after hym euery petition. After thaldre lorde as followeth.

O Lorde & heauenly father, we thy humble seruantes entierly desire thy fatherly goodnes mercifully to accepte this our sacrifice of praise and thankes geuinge moste humbly beseechynge the to graunte, that

PAGES FROM THE PRAYER BOOK OF 1559.

Containing Part of the Communion Service, showing the most important alteration † made in the Prayer Book of 1549 (*see p.* 340). (*British Museum.*)

stition. The number of staunch Romanists, or strong Protestants, was very small."*

A general visitation was appointed by royal authority during the vacancy of the see of Canterbury, and the visitors were empowered to eject all those of the clergy who would not conform to the religion now established. The first work of these commissioners was to administer the oath of supremacy to the clergy, and to require the observance of the reformed liturgy. The surviving Marian bishops, with the

* Bishop Creighton: "Queen Elizabeth," chap. ii.

† *Cf.* p. 221.

exception of Dr. Kitchin, bishop of Llandaff, refused to comply. Of these we shall speak directly. Besides the bishops, a considerable number of dignitaries were, owing to non-compliance, ejected from their preferments, including one abbot, four priors, and one abbess, twelve deans, fourteen archdeacons, and sixty prebendaries. But, on the other hand, the parochial clergy as a body were prepared to acquiesce in the change. It is computed that out of 9,400 clergy in England only 192 refused the oath of supremacy and declined to comply with the Act of Uniformity. These were gently dealt with, and had pensions assigned to them proportioned to the value of their preferments.*

The archbishopric of Canterbury had been vacant since the death of cardinal Pole; several of the bishops, too, had died about the same time, and only fourteen remained in possession of their sees. There were also two suffragan bishops of Thetford and Bedford. These two conformed, as did all the Irish prelates save three, but their views were not generally favourable to the Reformation. There were, however, still alive three bishops of the reformed opinions who had been regularly consecrated, and who had formerly, before the Marian changes, been in possession of sees. These were *Coverdale*, somewhiles bishop of Exeter; *Scory*, bishop of Rochester, then of Chichester; and *Barlow*, bishop of St. David's, then of Bath.

Of the thirteen Marian bishops who refused to accept the change, eleven were ejected from their sees. It was hoped for some time that Heath, archbishop of York, and Tunstal, bishop of Durham, would submit, and their sees were not filled up for nearly two years. They were all treated with conspicuous kindness and consideration, Bonner alone being imprisoned. A few retired abroad, but most remained in England. Several were entertained in the families of the newly appointed bishops. Heath, the archbishop of York, the late Chancellor, who had a considerable private fortune, lived henceforth in retirement in his own house at Chobham, near Windsor. He retained the friendship of the queen after he had lost his see. Thirlby, passages of whose eventful life and its many changes we have already touched on—notably his prominent share in the Oxford trials of Cranmer and his brother-sufferers—lived with Parker. He survived his fall many years, dying in 1570; and, it is said, found more happiness during that period of enforced retirement than he had ever enjoyed in his years of greatness. Bonner at first lived with the bishop of Lincoln, but he was subsequently placed under restraint, dwelling within the rules of the Marshalsea prison, but occupying a house of his own. Speaking of these and the others of the deprived prelates, Fuller quaintly observes—"They had sweet chambers, soft beds, warm fires, plentiful and wholesome diet, each bishop faring like an archbishop, differing nothing from their former living, saving *that* was on their own charges, and *this* at the cost of another." Tunstal, for instance, lived and died in Lambeth, the guest of archbishop Parker. On the whole, they gratefully repaid the kindness and consideration shown to them by never making any attempt to exercise episcopal functions, or

* *Cf.* Massingberd: "The English Reformation," chap. xxv

Photo : J. R. Browning, Exeter.

EXETER CATHEDRAL : THE WEST FRONT.

to set up a rival succession in the Church of England.*

It was on the 17th of December, 1559, when Elizabeth had been queen a little more than a year, that Dr. Matthew Parker was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury, in succession to cardinal Pole, who died in the November of the previous year, a few hours after Mary passed away. It had been felt from the first days of the reign that this learned, quiet, thoughtful man was, of all the leading divines favourable to the Reformation and the new learning, the best fitted to fill the all-important position of archbishop of Canterbury and metropolitan. We have heard of him already, as taking a leading part all through those anxious months during which the great change from Romanism was being carried out in the Church of England. Possessing the entire confidence of the queen and Cecil, Parker was one of that little company whose wise counsels piloted the church through the first confused months which immediately followed the death of Mary, and prepared men's minds for the great change we have been relating. How wisely and well he did his work, how accurately he interpreted the real feeling of England and the vast majority of the clergy, is shown in the quiet and almost unanimous reception of the Prayer-book and the provisions of the Act of Uniformity, in spite of the almost unanimous and determined opposition of the bishops, by the parochial clergy.

No archbishop, perhaps, in the long line of our illustrious primates from the days of Augustine to our own times, ever took his seat on the historic throne of Canterbury more reluctantly than did Parker. Ill-health, some constitutional timidity, some distrust of his own powers, a preference for the quiet study-chamber, a dislike to the publicity which naturally attends high office, weighed deeply with this holy and humble man, and made him strangely averse to taking up the heavy burden of the primacy at such a juncture. The archiepiscopate was almost forced upon him; but he yielded at last to continued pressure, and his own solemn words, penned, we feel, with tear-dimmed eyes for no public scrutiny, probably on the evening of his consecration, tell us something of the spirit with which he assumed the great office. "I was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury; alas! alas! O Lord God, for what times hast Thou kept me! Now I am come into deep waters, and the flood will overwhelm me. O Lord, I am oppressed. Answer for me and stablish me with Thy free spirit, for I am a man that hath but a short time to live."

Matthew Parker, the seventieth archbishop of Canterbury, was born at Norwich in the year 1504. He belonged to a family engaged in trade, of the highest respectability and consideration. We hear later of his brother the mayor of Norwich. The family was remotely allied to the nobility; the earl of Nottingham being his distant kinsman. He was ever a studious boy; and at Cambridge he was a distinguished student of Corpus Christi College, of which society he became in

* *Cf.* Massingberd: "English Reformation," chap. xxv.

due course a fellow. He obtained, as years went on, considerable reputation as a preacher, and as a distinguished theological scholar, especially devoting himself to the study of the early Christian fathers. When he was about forty years old he was elected to the mastership of his college; his work in the development of the famous library of his house, celebrated far beyond the limits of his university, is well known. Before his election as master, he had been appointed chaplain to Anne Boleyn, whose confidence he won; she even entreated him before her death to watch over her little daughter Elizabeth, of whom he was the lifelong friend. To this connection with her ill-fated mother, no doubt, was largely owing the friendship with which Elizabeth ever regarded him.

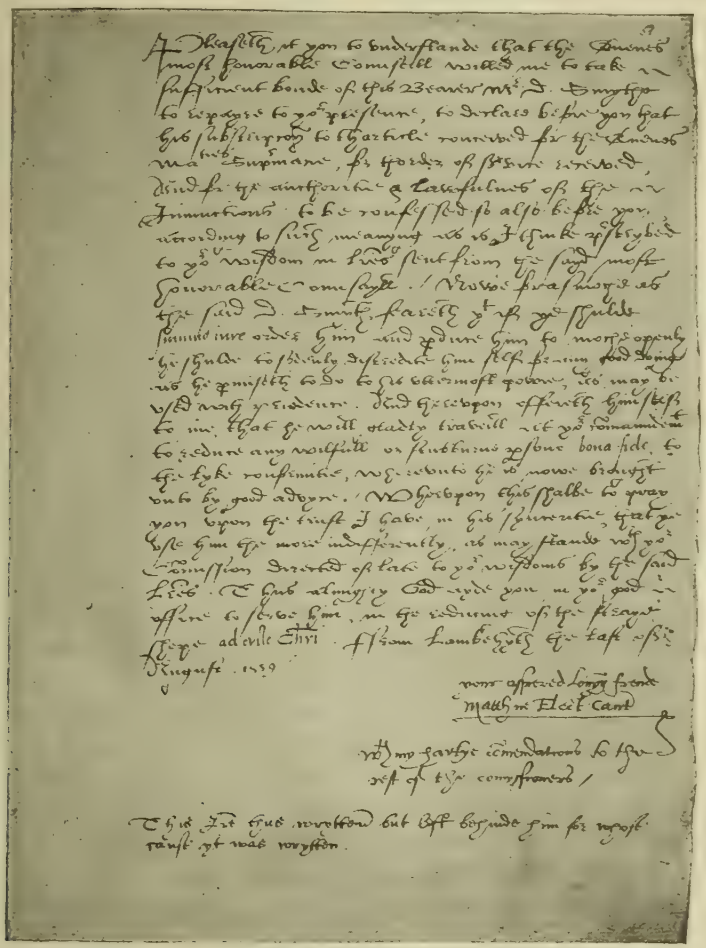
After the fall and death of Anne Boleyn, of whose innocence Parker seems to have been persuaded, Henry VIII. appointed him his chaplain, and subsequently gave him the deanery of Lincoln. His marriage, which was a most happy one, clearly shows us that his sympathies were entirely with the Reformed party in the church, and that he had little sympathy with the advocates of the old learning and the stern mediæval views of ecclesiastical life. He was intimately connected with Martin Bucer, the famous Reformer theologian, during Bucer's career at Cambridge; and by many writers it is supposed that Bucer's opinions largely influenced the views and opinions of the future Elizabethan primate. Under Mary he was, of course, deprived of his valuable and important preferments, and during her reign lived in great retirement, but apparently unmolested. It is very doubtfu if he really underwent the persecutio from which he is stated by some writer to have suffered.

His character generally has been sum marised by two eminent Anglican writer well able to form a just conception Parker was "a man of learning, of mod eration, of system, and of piety, cautiou in the formation of his opinions, and firm in maintaining them; but he was retirin in his habits, slow in his apprehension and (although an able preacher) disqualifie for public speaking. . . . In his genera habits of prudence and moderation, ther were two other points which would b thought likely, at that critical period, t qualify him for the exercise of churc authority. He had a profound respec for the prerogative of the crown, an dreaded the *Germanical natures*, as h styled them, of the English exiles, alluding, no doubt, to the views of suc theologians as Zwinglius and Calvin.*

The second estimate runs as follows— Matthew Parker was one "who by natur and by education, by the ripeness of hi learning, the sobriety of his judgment, an the incorruptness of his private life, wa eminently fitted for the task of ruling th Church of England through a storm period of her history; and though he wa seldom able to reduce conflicting element of thought and feeling into active harmony yet the vessel he was called to pilot ha been saved almost entirely by his skill fro breaking on the rock of mediæval superst tion, or else drifting far away into th whirlpool of licentiousness and unbelie . . . . He was intimately acquainte

* Dr. Cardwell.

with the records of the ancient church, and uniformly based his vindication of our own upon his cordial adherence to the ancient liturgies and doctrines of the Christian church in former times. He utterly disliked, therefore, the public offices of the



LETTER FROM PARKER (1559), WHEN ARCHBISHOP ELECT, TO ONE OF THE COMMISSIONERS APPOINTED TO ENFORCE SUBSCRIPTION TO THE ARTICLE ACKNOWLEDGING THE QUEEN'S SUPREMACY IN THE CHURCH. (*British Museum.*)

primitive faith, and to the practice of the purest ages. His great skill in antiquity, to quote the language of Strype, reached to ecclesiastical matters as well as historical, whereby he became acquainted with the present Roman church, because they varied so much from the ancient."* "Among enthusiasts," again writes his patient biographer, "he had no enthusiasm; amidst

* Archdeacon Hardwick

the controversies of the day he distinguished between reform and revolution. He had studied the writings of Zwingle, Luther, and Calvin; and knowing their faults, as well as their merits, he had no inclination to follow their lead. He had studied the fathers and the general councils, and knew the deviations of the church of Rome from primitive truth. He could distinguish between things essential and not essential. . . . . Perhaps no one could be found whose principles more nearly accorded with those of Elizabeth." He had been, though their senior in age, the intimate friend at Cambridge of Cecil and Bacon, the queen's trusted advisers, who were thus personally acquainted with the inner mind of the man whom they recommended to their royal mistress as the one, among English divines favourably inclined to a "conservative" reformation, best fitted and most thoroughly equipped with learning and experience, to carry out her views.

But Parker himself for a considerable time was utterly averse to comply with the earnest desires of the queen and her counsellors. The seven years of enforced retirement from all sources of income had drained his slender private means, and he was very poor when Elizabeth became queen. His health was feeble; his voice, he said, was decayed. Let the queen give him the revenues of some prebend, he would spend the rest of his life in a private state in preaching the gospel in poor and destitute parishes. He was, however, imperatively summoned to the court, and there became at once the leading divine among those consulted in respect to the proposed changes. It was his wish, as it was also the queen's and Cecil's, to make the First Prayer-book the basis of the liturgical changes; and very reluctantly, when he found how deeply the re-introduction of that conservative compilation would wound and disturb the more advanced reformers without gaining the approval of the Romanists, he advised the queen, as we have seen, to adopt the Second Prayer-book, with certain modifications, as the form of prayer for the English Church. His views were followed, and with the changes we have notified, the Second Book appeared in the Act of Uniformity.

His repugnance, however, to accepting the primacy still continued. He was married, and the queen's aversion to the marriage of the clergy was another reason in his mind for wishing to remain in a private station. So strong were his scruples, that for a moment Elizabeth turned from him, and offered the great post to Dr. Wotton, the dean of Canterbury, an eminent man who had been in the Privy Council, and had been entrusted with important diplomatic posts. But Wotton was not an ambitious man, was conscious of his ignorance on deep theological questions, and at once refused the great office. Again Parker was pressed, and at length consented to accept it. All the various forms were carefully gone through. The *congé d'élire* to the dean and chapter of Canterbury was issued and complied with; the confirmation in the historic church of St. Mary-le-Bow was carried out; only the consecration remained.

It is the happiness of the Church of England, that in the opinion of Parker and the more earnest and thoughtful of the English reformers who, under queen Eliza-

beth, conducted the great changes of 1559 in the English Church, "the apostolic succession was of vital importance to the very existence of the church and its various branches. Without the apostolic succession, this continuity of the church, and the organic identity of the present and the past, could not be preserved. The authorities in church and state concurred in their belief that the continuity could not be sustained unless the archiepiscopal throne were occupied by one who could trace his authority to act in things sacred up to Augustine, through Augustine to the apostles, and through them to the divine Head who breathed upon the apostolic college, saying, 'Receive ye the Holy Ghost.'"* No instance had occurred in the Catholic church until the period of the Reformation, in which ordination had been conferred by any who were not bishops. It is true the Lutheran and Genevan churches had adopted the Presbyterian custom; but they had done it with great reluctance, and as a matter of necessity. They would, indeed, have wished to preserve episcopal government.

There was at first, however, a grave difficulty in England, for the slender handful of Marian bishops who survived, save one, refused to conform to the Act of Uniformity, and were not available. Happily, there were three regularly consecrated bishops, deprived by Mary, still alive; and a regularly consecrated suffragan bishop (of Bedford), who had conformed. Parker made choice of these four, who consented to officiate at his consecration. Much has been written and spoken as to the validity of this act. The unbroken continuity of the orders of the Church of England, of course, depends upon it. Baseless and even ridiculous stories have been devised, in the hope of throwing doubt upon it. But great and acknowledged scholars, who have written in late times on the question of the validity of Anglican orders, have for ever established in the minds of serious men (not by any means confined to scholars who belong to the Anglican Church) that in the case of the consecration of archbishop Parker all things were done in perfect harmony with the immemorial usages of the Catholic Church.

The four consecrating bishops (this is the most important point in connection with the solemn rite) had been themselves all regularly and canonically consecrated.* William Barlow, who was selected as the presiding bishop, had long been an eminent personage during the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Mary, having been employed, as was then so commonly the case, in important public business, both at home and abroad. He became bishop of St. David's in 1536. His consecrators were archbishop Cranmer and the bishops of Exeter and Bath.† In 1548 Barlow was translated to the see of Bath and Wells. He was reputed as a learned theologian, and had much to do with the composition

* Dean Hook: "Lives of the Archbishops," Matthew Parker, chap. viii.

* In addition to these four, three other bishops who had conformed—viz. Kitchin, bishop of Llandaff; Bale, bishop of Ossory; and Salisbury, bishop of Thetford—were also available; but Parker, for various reasons, selected for his consecration the above-mentioned.

† On the question of the loss of the Registers in the case of Barlow, see—Bishop Stubbs: "Episcopal Succession," p. 77; Dean Hook: "Archbishops," vol. ix., chap. viii.; and Dr. Lingard, quoted in a lengthy note by Dean Hook, p. 241.

of the "Bishop's Book," or the "Institution of a Christian Man," printed in 1537, one of the great manuals of devotion put out under king Henry VIII. At the accession of queen Mary, Barlow, being married, probably to avoid persecution, resigned his see, and during her reign mostly resided in Germany. Under Elizabeth he became bishop of Chichester in 1559, and died ten years later, in December, 1569.

Miles Coverdale, another of Parker's consecrators, we have already spoken of at some length as the friend of Tyndale, and later, in connection with his noble labours in the translation and editing of the English Bible. He became bishop of Exeter in 1551. His consecrators were archbishop Cranmer, Ridley, bishop of London, and Hodgkins, bishop-suffragan of Bedford. His Genevan doctrines prevented his being re-appointed to a see under Elizabeth.

John Scory, the third of the bishops chosen by Parker, originally one of Ridley's chaplains, became bishop of Rochester in 1551. His consecrators were the same as Coverdale's—Cranmer, Ridley, and the suffragan bishop of Bedford. He was in the following year (1552) translated to Chichester, and was extruded from his see by bishop Gardiner's influence, under Mary, in 1554. Among the Marian exiles, he took charge of the English Church at Embden in East Friesland, under the strange title of superintendent. Early in the reign of Elizabeth he was appointed to the see of Hereford.

John Hodgkins, the fourth of the consecrating bishops, had been appointed bishop-suffragan of Bedford as early as the year 1537. Stokesley, bishop of London, Robert Wharton, bishop of St. Asaph, and John Hilsey, bishop of Rochester, were his consecrators.*

The ceremony of the consecration of Parker took place in the chapel of Lambeth Palace, in the presence of many persons, official and otherwise (amongst others the kinsman of Parker, the earl of Nottingham), at the early hour usual for this rite, between five and six in the morning; the sermon being preached by bishop Scory. All was done in accordance with the second ordinal of Edward VI., which is nearly identical with the present use of the Church of England.

Archbishop Parker was consecrated in December, 1559, bishop Barlow being nominated to the see of Chichester, and bishop Scory to the see of Hereford. Four more eminent reformer theologians inclined to moderate and conservative views, like Parker, were immediately appointed to some of the other vacant dioceses. Edmund Grindal went to London, Richard Cox to Ely, Edwin Sandys to Worcester, and Rowland Merrick to Bangor. A little later, in the course of the following year, Nicholas Bullingham was appointed to Lincoln, John Jewel to Salisbury, Thomas Young to St. David's,

* These apparently dry details have been given in view of the extreme importance of showing the perfect continuity of the Church of England in the matter of *apostolical succession*. The complete lists of all the English bishops and archbishops, with their consecrators, will be found in Bishop Stubbs's "Episcopal Succession in England," which is the one perfect and thorough work upon the subject. The old and now completely exploded fable of the pretended consecration of the archbishop at the "Nag's Head" Tavern has not been repeated or refuted here, as no serious Romanist writer thinks of quoting it any longer.

John Hodgkins,
Suffragan Bishop of Bedford.

Nicholas Bullingham,
Archdeacon of Lincoln.

Miles Coverdale, Bishop of Exeter.

John Scory, Bishop of Chichester.

William Barlow, Bishop of Bath and Wells.

Matthew Parker, Archbishop Elect of Canterbury.

Edmund Guest, Archdeacon of Canterbury.

THE CONSECRATION OF ARCHBISHOP PARKER.

(By permission from the Autotype published by the Autotype Company, after the drawing by William Dyce, R.A.)

Richard Davies to St. Asaph, Edmund Guest (or Gheast) to Rochester, Gilbert Berkeley to Bath, Thomas Bentham to Coventry, William Alley to Exeter, and John Parkhurst to Norwich. In 1561 Robert Horne became bishop of Winchester, and Edmund Scrambler bishop of Peterborough. Rigidly and with extreme care was the unbroken continuity of the Church of England preserved by the wise foresight of Parker, the archbishop, and the Elizabethan ministers, among whom Sir William Cecil was the guiding influence.

After Parker, perhaps the most prominent and influential churchman in the first years of the great change was John Jewel, the famous author of "The Apology of the Church of England." This most learned and devout man was born in the year 1522 at Bude, in Devon. He belonged to an ancient but impoverished family, and already, as a student at Merton college, Oxford, had obtained a high reputation as a scholar and an indefatigable student.

He became a lecturer at his college, and soon acquired considerable fame as a preacher. He was one of Peter Martyr's most devoted pupils and followers; and on the accession of queen Mary was expelled from his college. At the first trial or disputation of Cranmer and Ridley at Oxford, 1554, Jewel acted as the secretary of the reformers, and especially incurred the anger of Dr. Marshall, the dean of Christ Church, who sent to Jewel what his anonymous biographer terms a "bead-roll of popish doctrines, to be subscribed by him on pain of fire and faggot and other grievous tortures." The poor man, we read, having neither friend to consul with, nor time allowed him, took the pe in his hand, and saying, "Have you mind to see how well I can write?" subscribed his name hastily and wit great reluctance. But Oxford was no saf place in those days of bitter persecutio for a scholar who was known as the pup and friend of Peter Martyr, and who wa already famous as a keen controversialis on the reformers' side. He became fugitive and an exile only just in time, fo his biographer tells us, had he delayed hi flight but one day longer, he had bee arrested; and in the Marian persecutio for one like Jewel, there was but litt breathing space between arrest and speed condemnation as a heretic to the flames.

At Frankfort, where he was kindl welcomed, he made a public recantation o his late subscription to the dean of Chris Church's paper, in which he wrote th following sorrowful words: "It was m abject and cowardly mind and faint hear that made my weak hand to commit thi wickedness." From Frankfort he went t Strasburg, on the invitation of his frien and master, Peter Martyr, whom he assiste in his literary work; and in that city h was thrown in constant contact with me like Grindal, Sandys, Cheeke, and othe distinguished exiles.

Jewel's exile lasted about four year largely spent in study; thus supplementin his earlier Oxford labours, and preparin himself unconsciously for the great con troversial work with which his name wi ever be so honourably associated in th Church of England. In company wit many of the Marian exiles, he returne home early in Elizabeth's reign, and wa

named as one of the commissioners for the western part of the island in the general visitation of the dioceses ordered by Parliament for rectifying such things as they found amiss. His prudence and wisdom in this difficult and delicate task were conspicuous, and Parker recommended him among the first group of distinguished reformers for a bishopric. He was consecrated to Salisbury in the January of 1560.

Jewel at first—no doubt, owing to his long intercourse with the foreign reformers—was inclined to extreme plainness and simplicity in church order, and at one time had even written against clerical, and especially episcopal vestments. But the quiet influence of Parker prevailed with him, and with the full approbation of his friends, Peter Martyr and Bullinger, he did not allow his personal predilection in things, after all, non-essential, to interfere with the great work to which he was called. He ever loyally co-operated with the archbishop in his settlement of the Church of England, and was, indeed, a most valuable coadjutor. To great learning and real eloquence, he added the most entire and unselfish devotion in his work as a bishop.

In the June of 1560, he preached his famous sermon at Paul's Cross upon 1 Cor. xi. 23–25: "For I have received of the Lord that which I also delivered unto you, that the Lord Jesus the same night in which he was betrayed took bread, etc.," in which he publicly gave forth his challenge—"urbi et orbi"—on the great subject which agitated the minds of the religious world of the west; thus acting as the mouthpiece of archbishop Parker and the Elizabethan bishops, and publicly announcing their views on this momentous question. We may thus briefly summarise the heads of the famous challenge, which run as follows:—

"If any learned man of all our adversaries, or if all the learned men that be alive, be able to bring any one sufficient sentence out of any old Catholic doctor or father, or out of any old general council, or out of the Holy Scriptures of God, or any one example of the primitive church, where it may be clearly and plainly proved—

"That there was any *private mass* in the whole world for the space of six hundred years after Christ;

"Or that there was then *any communion* ministered unto the people *in one kind;*

"Or that the people had their common prayers in a strange tongue that they understood not;

"Or that *the bishop of* Rome was then called an universal bishop, or the head of the universal church;

"Or that the people were taught to believe that *Christ's body* is really substantially, corporally, carnally, or naturally in the sacrament (this was variously enlarged on in the great challenge);

"Or that *images* were then set up in churches to the intent that people might worship them;

"Or that the lay people were forbidden to read the word of God in their own tongue," etc. etc.

This is only a very concise summary, the challenge was much longer; but the above *précis* indicates the principal points dwelt upon; and considering that the preacher who stood at Paul's Cross under the shadow of the cathedral of the great

metropolis, was Parker's intimate and trusted friend, that his great reputation for scholarship and ecclesiastical learning was generally acknowledged, that he spoke with the weight and authority of one of the first group of Elizabethan bishops, we may fairly assume that these represented fairly the general spirit of the theology of the Church of England in these hotly-disputed questions, in the first years of the settlement under queen Elizabeth.

ARCHBISHOP PARKER.
(*From the portrait at Lambeth Palace.*)

Two years later, in 1562, Jewel put out his well-known "Apology of the Church of England," in Latin. This celebrated treatise was "the public confession of the Catholic and Christian faith of the Church of England, and gave an account of the reasons of its departure from the see of Rome, and was also an answer to the calumnies that were then raised against the English Church and nation for not submitting to the pretended council of Trent then sitting." *

The "Apology" was published with the sanction of the two primates and th suffragans, and under the authority of t queen. To the English version Park added a brief sketch of the Church England as it then existed, with a list the bishoprics and an account of t universities. Some interesting details this sketch Parker are wor recording, giving a grapl picture of t Church of En land in the fi days of her formation unc Elizabet "Every one the archbisho and bishops ha their cathedr churches, whe in the deans be the chief ru being men sp cially chosen bo for their 'lear ing' and god ness as near may be. The cathedral churches have also other d nities and canonries, whereunto be assign no idle or unprofitable persons, but su as either be preachers or professors of t sciences of good learning. In the s cathedral churches, upon Sundays a festival days, the canons make ordinar special sermons, whereunto duly resort t head officers of the city and the citizens

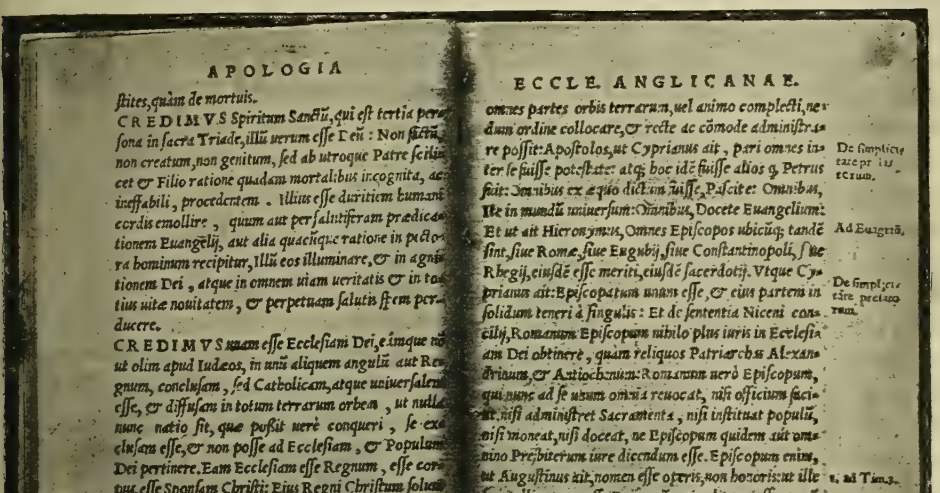
Careful provision, Parker explained, w made for visitation twice a year in eve

* See Wordsworth's (Master of Trinity) Ecclesiastical Biographies: "Bishop Jewel," from the anonymous Life printed in 1685.

diocese by the archdeacons. If in their inquisitions any errors in religion or weighty matter should come before these officials, the bishops were to be duly informed. Nothing was read in our churches, wrote the archbishop, but the

them to the people. . . . All the Common Prayer, the lessons taken out of the Scriptures, and the administering of the Sacraments, were done in the vulgar tongue, which all may understand."

Versions of the "Apology" of Jewel



APOLOGIA

ſtites, quàm de mortuis.

CREDIMVS Spiritum Sanctũ, qui eſt tertia perſona in ſacra Triade, illũ uerum eſſe Deũ: Non ſictũ, non creatum, non genitum, ſed ab utroque Patre ſcilicet & Filio ratione quadam mortalibus incognita, ac ineffabili, procedentem. Illius eſſe duritiem humani cordis emollire, quum aut perſalutiferam prædicationem Euangelij, aut alia quacũque ratione in pectora hominum recipitur, Illũ eos illuminare, & in agnitionem Dei, atque in omnem uiam ueritatis & in totius uitæ nouitatem, & perpetuam ſalutis ſpem perducere.

CREDIMVS unam eſſe Eccleſiam Dei, eámque nõ ut olim apud Iudeos, in unũ aliquem angulũ aut Regnum, concluſam, ſed Catholicam, atque uniuerſalem eſſe, & diffuſam in totum terrarum orbem, ut nulla nunc natio ſit, quæ poſſit uerè conqueri, ſe excluſam eſſe, & non poſſe ad Eccleſiam, & Populum Dei pertinere. Eam Eccleſiam eſſe Regnum, eſſe corpus, eſſe Sponſam Chriſti: Eius Regni Chriſtum ſolum eſſe Principem: Eius corporis Chriſtum ſolum eſſe caput: Eius Sponſæ, Chriſtum ſolum eſſe Sponſum. Varios in Eccleſia eſſe ordines Miniſtrorum: Alios eſſe Diaconos, alios Preſbiteros, alios Epiſcopos, quibus inſtitutio populi & Religionis cura & procuratio commiſſa ſit: Neminem tamen unum nec eſſe, nec eſſe poſſe, qui ſummæ rerum uniuerſæ præſit: Nam & Chriſtum ſemper adeſſe Eccleſiæ ſuæ, & Vicario homine, qui ex . . . eſſe in integrum ſuccedat, nõ egere: & neminem mortalem poſſe exiſtere, qui uniuerſam Eccleſiam, hoc eſt, omnes

ECCLE. ANGLICANAE.

omnes partes orbis terrarum, uel animo complecti, ne dum ordine collocare, & recte ac cõmode adminiſtrare poſſit: Apoſtolos, ut Cyprianus ait, pari omnes inter ſe fuiſſe potẽſtate: atq; hoc idẽ fuiſſe alios q̃ Petrus fuit: Omnibus ex æquo dictum fuiſſe, Paſcite: Omnibus, Ite in mundũ uniuerſum: Omnibus, Docete Euangelium: Et ut ait Hieronymus, Omnes Epiſcopos ubicũq; tandẽ ſint, ſiue Romæ, ſiue Eugubij, ſiue Conſtantinopoli, ſiue Rhegij, eiuſdẽ eſſe meriti, eiuſdẽ ſacerdotij. Vtque Cyprianus ait: Epiſcopatum unum eſſe, & eius partem in ſolidum teneri à ſingulis: Et de ſententia Niceni concilij, Romanum Epiſcopum nihilo plus iuris in Eccleſia am Dei obtinere, quàm reliquos Patriarchas Alexandriam, & Antiochenum: Romanum uerò Epiſcopum, qui nunc ad ſe unum omnia reuocat, niſi officium faciat, niſi adminiſtret Sacramenta, niſi inſtituat populũ, niſi moneat, niſi doceat, ne Epiſcopum quidem ſuit omnino Preſbiterum iure dicendum eſſe. Epiſcopum enim, ut Auguſtinus ait, nomen eſſe operis, non honoris: ut ille ſe intelligat non eſſe Epiſcopũ, qui uelit præeſſe, & nõ prodeſſe. Caput uerò Eccleſiæ totius, aut Vniuerſalem Epiſcopum, non magis aut illum, aut alium quemuis mortalem eſſe poſſe, quàm Sponſum, quàm Lucem, quàm Salutem, quam uitam Eccleſiæ. Hæc enim eſſe Chriſti uniꝰ priuilegia, & nomina, & illi uni proprie atque unicè conuenire: Neque unquàm quenquam Romanum Epiſcopum ante Phocam Imperatorem, quem ſcimus, interfecto Imperatore Mauritio domino ſuo) per nefarium ſcelus ad Imperium aſpiraſſe, hoc eſt, ante ſexcenteſimum decimũ tertium annum à Chriſ-

De ſimplicitate præceptionum.

Ad Euagriũ.

De ſimplicitate præceptorum.

1. ad Tim. 3.

B.ij. ſto

PAGES FROM THE 1ST EDITION OF THE "APOLOGIA" OF BISHOP JEWEL, 1562. (*British Museum.*)

canonical Scriptures. Then followed a curious statement as to the lack of learned pastors, which Parker attributed to the old rule, "in the time of papistry." In view of this lack, he said: "As there cannot be learned pastors for every parish, there be prescribed unto the curates of meaner understanding, certain homilies, devised by learned men, to be read by

appeared almost directly after its publication in England, in the chief foreign languages, even in Greek. It was published during the last session of the long-drawn-out council of Trent, and was so important a work, that two bishops—one a Spanish and the other an Italian—undertook to answer it. But the answer in question never was forthcoming.

From the anonymous Life of Jewel (published 1685) we gather some curious details respecting the works and days of an Elizabethan bishop. "Being naturally," says his biographer, "of a spare and thin body, and restlessly trashing it out with reading, writing, preaching, and travelling, he hastened his death—which happened before he was fully fifty years of age—of which he had a strange perception a considerable time before it happened, and wrote of it to several of his friends, but would by no means be persuaded to abate anything of his former excessive labours, saying, '*A bishop should die preaching.*' He was ever a most laborious preacher, always travelling about his diocese, and preaching wherever he came, wherein he laboured to speak to the apprehensions of the people, hating all light, jingling discourses and phrases as beneath the dignity of the sacred place; yet he was careful here, too, in the choice of his words, and endeavoured to move the affections of his auditors by pathetic and zealous applications; avoiding all high-flown expressions, and using a grave and sedate rather than sweet way of speaking, and never venturing in the meanest auditory to preach extempore." He was, says the writer of his life, of a pleasant debonair humour, extremely obliging to all; but, withal, of great gravity, and of so severe a probity and virtue, that he extorted from his bitterest enemies a confession that he lived the life of an angel. Though he came to a bishopric (Salisbury) miserably impoverished and wasted, yet he found means to exercise a prodigious liberality and hospitality. Of the first, his great expense in the building a fair library for his cathedral church may be an instance. His doors stood always open to the poor, and he would frequently send his charitable relief to prisoners. Perceiving the great want of learned men in his time, his greatest care was to have ever with him half a dozen or more poor lads, whom he brought up in learning, and took much delight in hearing them dispute points of grammar in Latin at his table when he was at his meal. He also maintained in the university several young students, allowing them yearly pensions; amongst them was the afterwards famous Richard Hooker. The young student evidently never forgot his early friend, for years after, in his great book, "The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity," we come upon a mention of the long-dead bishop whom Hooker calls "the worthiest divine that Christendom had bred for the space of some hundreds of years."

Besides the famous "Apology," during that busy twelve years of his episcopate Jewel put out several weighty works, expository and polemical, and was also one of the chief writers in the "Second Book of Homilies." He is justly considered one of the ablest and most authoritative expounders of the true genius and teaching of the Church of England. He died, as he wished, in harness, working to the last. His biographer above quoted thus simply relates the end: "Having promised to preach at Lacock in Wiltshire, he was advised to go home, being very weak and ailing. It were better, said his friend, that the people should want one sermon than to be altogether deprived of such a preacher. But the good scholar-bishop would not be persuaded. So he preached

his last sermon on the words 'Walk in the spirit' (Gal. v.), but with great labour and difficulty." And the Saturday following, worn out with long and ceaseless work, he rendered up his soul to God.

We have sketched his life somewhat at length, not only on account of the vast influence exercised by his works, but because he was a notable example of that group of great Elizabethan divines who guided and remodelled the church in those days of difficulty and perplexity and to whom the Church of England owes so deep a debt.

BISHOP JEWEL.
(*From the portrait prefixed to his Life by Strype.*)

Pope Paul IV. died in the August of 1559, and was succeeded by cardinal De Medici, also far advanced in years, under the title of Pius IV. He, in the course of 1560, endeavoured to effect a reconciliation with Elizabeth and England. In a letter of indisputable authority a formal overture was made to the queen, on the part of the Pope, to the effect that, on condition of her adhesion to the see of Rome, the Pope would approve of the Book of Common Prayer, including the Litany and Communion Service, and the ordinal. Although his holiness complained that many things were omitted in the Prayer-Book which ought to be there, he admitted that the book, nevertheless, contained nothing contrary to the truth, while it certainly comprehended all that is necessary for salvation. He was, therefore, "prepared to authorise the Book of Common Prayer if her majesty would receive it from him and on his authority."*

But it was too late. The preceding Pope had bitterly insulted the queen, and such concessions had since been made to the Protestant party as rendered it impossible even to receive a nuncio from Rome. Any friendly negotiation with the Pope would have rendered the queen's position impossible. The offensive petition in the Litany, which prayed for deliverance "from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome and his detestable enormities," had been omitted by Parker and his coadjutors from the Book of Common Prayer; but no formal union was possible on any terms with a church whose errors had been so explicitly rejected by the Anglican communion. The nuncio was, therefore, not allowed to land in England, the Spanish ambassador in vain remonstrating.

* Dean Hook: "Archbishops," vol. ix., chap. ix.

CHAPTER LVII.

ARCHBISHOP PARKER AND HIS WORK.

Parker's Difficulties—The Marriage Laws—The Church Calendar—The State of the Church Fabrics—The Homilies—The Convocation of 1562—The Puritan Party in the Church—History of th Thirty-nine Articles—Influence of the Queen upon them—Changes made in the Articles—Th Genevan and Bishops' Bibles—The Douai Version—The Question of Vestments—Want Uniformity and Reverence in many Churches—General Disorders—Parker's "Advertisements"— Pictures of the Church as it was—Historical Estimates of Parker and his Work in the Church— His Death—His Great Library at Cambridge—Influence upon Literature and the Elizabethan Ag

AT the outset of his work, archbishop Parker and his suffragans were met with not a few grave difficulties. Of these the more pressing was the number of vacant parishes requiring to be filled up; and the old question of the celibacy of the clergy once more presented itself. The first, the dearth of clergy, was occasioned not only from a certain number refusing to submit to the Act of Uniformity, but owing to the number of deaths which had recently occurred; sickness, which ravaged England at the close of Mary's reign and during the first months of her successor's rule, having carried off many of the parochial clergy. It was difficult at that juncture to fill the vacancies as the archbishop desired; and not a few who were willing to accept the vacant cures were extreme controversialists on one side or the other. Lay help was in consequence admitted, certain readers being formally licensed to say the Litany and to read a homily in churches destitute of properly ordained clergy. These were not, however, suffered to baptise or to marry or to minister the Holy Communion. The marriage question was a point upon which the queen herself felt strongly. Elizabeth desire that still, as before the Reformatio the marriage of the clergy should b discouraged in every way, and eve wished to insist that it should only b contracted under a special dispensatio from the crown. Parker, however, on th point was firm, and insisted on the recog nition of clerical marriages as a right.

Considerable laxity prevailed at th period among laymen on the subject marriage generally. Marrying within th degrees prohibited by the divine law and other irregularities, not unfrequentl in the Middle Ages covered with specia dispensations from Rome, usually pro curable on the payment of fees more o less heavy, were common. Among th reformers, at home and abroad, very loos notions on the subject of matrimony un doubtedly prevailed. To correct as far a possible this state of things, the archbisho proceeded to legislate in this matter fo the church on his sole authority. H took as the basis of his celebrated "table of kindred and affinity, the principles lai down in the eighteenth and twentiet chapters of Leviticus. The "table" ha only been slightly altered by subsequen

COMMUNION IN BOTH KINDS AMONG THE EARLY PROTESTANTS OF BOHEMIA.

(From the picture by Vacslav̆ Brozik.)

legislation, and remains substantially to the present time the law of the church and realm. With the "table" he put out "an admonition for the present time, with a still further consultation of all such as intend hereafter to enter into the estate of matrimony godly and agreeable to law." This was ordered to be set up in every church.

Another act of the archbishop in the early days of Elizabeth is principally remarkable, as it shows the bent of his mind, and the inclinations of the queen. While the law of the land required that the *English* Prayer-Book should be generally used, the performance of divine service in *Latin* was permitted in the chapels of the universities, and of the two principal public schools of Winchester and Eton. Upon petition of the universities, a Latin version of the Book of Common Prayer was published, with royal authority for its use "among the learned." The principal work in the arrangement of this version was entrusted to Walter Haddon. Now Haddon adopted for the basis of his work the Latin translation of the First Prayer-book of Edward VI. (1549), by Alexander Aless, a Scotch canon of St. Andrews, and subsequently professor of theology at Leipsig. Aless's Latin version differed in some minor particulars from the original book of 1549, but was substantially the same. Haddon, it is true, revised in some degree Aless's Latin version; but evidently the object of Parker and the queen was to give a quasi-authority to the First Book of Edward VI. by sanctioning the use of this Latin version of it by "learned men." It is true that provision was made for an English service and communion in such chapels "of the learned," but permission by a royal letter was certainly given for service to be said in these chapels from the Latin version of Haddon. Some hope was evidently entertained that the universities and public schools, and many, too, of the clergy in their private devotions, using this book, would become reconciled to the observances and more elaborate ritual of the First Prayer-Book.*

Another piece of work of considerable interest was undertaken by Parker in these same early days of Elizabeth. In the Latin prayer-book the calendar reappeared. This was only the preliminary step towards introducing a reformed calendar into the English prayer-book, and also was an indication of the desire of the queen and the archbishop to restore to the prayer-book of the reformed church some of the mediæval uses, to which no suspicion of "superstition" was attached. The unbroken continuity of the Church of England with the Catholic church of antiquity was never for a moment lost sight of by archbishop Parker and his coadjutors in the Elizabethan settlement. The names of the eminent saints and chief benefactors of the church, they felt must be commemorated. Their memory ought to be preserved for ever in the church calendar, and ever and again to come before the thoughts of churchmen, as they looked over the lists of seasons and days of each recurring year.

A small royal commission, under the presidency of the archbishop, was appointed to make later changes in the

* See Procter: "Book of Common Prayer, chap. iii., and Appendix, section i.

lectionary, "for the greater edification of the people." The reform of the calendar, stripped of so many of its holy memories in the Second Prayer-Book, which had been, as we have seen, for the most part adopted by the Elizabethan divines, was at once taken in hand by the archbishop. The lectionary has been revised in our times, as late as 1871, but the calendar we now find in the Anglican prayer-book, with some slight additions in 1661, is the result of Parker's labours of revision in 1561.

From the earliest times of the church's history, calendars have existed. Dean Hook dates them from the martyrdom of Polycarp in A.D. 168: "We have them in the diptychs of the primitive church; when the diptychs developed into the modern calendar, we perceive the calendar to consist of a table in which are stated days, weeks, and months, with the fasts and festivals of the church. . . . We possess a calendar bearing the date of A.D. 336, and another as early as A.D. 483 of the church of Carthage. In our own church the calendar was largely illustrated by Bede in the eighth century."

The observance of saints' days arises from a very early practice of keeping the anniversary of the day on which a saint died by martyrdom. The night before such anniversaries used to be spent in watching, and was usually observed with fasting and prayer. Hence the term "vigil" (*vigilare*, to watch), now applied to the day before certain festivals. A vigil implies a fast, and is not to be confused with the eve of a festival. Some festivals have no vigils, either because they occur in seasons when fasting would be out of place, as in the case of Christmas, Easter, Whitsuntide, or because no martyrdom is commemorated, as, for instance, St. Michael and All Angels. St. Luke's day, again, has no vigil, probably because the festival of St. Etheldreda of Ely occupies the day before. Again, every Sunday is a festival commemorating the Lord's resurrection. It has ever been forbidden to fast on that day; so in the case of a holy day falling on a Monday, its vigil, if it has one, is kept on the previous Saturday, not on Sunday, its eve. Parker was resolved not to allow the Church of England to break off this precious link with a long historical past, so he arranged a calendar from the mediæval church, the calendar we now possess.

In the First and Second Prayer-Books of Edward VI., of 1549 and 1552, the most important festivals were recognised, and these festivals are observed still by the use of special epistles, gospels, and collects. In the first calendar of the Elizabethan book of 1559, with the festivals of our Lord, the Purification and Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin, St. John the Baptist, St. John the apostle and evangelist, All Saints' and Innocents' (known as Red Letter days), the names of St. George, St. Laurence, and St. Michael alone are found. Archbishop Parker restored to the calendar of the Church of England *forty-eight more* of the minor holy days (for which proper epistles, gospels, and collects, are not provided). These are known as "Black Letter days." Of these forty-eight, twenty-one commemorate saints like St. George, the patron saint of England; St. Augustine, the Roman missionary to Ethelbert the Jutish king; St. David, the patron saint of Wales; and others more immediately con-

nected with our island. There are, however, among these "English" saints, some unaccountable omissions still. We look in vain for the names of St. Aidan and St. Cuthbert, and even for the honoured name of St. Patrick, the patron saint of Ireland. These were, strangely enough, also overlooked in the unimportant revision of 1661, when the names of Bede of Jarrow, the father of English history, and of St. Alban, the first martyr in Britain, and the little known name of St. Enurchus* (Sept. 7), bishop of Orleans, were added to the list in Parker's calendar of 1561.

The greater holy days (Red Letter) of the Church of England are mainly the same which have ever been observed by the universal church. The lesser holy days were replaced in the Anglican calendar, with few exceptions, by the loving conservative spirit of archbishop Parker, who, with his royal mistress, was intensely anxious to show that the Church of England was still undissevered in spirit from the pre-Reformation church of England of earlier years, from the goodly fellowship of Catholic Christianity.†

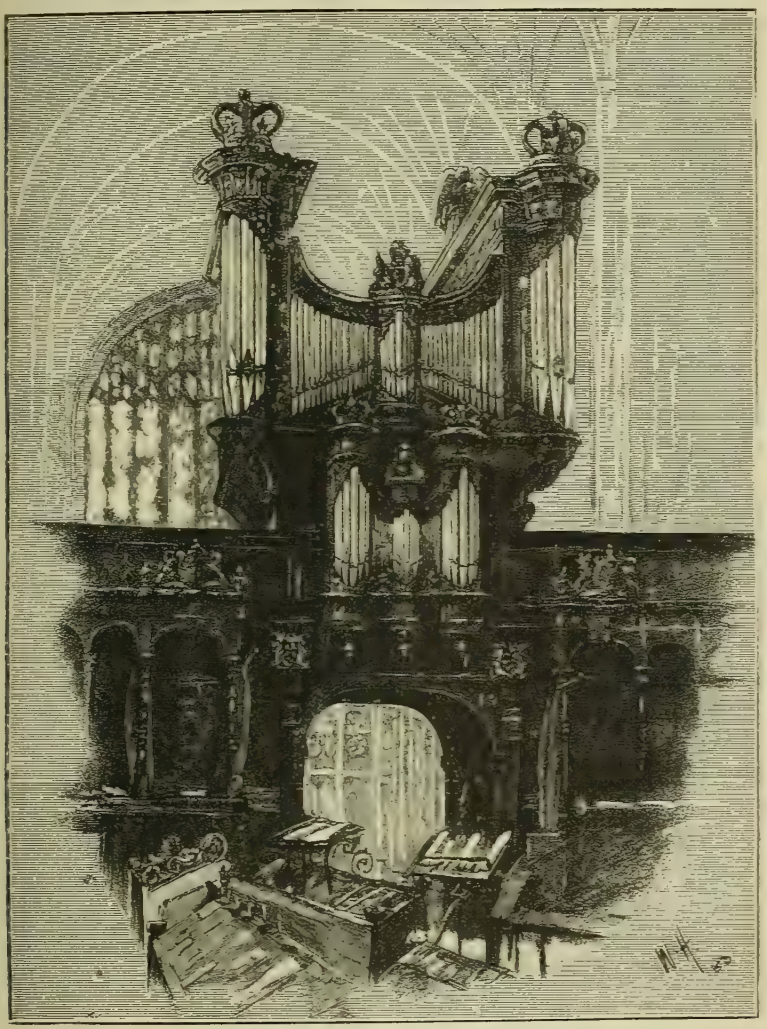
* Enurchus (the name should be spelt "Evurtius or Evortius") was sent on a mission to Orleans, A.D. 375. The election of a bishop was pending when he arrived. A dove settled on his head, and in consequence, so runs the legend, Evortius or Enurtius was chosen as the designate of God. Other marvels are related of him. The error which has substituted Enurchus (a name unknown in any hagiography) arose as follows:—Euurti (Scil. festum) was the original reading, but as "u" and "n" are very similar letter-forms in writing, as are "c" and "t," Euurti was mistaken for Enurci, whence arose Enurchus. The copy of the book in the Bodleian has Eurci.

† *Cf.* generally for greater details, Procter's and Wheatley's exhaustive works on the Book of Common Prayer: *S.V.*, "*The Calendar.*" Also Eland's "Introduction to the Prayer-Book."

The same royal commission, appointed under the influence of Parker, examined into the sadly neglected state of many of the chancels of the parish churches throughout the land. These, and in many cases the entire churches, had formerly been repaired by the monasteries to whom they largely belonged, and in whose patronage they were. After the dissolution of the religious houses, too often the laymen who became possessed of the monastic lands neglected the responsibility of caring for the churches and chancels in question. Among the directions given, the commissioners were required "to consider the decays of churches, and the unseemly keeping of chancels, and to order the commandments to be set up at the east end of the chancel, to be read not only for edification, but also to give some comely ornament, and demonstration that the same is a place of religion and prayer."

At the same time (1561–2), under the direction of Parker, was composed the Second Book of Homilies, a large portion of which is ascribed to the pen of Jewel. This second book was formally accepted by Convocation, which met in the earlier months of 1562. They are expressly mentioned and enumerated in the Thirty-nine Articles. (The Thirty-nine Articles, which were formally accepted in the same Convocation of 1562, will be presently discussed.) The Thirty-nine Articles joins the First and Second Book of Homilies together, and judges them "to be read in churches by the ministers, diligently and distinctly, that they may be understanded of the people." The object of these semi-authoritative documents was especially to provide popular discourses, which might

be read in lieu of sermons by the clergy, who in many cases, as we have already pointed out, were very illiterate, and



ORGAN IN KING'S COLLEGE CHAPEL, CAMBRIDGE. (*Early 16th Century.*)

in consequence were not licensed to preach. The First Book of Twelve Homilies had been published by authority in the reign of Edward VI. (1547), and were in great part attributed to Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer. In this first book, the homily of salvation, referred to especially in Article XI., was the work of Cranmer, and is singularly eloquent, and valuable as a piece of sound theology.

The two Books of Homilies thus formally

authorised in 1562, are precious now as showing generally the mind of Parker and his coadjutors, as indicating the popular teaching which they desired should be given to the English people. "They show a firm belief in the authoritative teaching and sacred tradition of the primitive church, regarded not as co-ordinate in authority with the Holy Scriptures, but as explanatory of the same. In the homilies we find enforced a deference to the first four general councils. . . . . The homilies teach regeneration in Holy Baptism, the real (spiritual) presence in the Eucharist. Baptism and the Supper of the Lord are not only means of grace, they are means of the *special* grace of uniting the souls of the faithful to the Redeemer." *

Convocation met early in the year 1562. It was opened with great ceremony and state; the dean of St. Paul's, Dr. Nowell, being chosen prolocutor of the lower house. As most important and enduring legislation for the Church of England was virtually settled in this first Convocation of queen Elizabeth's reign, it will be well to say a little respecting the composition of this famous assembly. In the upper house, with the solitary exception, perhaps, of Sandys, bishop of Worcester, the prelates more or less sympathised with Parker, and loyally supported him in that middle course of action he had elected to follow in his difficult task of choice and rejection among the mediæval services and formulas: that "*via media Anglicana*" which has ever been the strength of the Church of England, and which, with the deepest reverence for antiquity, united a determination to sweep away superstition and, comparatively speaking, novel doctrines.

In the lower house there was a strong element present of extreme reformers about thirty-three in number. These represented a large and formidable party in England, who had "conformed" to the new state of things—to the liturgy, to the Act of Uniformity, and generally to the regulations of the archbishop and the queen; but who hoped to bring about further changes in the direction of greater simplicity, and who longed for a more thorough sweeping away of mediæval customs, rites, vestments, which in their eyes still marred and disfigured the English Reformation. Most of the leading men of this party had spent several years in exile and more or less had come under the influence of that masterful spirit who ruled with a stern, uncompromising rule at Geneva. Far and wide reached the influence of Calvin, largely through his great book, "The Institutes," which. since the mediæval religious text-books of the school men (the Summa of Aquinas, the writings of Peter Lombard, Duns Scotus, and others) had been scornfully burnt and discredited had become the acknowledged text-book of a very large section of reformers. We are not specially concerned here with the tenets of Calvinism, which in England as on the Continent, so deeply coloured much of the theology of the extreme party among the reformers. In this Convocation these thirty or thirty-three agitated against the views of Parker clamouring for a simpler service and ritual but behind these outward things there

* See generally Dean Hook: "Archbishops," vol. iv., chap. x.

were grave doctrinal changes which they earnestly desired, and hoped eventually to see carried out.

These men, and the large party which followed their lead, gradually acquired the name of *Puritans*, by which designation it will be convenient henceforth generally to style them, in contradistinction to the moderate conservative reformers represented by archbishop Parker, whom we will term the Anglican party. These latter formed the bulk of the religious reformers of England. Generalising is ever somewhat dangerous, but we may fairly summarise as follows: These Puritans, as time went on, became divided among themselves. Some "conformed" to the established state of things, although disliking not a little of the ritual and practices, and to a less degree some of the doctrines put forth. Others sturdily refused and resisted, rather than make a sacrifice of their conscience. We may see in these early schools of thought among the men of the Elizabethan age, the ancestors of the modern High Church and Evangelical schools *within* the pale of the Establishment; the ancestors, too, of the modern Nonconformist *outside* the pale of the Church of England.

In this celebrated meeting of Convocation the Puritan party advanced some distinct views. These they scheduled, and thirty-three members of the lower house signed the schedule in question. The chief points advanced, and which were hotly debated, touched upon customs of the Catholic Church of immemorial antiquity, and were as follows: All scientific music, together with the use of the organ in divine service, was objected to; the sign of the cross in baptism, the insisting upon the position of kneeling in the reception of the Eucharist, were likewise denounced; copes and surplices were to be done away with; festivals and saints' days were to be discontinued. A very large majority, however, supported Parker and the "Anglican" party; and what is especially interesting, this majority was largely composed of the parochial clergy, the larger number of the Puritans being, strangely enough, made up of dignitaries such as deans, archdeacons, etc.

But the most important event in this Convocation was the acceptance, with slight modifications, of Parker's draft of the Thirty-nine Articles. Already a short summary of nine articles of religion had been drawn up in an episcopal "assessus," as it was termed, in the spring of 1561, in which the doctrine of the Trinity was asserted, as were also the sufficiency of Holy Scripture, the three Creeds, the power of the keys as exercised by the church, the agreement of Holy Scripture with the Book of Common Prayer, the distinction between the Mass and the Communion, the necessity of administering the Holy Communion in both kinds, the rejection of images, relics, and superstitious rites, etc. It was intended that these "Articles" should be subscribed by all the clergy licensed to officiate in the dioceses of either province.

The necessity, however, for a much more elaborate and exhaustive formulary was imperative, considering the state of "religious" England in the early days of Elizabeth. To use Parker's own expression, in a letter addressed to Sir

Nicholas Bacon: "The realm is full of Anabaptists, Arians, Libertines, Free-will men, etc., against whom only I thought ministers should be needed to fight *in unity of doctrine*. As to the Romish adversaries, their mouths may be stopped with their books and confessions of later days." When he wrote the above, the Puritan section alluded to as forming a compact party in Convocation had not formally asserted itself. But the necessity of an exhaustive formulary of doctrine seems to have been from the beginning constantly present in Parker's mind; and no doubt the short summary of the nine articles was only devised as an *interim* formulary, pending careful consideration of one more extensive and far-reaching in its scope.

As the basis of the draft of his Articles of Religion, the archbishop naturally took the great Edwardian formulary of the forty-two articles, which had been so carefully prepared by his predecessor, Cranmer, and so often revised by the council, by famous Edwardian bishops, especially by Cranmer's friend and counsellor, Ridley, and other learned men. These forty-two articles were written for the most part in a comprehensive spirit. The recension of Parker shows less of the temper of compromise, which has been well described as "characteristic of the English as contrasted with the foreign Reformation."*

Certain changes in the forty-two were made in the archbishop's first draft. Four of the original articles he expunged, four more he added, making, too, some modifications. In his revision he was guided, as Cranmer had been before him, in a great degree by Lutheran formularies. Cranmer had derived much from the confession of Augsburg. Parker, in his revision, took several ideas from the confession of Wurtemburg. Both houses of Convocation accepted the final draft. In the lower house the acceptance, naturally enough, considering its composition, was not so general as it was in the upper house of bishops, where it was practically unanimous. In addition, the archbishop of York and some of his suffragans attached their signatures to the document containing the articles. "This latter circumstance," it has been well said, "gives to this Convocation the character of a national synod."

Queen Elizabeth herself, it is believed, in the exercise of what she considered her undoubted prerogative, *struck out* the twenty-ninth article, which spoke "of the wicked who eat not the body of Christ in the use of the Lord's Supper"—the title of this article then was, "Impii non manducant corpus Christi in usu cœnæ"—and *added* the famous clause, "Habet Ecclesia ritus statuendi jus, et in fidei controversiis auctoritatem," in the twentieth article. (The church hath power to decree rites or ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith.) Both the article then struck out and the clause in question added, stand in the present Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England. The articles were then thirty-eight in number.

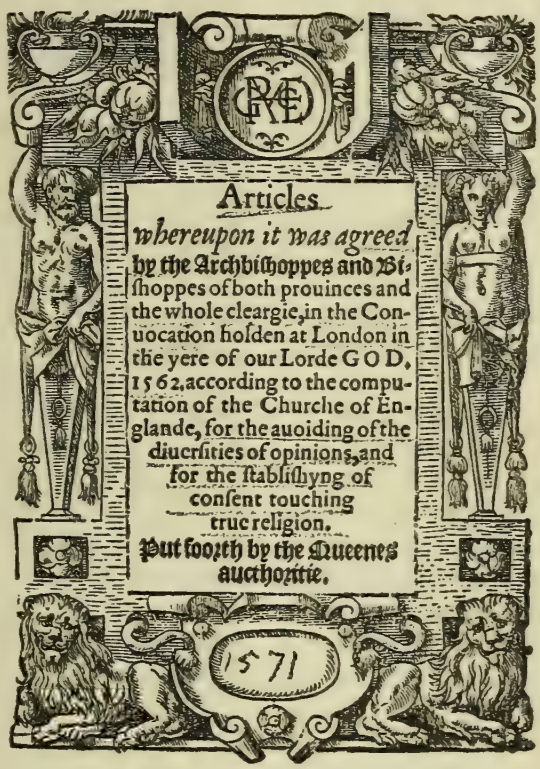
To sum up, these articles, in an English translation, were soon after (1562) put

* Dean Church, who gives Newman's by no means baseless assertion (in his defence of "Tract 90"), that the first Reformers had intended the articles to comprehend a great body of their countrymen who would have been driven out by any extreme and anti-Catholic declaration.

("Oxford Movement," chap. xiv.)

forth by the authority of Convocation, but not apparently with the authority of the queen, or of the legislature. In the year 1571, the articles (including the twenty-ninth, struck out by the queen in 1562) were again subscribed by both houses of Convocation, and committed to the editorship of bishop Jewel, and received the formal sanction of Parliament and the Queen. They were then thirty-nine in number.

"The thirty-nine articles then drawn up, subscribed, and authorised, have ever since been signed and assented to by all the clergy of the church, and until lately by every graduate of both the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and have hence an authority far beyond that of any single Convocation or Parliament, viz. the unanimous and solemn assent of all the bishops and clergy of the Church of England, and of the two universities, for well-nigh three hundred years." *


Articles
whereupon it was agreed
by the Archbishoppes and Bi-
shoppes of both prouinces and
the whole cleargie, in the Con-
uocation holden at London in
the yere of our Lorde GOD,
1562, according to the compu-
tation of the Churche of En-
glande, for the auoiding of the
diuersities of opinions, and
for the stablishyng of
consent touching
true religion.
Put foorth by the Queenes
authoritie.
1571

TITLE-PAGE TO THE THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES, 1571.
(*British Museum.*)

After taking into consideration the alterations above mentioned, there is no doubt that by far the greater part of the articles are as they left the study chambers of Cranmer and Ridley, remain to this day as those great reformers left them. The chief assistants of archbishop Parker in his work of revision here were Cox, bishop of Ely, Guest (or Gheast), bishop of Rochester, Grindal, bishop of London, and Jewel, bishop of Salisbury.

It is not in the province of a history to make definite and dogmatic pronouncements. It would be very hard to make such pronouncements in the matter of the famous formula of the Church of England, the thirty-nine articles. The legitimate work of the historian is to set out facts, and, where it is possible, to indicate results as far as they can be ascertained. Qualified praise, but still unmistakable praise, from serious and responsible persons, has been given again and again during the last three centuries. On the other hand, unstinted condemnation has been poured on

* Bishop Harold Browne: "Introduction to Articles," page 10.

the great Anglican formulary by able and eloquent, if somewhat latitudinarian writers. Mr. Froude's comment is a good illustration of such views. Writing of the Act of Parliament in which the thirty-nine articles received the formal sanction of the imperial legislature in 1571, the eminent historian says: "A Bill . . . made its way to the Statute-book to trouble the peace of broader times. Convocation, nine years before (in 1562), had reimposed upon the clergy, so far as they had powers to legislate, the too celebrated thirty-nine articles of religion. The Parliament had then refused their sanction to a measure which went beyond the most extravagant pretensions of the Church of Rome in laying a yoke upon the conscience. But their moderation forsook them now. The heavy chains descended. The faith of England, which, but for this fatal step, might have expanded with the growth of the nation, was hardened into unchanging formulæ, and intellect was condemned to make its further progress unsanctified by religion, the enemy of the Church, instead of being its handmaid." *

On the other hand, the quiet observer might point to the position which the Church of England holds in the great country of which every Englishman is so justly proud, a position which, as years roll onwards, and its responsibilities broaden and deepen, grows ever stronger and stronger, and more far-reaching in its practically boundless influence. "Would it," probably asks the same quiet observer, "have ever reached that position of mighty influence, still less maintained it, without some such broad and massive formulary of faith to guide and steady its accredited teachers?" That it may fairly be taken as representing that middle course ever chosen and trodden by the most faithful and thoughtful of the sons of the Church of England, is well exemplified by the Calvinist assertion at the commencement of this century (the nineteenth) which claimed the "articles" as abetting the peculiar but wide-spread Calvinistic views; while, near the close of this same century, the same articles, in a learned and somewhat exhaustive treatise by a well-known learned Scottish prelate of a very different school of thought on the famous Anglican formulary, appear as a body of exclusively Catholic divinity.

The work of Cranmer and Ridley, of Parker and Jewel, of Guest and Grindal, may be—undoubtedly is—criticised by various minds, by various schools. That it is honeycombed with faults is indisputable: what merely human work, however grand and great, is not? But that it was a good work and a great one, no fair and umbiassed critic can for a single moment doubt; that it has been an enduring work, and promises still to endure, the same fair and unbiassed critic will unhesitatingly allow. Without entering into any detailed description of the changes in the "Anglican Formulary"—slight changes, after all—effected by the Elizabethan divines, it will be interesting as a piece of theological history just to glance at a few of the more weighty changes or additions.

In Article XXII., which was directed against the teaching concerning purgatory, pardons, worshipping and adoration as well of images as of reliques, in the words of introduction, the phrase "*Romish*

* "Hist. of England," vol. x., chap. xxi.

Doctrine concerning purgatory" was substituted for the more general and historical, "Doctrine of the *Schoolmen*." The twenty-fourth article, "Of speaking in the Congregation in such a Tongue as the people understandeth," was framed in more expressive language than before. In the thirty-second article a clause was added, in which the legality of marriage on the part of bishops, priests, and deacons was at length openly affirmed.

But the most important in a doctrinal point of view were the words added to the article "Of the Lord's Supper," now the twenty-eighth; and the introduction of the twenty-ninth, "Of the Wicked which eat not the Body of Christ in the use of the Lord's Supper." It has been before pointed out at some length how the great English reformers, Ridley, Cranmer, and their companions, with great earnestness pressed the doctrine of the real but spiritual reception of Christ's body in the Eucharist. Let us give a very brief summary of these views, according to the doctrines of the Anglo-Saxon Church. In the words of *Elfric* ("Epistola de Canonibus," addressed to bishop Wulfsine): "That housel (*i.e.* the Eucharist) is Christ's body, not bodily, but ghostly." In the words of *Ridley:* "The true Church of Christ doth acknowledge a presence of Christ's Body in the Lord's Supper to be communicated to the godly by grace, and spiritually." In the words of *Cranmer:* "My doctrine is, that He (Christ) is by faith spiritually present with us, and is our spiritual food and nourishment. . . . I say that the same visible and palpable flesh that was for us crucified . . . is eaten of Christian people at His Holy Supper. . . . The diversity is not in the body, but in the eating thereof; no man eating it carnally, but the good eating it both sacramentally and spiritually, and the evil only sacramentally—that is, figuratively." For this truth the great reformers gave their bodies to be burned. In the words of *Jewel* (in the "Apology"): "We plainly pronounce in the Supper the Body and Blood of the Lord, the flesh of the Son of God, to be exhibited to those who truly believe." *Hooker* with singular clearness repeats the same doctrine (Ecc. Polity, v., lxvii., 6): "The real presence of Christ's most blessed Body and Blood is not, therefore, to be sought for in the Sacrament, but in the worthy receiver of the Sacrament." And again: "As for the Sacraments, they really exhibit, but for aught we can gather out of that which is written of them, they are not really, nor do really contain in themselves that grace which with them or by them it pleaseth God to bestow."

This doctrine had already been clearly expressed in the article "Of the Lord's Supper" in the forty-two articles of Cranmer of 1552, in the words "To such as rightly, worthily, and with faith receive the same, the bread which we break is a partaking of the Body of Christ, and likewise the cup of blessing is a partaking of the Blood of Christ." Archbishop Parker, however, determining to press right home this doctrine, added to the article in question (the present twenty-eighth) the memorable words, the full signification of which none could ever possibly mistake: "*The Body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten, in the Supper, only after an heavenly and spiritual manner. And the mean whereby the Body*

of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper is Faith."* Not satisfied even with this, the Elizabethan reformers insisted on yet another article being added (the present twenty-ninth). We say insisted, for the queen (or her council) at first expunged this article, which Convocation had authorised. The article in question is entitled "Of the Wicked which eat not the Body of Christ in the use of the Lord's Supper." The article runs thus: "The Wicked, and such as be void of a lively faith, although they do carnally and visibly press with their teeth (as Saint *Augustine* saith) the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, yet in no wise are they partakers of Christ: but rather, to their condemnation, do eat and drink the sign or Sacrament of so great a thing."

The above brief but thoroughly exhaustive references, added to what has been said before, show clearly what was the mind of the Edwardian and Elizabethan reformers on this momentous question, which has such far-reaching results, and which may be considered the great doctrinal question agitated at the Reformation. They gave effect to their views, for which they were prepared to die, and for which some, we have seen, did die, in the Edwardian formulary of 1552. And the same views were reiterated with still more expressive statements in the Elizabethan formulary of 1562 and 1571, and which has remained the formulary, in the form of the Thirty-nine Articles, of the Church of England eve since.*

Article XXX., "Of both kinds," whic enjoined that the cup of the Lord is n to be denied to the "Lay-people," wa also added in this Elizabethan revision.

After this important meeting of Convo cation in 1562, in which all the importan questions above referred to were decide upon, "for several years the Church con tinued to be governed by the archbishop Parker's "prerogatives as primate seem not to have been disputed. Convocatio met several times, but little business o an ecclesiastical character was transacte The Convocations were duly assembled but were chiefly employed in grantin subsidies to the crown. Towards the en of the great archbishop's life, he preside over an important meeting of Convocatio in 1571." At this Convocation, the thirty nine articles were read and again confirmed and signed by both houses, and the bishop were required to obtain the signature of the clergy of their respective dioceses The year has been described by some a "the woeful year of subscription." Th same year the thirty-nine articles receive the formal sanction of Parliament.

In the Reformation story, no chapte contains pleasanter reading than that which recounts the noble and persistent effort of the Reformers of different schools o thought and various nationalities to plac

* This weighty addendum was drawn up by Dr. Guest, bishop of Rochester, Parker's friend and assistant. See Guest's letter to Sir William Cecil, dated Dec. 22, 1561.

* A list has already been given of the mos famous Anglican divines, whom bishop Harol Browne (Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles article xxviii., section 1) does not hesitate to styl the great luminaries of our church, all of whom have left us writings on the subject, and who, wit very slight diversity, have agreed here in the sub stance of their belief.

11 In the sixe hundreth yere of Noahs lyfe, in the (a) seconde moneth, the seuenteene day of ỹ moneth, in the same day were all the fountaynes of the great deepe broken vp, and the wyndowes of heauen were opened.

(a) In the latter ende of Aprill when all thynges were moste pleasaunt, the ghastly destruction came.

12 And the rayne was vpon the earth (b) fourtie dayes and fourtie nyghtes.

(b) God in his punyshment remembreth mercie.

13 In the selfe same day, entred Noah, and Sem, and Ham, and Japheth the sonnes of Noah, and Noahs wyfe, and the three wiues of his sonnes with thē into the arke.

14 They, (c) and euery beast after his kinde, and all the cattel after their kinde, yea, and euery worme that creepeth vpon the grounde after his kinde, and euerye byrde after his kinde, and euery fleeyng and fethered foule.

(c) This is oft tymes repeted, for that it seemeth vnreadie to the sense of man.

15 And they came vnto Noah into the arke, two and two, of all fleshe wherein is the breath of lyfe.

16 And they entryng in, came male and female of all fleshe, as God had commaunded hym: and (d) God shut hym in rounde about.

(d) The hande of God stayed the sparcers out of the arke.

17 And the fludde came fourtie dayes vpon the earth, and the waters were increased, and (e) bare vp the arke, whyche was lyft vp aboue the earth.

(e) Signifies hyght declaryng how the goodnes is knowē, when the destruction of the wicked

18 The waters also wared strong, and were encreased exceedyngly vpon the earth: and so the arke went vpon the vpper face of the waters.

19 And the waters preuayled exceedingly vpon the earth, and al the high hilles that are vnder the (f) whole heauen, were couered.

(f) There were other particuler fludds, but this was the vniuersall.

20 Fyfteene cubites vpward did the waters preuayle, so that the mountaynes were couered.

21 And (g) all fleshe perished, that moued vpon the earth, in fowle, in cattell, in beast, and in euery worme that creepeth vpon the earth, yea, and euery man also.

VVisd. x. Eccle. xl.

(g) The grieuous punyshment of God for sinne.

22 So that (h) all that had the breath of lyfe in his nostrilles throughout all that was on the (i) drye lande, dyed.

(h) That is, all that liued.

(i) Of like there is no mention made by Moyses.

23 And euery substaunce was destroyed that remayned and that was in the vpper part of the grounde, both man and cattell, and worme, and the foule of the heauen, they were euen destroyed from of the earth, and (k) Noah onlye remayned alyue, and they that were with hym in the arke.

(k) Thus was he rewarded, ỹ was then fashioned God, then the multitude of wicked. 1. Peter. iii.

24 But the water preuayled vpon the earth, a hundreth and fifte dayes.

¶ The

the Bible, in a language they could understand, within the reach of every English man and woman. We have already dwelt in some detail upon the labours of a former generation, represented by the brilliant cosmopolitan scholar Erasmus, by Luther in Germany, by Swiss and German divines of the Rhine cities of Basle and Strasburg, and the lake towns of Zürich and Geneva, represented in England by Tyndale and Coverdale. We have described also the work of Cranmer in his Great Bible of 1540. The Marian exiles, who had temporarily chosen Geneva as their home, gave a still further impulse to these efforts, for the group of English scholars, dwelling during the days of the English persecution in the beautiful city of Calvin, employed the comparative period of leisure during their exile in bringing out another, a more portable, cheaper, and hence more generally accessible edition of the English Bible.

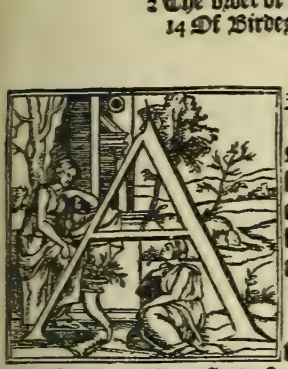
These scholars, among whom were Whittingham, who had married Calvin's sister, Goodman, Pullain, Sampson, and Coverdale, carefully revised Tyndale's famous English version. "They entered," we read, "upon their great and wonderful work with much fear and trembling," working, it is said, day and night. The New Testament, done by Whittingham, was printed in 1557, the whole Bible in 1560. It became the most popular of all versions, and was largely read in England, where it was first printed in 1561, under a patent of monopoly given to James Bodley, the father of the founder of the world-famed Bodleian library at Oxford. This patent was transferred in 1576 to one Bayter, in whose family the right of printing Bibles remained for upwards of a century. Not less than eighty editions, some of the whole Bible, were printed between 1558 and 1611.

The causes of the singular and enduring popularity of the so-called Genevan Bible are not far to seek. Different from the preceding versions, it was, comparatively speaking, a portable and handy volume, a small quarto. The far more plain and legible Roman type was used, and it was divided into verses, following the Hebrew example. The notes, too, were of their kind interesting, and often helpful, though strongly coloured, as might have been expected, with the Calvinism under whose shadow the revisers of this celebrated version lived and worked. It was deeply regrettable that most of the early printed Bibles contained so many polemical notes, as noticed already in speaking of Erasmus's work. The influence of such notes on the readers was, of course, incalculable, and sadly contributed in too many cases to bigotry and want of Christian charity. The theology and views which the comments in the Geneva Bible inculcated, were particularly acceptable to the Puritan party through the whole reign of Elizabeth, and her two successors. It was no doubt the presence of these polemical notes, and their strong Calvinistic bias,* which largely induced

* As a specimen of these notes, we would instance the note on Rev. ix. 3, where we read: "The locusts that come out of the smoke, are said to be like subtle prelates, with monks, friars, cardinals, patriarchs, archbishops, bishops." And the note on 2 Chron. xv., 16: "Herein he showed that he lacked zeal, for she ought to have died." It has been said that this was one of the texts, thus commented upon, which Scotch fanatics had handled in connection with the name of king James I.'s mother, the hapless Mary Stuart, queen of Scots.

archbishop Parker to take in hand the well-known version of the Scriptures, one of the great works of his archiepiscopate, known as "the Bishops' Bible."

Great and elaborate preparations were made for this undertaking of Parker's. Fourteen revisers were employed, and they were altogether at work for about



2 The order of burnt offerynges
14 Of Birdes.

AND the Lord (a) called vnto Moyses, and spake vnto him out of the tabernacle of the congregation, saying: Speake vnto the children of Israel, & thou shalt say vnto them: If a (c) man of you bring a (b) sacrifice vnto the Lorde, ye shall bring your sacrifice from among these cattell, euen frō among the beeues and the (c) sheepe.

INITIAL FROM THE "BISHOPS' BIBLE." (*British Museum*).

four years, 1563–4 to 1568. The idea of the archbishop was to adopt the improvements of the Genevan version, while avoiding that extreme party spirit which disfigured that work in the eyes of Anglican churchmen of the school of Parker, who desired that the Church of England should steadily hold its middle course. The company consisted of eight bishops, including Dr. Cox, bishop of Ely, Dr. Sandys of Worcester, and bishop Guest, of whom we hear so often as Parker's assistant and friend, as well as several deans and professors. Parker was the editor of the whole; and besides the general superintendence, the archbishop was responsible for several of the books in the Old and New Testaments. Among the instructions issued to his coadjutors, was a remarkable one warning them "to make no use of bitter notes upon any text, or yet to set down any determination in places of controversy."

Everything was done to make this "Bishops' Bible" attractive. Wood engravings of a high character were freely introduced, with beautiful portraits of Elizabeth, lords Leicester and Burleigh, a map of Palestine, etc. The initials of the revisers were attached to the books which they had severally undertaken to edit.

The magnificent folio of the Bishops' Bible appeared in 1568 and 1572. It was enjoined that each cathedral should have a copy, and this provision was extended gradually to all parochial churches. It was also ordered that every bishop should have in his house a copy to be placed in the hall or dining-room, that it might be used by their household, or by strangers. It is observable, however, that the Bishops' Bible, of all the English versions, had, on the whole, the least success. Its great size and cost prevented its general circulation, which was practically limited to the cathedrals and churches.

A few words should here be added on the subject of the versions which may be said to belong exclusively to the Roman Catholic devotees of the "old learning." Some English exiles belonging to the Romish obedience, produced at *Rheims*, in 1582, an English version, largely based on the authentic text of the Vulgate.

Notes were appended, keenly controversial and dogmatic in character. The work was completed in 1608 by the publication of the Old Testament at *Douai*. These Romish revisions charged all the English versions hitherto made, with being "false, corrupt, heretical." As might have been expected, these productions of the men of the "old learning" have been, comparatively speaking, little used, and even Roman Catholic scholars confess their manifest inferiority to the versions produced by the Protestants of the new learning.

WOODCUT ILLUSTRATION FROM THE "BISHOPS' BIBLE."
(*British Museum.*)

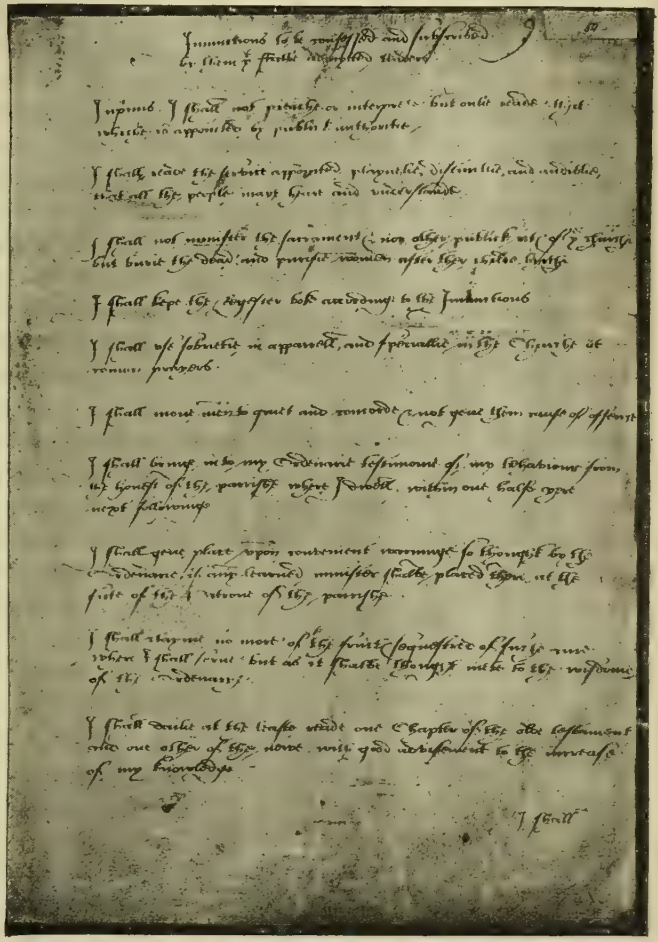
The "authorised version," which still remains to be spoken of, will be described in detail in its proper place in the year 1611.

Passing from the work of editing and revising the English Bible; passing from the work of legislation, from the making and revising service books and formularies of religion which were to influence not only the age which witnessed their composition or revision, but many as yet unborn generations of churchmen, to the inner life of the church during the first fifteen years of Elizabeth's reign, when Matthew Parker was archbishop, we shall find a state of things which must have given grave and ceaseless anxiety to the eminent Elizabethan bishops and reformers, but at the same time must have afforded them real ground of hopefulness for the church, for which they were so tirelessly working. We possess different pictures of this Elizabethan church, *circa* 1558—1576, painted by men who were well acquainted with its inner life. Some used bright colours for their pictures, others worked with sombre neutral tints, according to the minds of the painters, and perhaps partly chosen with a view to the special object for which these pictures were drawn.

Comparing, however, the various pictures together, the bright and the sombre, we shall fairly arrive at the truth, and the truth appears to have been that, in spite of much that was sad and disheartening, the English church during these earlier years of the great reign was, on the whole, a strong church, which fairly represented the religious feeling of the great majority of the English people. Its influence was

however, vastly lessened by the presence among the people of the two powerful parties—the Puritans, of whom we have lately been speaking, on the one side, and the Roman Catholic party on the other; both of whom had strong hopes of capturing it, and of eventually moulding it after their own especial and peculiar views.

In the very centre of the Church of England there was much searching of hearts among its rulers on the question of the vestments of the clergy, which included much besides the mere dress of the clergy. This vestiarian controversy, as it is termed, sorely exercised the minds of men like Jewel and Sandys, Grindal, and others, who had been influenced by the spirit of foreign reformed churches during their exile in the days of queen Mary. These were scandalised by such practices as the retention of the crucifix in the queen's chapel, the continued use of the cope, the tacit approval of the Latin service, and of many of the ancient mediæval services sanctioned in the First Prayer-Book of Edward VI., at the universities and public schools. They disliked the square cap and the distinctive dress worn generally by the clergy. They objected to the episcopal robes, looking upon all this as contrary to the spirit of the Reformation—as a retrograde movement in the direction of the old worn-out mediævalism, from which they hoped the Reformation had purified the church. Generally united in doctrine, these men



COPY OF "INJUNCTIONS TO BE CONFESSED AND SUBSCRIBED BY THEM THAT SHALBE ADMYTTED READERS, 1562." (*British Museum.*)

gravely differed among themselves on many questions of ceremonial and ritual observance.

On many of these points, however, Parker and Cecil, and above all the queen, were determined. So most of the chief leaders, such men as Jewel, Grindal, and Sandys, somewhat reluctantly yielded. They consented to wear the objectionable dresses, and in other ways to subordinate their wishes to the established order of things, and, as far as they could, to enforce compliance on others. But this vestiarian controversy long agitated and sorely weakened the church. The conduct of the more Puritan leaders in thus yielding was warmly approved by such far-sighted and moderate reformers on the Continent as Peter Martyr, who knew England well, and Bullinger at Zürich and Strasburg; but at Geneva, Beza, Calvin's successor, took a different view, and his views and the remonstrances of his school did much to foment and keep alive the uneasy spirit of revolt, and even of dissent, among not a few churchmen in England.

Worse than this, in the English Church at this period there was undoubtedly considerable laxity and disorder, and not a little deplorable irreverence in the conduct of the services, in the state of the cathedrals and parish churches, and even in the lives led by certain of the higher clergy. In a document addressed to archbishop Parker by the minister Cecil, we read, for instance, the following stern remonstrance respecting diversity in use and irreverence in the conduct of divine service, and especially in the administration of the Holy Communion: "Some of the clergy perform divine service and prayers in the chancel, others in the body of the church—some in a seat made in the church, some in the pulpit with their faces to the people; some keep precisely to the order of the Book, some intermix psalms in metre; some officiate with a surplice, and others without it. . . . In some places the table stands in the body of the church, in others it stands in the chancel; in some places it stands altar-wise, distant from the wall a yard, in others it stands in the middle of the chancel, north and south; in some places the table is joined, in others it stands upon tressels; in some the table has a carpet, in others none. . . . Some administer the Communion with surplice and cope, some with surplice alone, some with neither; some with chalice, others with Communion cup; some with unleavened bread, others with leavened; some receive kneeling, others standing, others sitting; some baptize in a font, others in a basin; some sign with the sign of the cross, others make no sign; some administer with a surplice, some without; some with a square cap, some with a round cap; some in scholar's clothes, some in others."

This carelessness and irreverence, not uncommon as it would seem, in all care and attention paid to the churches and their sacred furniture, was evidently an object of grave anxiety to Elizabeth. In a remonstrance, addressed by the queen to archbishop Parker, we read: "It breedeth no small offence and scandal to see and consider, upon the one part, the curiosity and cost bestowed by all sorts of men upon their private houses; and, on the other part, the unclean and negligent order and spare keeping of the houses of prayer, by permitting open decays and ruins of

covering of walls and windows, and by appointing unmeet and unseemly tables with foul cloths for the communion of the Sacrament, and generally leaving the place of prayer desolate of all cleanliness and of meet ornament for such a place, whereby it might be known a place provided for divine service."

The licence to marry, and the results of this licence, at first caused considerable offence to many, and in some cases seems to have led to lax and self-indulgent living. In Elizabeth's eyes such living was always more or less a scandal; and we have seen how difficult it was for Parker, who earnestly desired the removal of all the old celibacy restrictions, to induce the queen to give her sanction to the "Article" which for ever, as far as the Church of England was concerned, swept away the ancient mediæval restriction. There is no doubt whatever that at first, among the clergy, the licence to marry gave cause for complaint and even scandal. Very early in her reign, Elizabeth forbade cathedral dignitaries to have their wives and children residing with them within the cathedral closes, under pain of forfeiting their promotions. "Cathedrals and colleges," said the queen, "had been founded to keep societies of learned men professing study and prayer, and the rooms intended for students were not to be sacrificed to women and children."

There were, no doubt, at first many deplorable instances of laxity and self-indulgence. The rapid changes in the whole aspect of the constitution of the church had "necessarily lowered the efficiency of the body of the clergy. Men who live through rapid transition either become violent partisans, or grow timorous, cynical, and indifferent. The leaders on either side had, in the late violent changes, been ejected in their turn; the clergy who remained were not men of strong character or much capacity. The old clergy were many of them indifferent. The younger were often of little learning and of lowly birth."* We read, for instance, of cases where the singing-men of the choirs of cathedrals became the prebends' private servants, having the church's stipend for their wages. We hear of the cathedral plate adorning the prebendal sideboards and dinner tables; of organ pipes being melted into dishes for their kitchens; of organ frames carved into bedsteads; of even the copes and sacred vestments, coveted for their elaborate and gilded embroidery, being slit into gowns and bodices.†

No doubt such disorderly proceedings were not by any means universal. It would be the grossest exaggeration to suggest that such a state of things as that pictured above generally existed in the English church; but that examples of such scandals were by no means unknown in this period is evident from the testimony of contemporary records which we possess.

It was, no doubt, with the desire of correcting such disorders, and with the view of putting an end to irregularities in the conduct of divine service and in the

* Froude curiously calls attention to the frequent surnames of "Clark, Parson, Deacon, Dean, Prior, Abbot, Bishop, Frere, and Monk" being memorials of the stigma affixed by English prejudice on the children of the first married representatives of the sacred orders. ("History," vol. vii., chap. vi.)

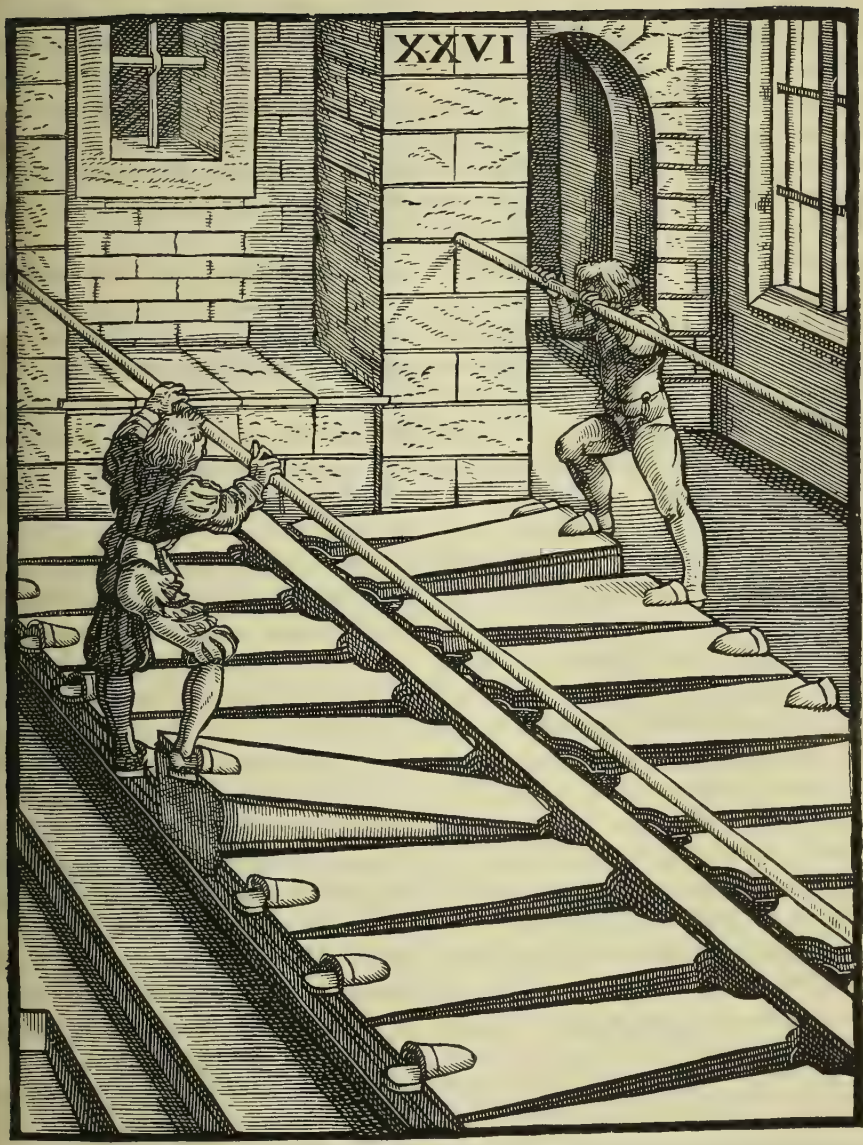
† Bishop Creighton: "Queen Elizabeth," chap. iv.

general administration of ecclesiastical matters—irregularities which too often shaded into positive acts of irreverence—that archbishop Parker put into force in 1566 certain ordinances, known as the "Advertisements." As early as 1564 these "Advertisements" had been drawn up, but they never received the royal sanction. They have since been quoted as authoritative in the canons of 1661, and were recognised as the "Advertisements of queen Elizabeth" in the canons of 1640, which were ratified by king Charles I.*

In these "Advertisements" the clergy were required to urge in their preaching the reverent estimation of the Holy Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, pressing people to the often and devout receiving the Holy Communion of the Body and Blood of Christ. Every clergyman who was licensed was required to preach in his own person once in three months, or by a deputy appointed by the bishop. (This singular and sparing command to preach shows us how unaccustomed were the parochial clergy to preach at all.) Frequent communions were enjoined in cathedrals and colleges. The principal minister in the administration of the Holy Communion was to use a cope. The dean and prebendaries of a cathedral were to wear the surplice with silk hood in the choir; and the silk hood was to be worn whenever they preached in the cathedral. The baptismal font was not to be replaced by a basin. On the Lord's Day shops were to be closed; but a proviso which forbade the displaying of any goods before the service was done, showed that fairs and markets were sometimes, at all events, held on Sundays. The Rogation days were to be observed, and Psalms and Litany were to be sung. Searching inquiries were ordered to be made into the character of candidates for holy orders. The bishops were to appear in the dress usually adopted by their order before the Reformation. The other clergy were ordered to adopt a distinctive dress for their common apparel—"a side gown with sleeves, and tippets of sarcinet."

But while recognising the existence of occasional disorder, and even of misrule, and here and there of deplorable irreverence in the case of some of the clergy in their method of saying or singing the services, we must be careful not to form our idea of the Elizabethan church from the descriptions selected only by picturesque historians. We have another picture of the same church, painted in very different colours, by Peter Heylin, who wrote only about half a century after the death of Parker in 1576, and who was born in the year 1600, when Elizabeth was still reigning. Heylin was chaplain to archbishop Laud. He became his intimate friend in the year 1627, and had, therefore, exceptional opportunities of forming a fair conception of the state of the church during the half-century before his time. Dean Hook, in his quotation of Heylin's view of the church, "first settled and established under queen Elizabeth," thus sums up his own view of Heylin's picture: "Peter Heylin lived near enough to the time to render his testimony to the success of Parker's labours valuable; and even if he took a favourable view of the

* Compare Dean Hook: "Archbishops," vol. ix., chap. xii., who gives the authorities.



Blaßbälge vnd Calcanten, so zu der zeit bey derselben Orgel gebraucht worden.

ORGAN-BELLOWS AND BLOWERS IN THE CATHEDRAL AT HALBERSTADT.

(*From Praetorius' "Syntagma Musicum," published in* 1619. *This bellows room is stated by Praetorius to have been erected as early as* 1325, *and to have remained unchanged till* 1619.)

case, he will be found, on examination, to prove substantially correct." *

Archbishop Laud's chaplain (Dr. Heylin) thus writes: "Now we may behold the face of the Church of England, as it was first settled and established under queen Elizabeth. The government of the church by archbishops and bishops, according to the practice of the best and happiest times of Christianity. These bishops nominated and elected according to the statute in the twenty-fifth of king Henry VIII., and consecrated by the ordinal confirmed by Parliament in the fifth and sixth years of king Edward VI., never appearing publicly but in their rochets, nor officiating otherwise than in copes at the holy altar. The priests not stirring out of doors but in their square caps, gowns, or canonical coats, nor executing any divine office but in their surplice—a vestment set apart for religious services in the primitive times.

"The doctrine of the church reduced into its ancient purity according to the articles agreed upon in Convocation.

"The liturgy conformed to the primitive patterns, and all the rites and ceremonies therein prescribed, accommodated to the honour of God and the increase of piety.

"The festivals preserved in their former dignity, observed with their distinct offices peculiar to them, and celebrated with a religious concourse of all sorts of peo The weekly fasts, the holy times of L the embering weeks, together with fast of the Rogation, severely kept the forbearance of all kind of flesh.

"The sacrament of the Lord's Sup celebrated in the most reverent mann the holy table seated in the place the altar.

"Music retained in all such churches which provision had been made for maintenance of it, or where the peo could be trained up, at the least, to pl song. All which particulars were eit established by the laws, or comman by the queen's injunctions, or otherw retained by virtue of some anci usages."

The writer then went on to say, it not to be wondered at that these anci usages were constantly observed in cathedrals, and in the most part of pa churches, "considering how well t were precedented by the court itself, which the liturgy was officiated every both morning and evening, not only in public chapel, but in the private closet the queen); celebrated in the chapel w organ and other musical instruments, the most excellent voices both of m and children that could be got in all kingdom. The gentlemen and children their surplices, and the priests in cope oft as they attended service at the h altar. The altar furnished with rich pl two fair candlesticks with tapers in th and a massy crucifix of silver in midst thereof." *

* It must, however, be remembered that Heylin's picture of the Church of England was drawn in the days of Laud; *after* that great church organiser had reduced many things to order, which evidently in the early days of the Elizabethan settlement had been left undetermined. Still, such a state of things as Heylin depicts could never have been the creation of one man, however earnest, capable, and energetic, as, undoubtedly, Laud was. There must have been a generally well-ordered church, and one full of vigour and life *before* his day (*i.e.* in the times of Elizabeth).

* Heylin: "Cyprianus Anglicanus," p. 17; Heylin: "Hist. of the Reformation," p. 314. E Robertson, quoted by Hook: "Archbishops," xi., chap. xii.

Another testimony to the flourishing ate or the Anglican Church is also ven by a foreign contemporary of arker in the following terms: "How ravely, learnedly, and christianly, his race (archbishop Parker) and others, the ishops, by their most godly travail, with he good help of the queen's (Elizabeth's) ws in that behalf provided, had reformed ne state of the corrupt church, restored God his due honour in public service . . delivered the thralled minds of ue Christians from their heavy bondage nd oppression, drawn deceived souls out f most dangerous error, and to the eople's eternal comfort published the ost glorious light of God's most holy ruth." *

Such descriptions as these, even if painted h too bright colours, must be taken nto account when the condition of the Church of England under Elizabeth is onsidered. It has been the fashion with nany eminent historians† to speak slightngly of the two first great Protestant rchbishops, Cranmer and Parker, who ook so large a part in settling the conlition of the Anglican church; the first especially in the matter of her doctrines, he second in the matter of her governnent and administration, as well as in he confirmation of Cranmer's doctrinal ormularies. Of Cranmer we have already vritten with much detail; his history must e his *apologia pro vitâ suâ;* whether or ot the apology convinces the reader of the true greatness of the man and his work, will of course considerably depend on the views of the student himself. One fact is indisputable—the work he did was an enduring work. As to Parker, the second Protestant archbishop, the accusations levelled against him of selfish greed and excessive love of pomp and power, have been dealt with exhaustively, and, most of us think, effectually disproved. Two grave and thoughtful summaries by eminent historical scholars, each of them forming his estimate of the work and character of the great Elizabethan archbishop from a very different standpoint, have already been quoted,* and deserve to be carefully pondered over by every student of the making of the Church of England and the days of the famous Protestant queen. A third may be appropriately cited in this place.

"Parker closed a laborious and upright life with all the foresight, firmness, and complacency that marked a vigorous, equable, and religious mind. A natural gravity had kept him even in youth from spectacles, games, and field-sports. His memory was naturally odious to the Puritans, and has ever been roughly treated by dissenters. But Parker was really, in private, strictly moral, accessible, liberal, and methodical. As a public man, plain good sense, command of tongue and temper, laborious diligence, cautious decision, depth of penetration, and unity of purpose, appear to have been his characteristics. He had, as we have seen, neither any superstitious reverence for the externals that he enforced, nor much tenderness for scruples that could make such things

* "Wolfgang Musculus," quoted by Hook, ix., hap. xii.

† See Macaulay's estimate of Cranmer, chap i.; Froude's view of Parker, vol. xi., chap. xxv. Some church historians also are too ready to adopt hese estimates.

* See page 344.

important. He thought merely of the law, and of the ancient prejudices that could make such things expedient. He was no forward nor even unreluctant volunteer in entering upon its religious execution; but the painful duty having been forced upon him by his superiors, he discharged it steadily to the end of life. Many men would have slackened undoubtedly, when sometimes deserted, sometimes thwarted, by the very power that had urged them into it. Parker contented himself with complaining of a tortuous policy, that he felt personally unjust and harassing, that was uncongenial to his plain, blunt nature, and revolting to his principles. He knew well besides that Elizabeth, although seemingly vacillating herself, would bear no vacillation in him. Nor would a scholar's eye allow him either to doubt the propriety of his determination or its ultimate success. Having none of the politician's pliancy, his discretion, learning, and integrity failed of securing all their proper weight among contemporaries. The same cause has widely operated to the prejudice of his memory upon posterity." *

It says much for the archbishop's wisdom and power of conciliation that he was able to preserve Elizabeth's friendship and support to the end, in spite of his firm opposition to much that the queen wished to introduce or to preserve in the Anglican settlement. Near the close of his life Elizabeth paid a state visit to the archbishop, in the course of which she expressed herself very warmly towards her old servant, telling him how gratifying to her had been this last entertainment of his, in which he had conspicuou displayed his loyalty, etc.

Parker was a great example of a m who, in spite of suffering and constant health, utterly regardless of himself, liv a life of ceaseless work. He litera died in harness, thinking of his lov church, toiling for it, to the last. Wh too weak to write, sixteen days befo he passed away he dictated an importa letter to his old friend and fello labourer Cecil (lord Burleigh), intend for his royal mistress's eye, warning h against the Puritans and Anabaptis In his will, which is dated only a fe days before his death, after a singular beautiful and touching expression of h belief that by the precious death a merits of his most merciful Lord a Saviour Christ he would obtain forgiv ness and indulgence, if he had in a ways offended his Lord God either imprudence or evil or weakness, he b queathed and commended his soul in the hands of God the Father, Son, a Holy Ghost, and his body to the earth be buried, or any other way to be handle as Almighty God had determined th hour, manner, and place of dying accor ing to His good pleasure.

The black marble tomb of the gre prelate, prepared by himself when in lif in the chapel of Lambeth Palace, wa ruthlessly destroyed, the body of th archbishop dug up, the lead torn off th coffin, and the mortal remains heedless and shamefully buried in a dunghill by th wild rage of the Puritans in the reign Charles I. After the Restoration, Sancro many years later Archbishop of Canterbur under an order from the House of Lord

* Soames: "Elizabethan History," p. 246.

rched for and recovered the mouldering nes. These were reverently reinterred the same chapel, and the sad inscription

Photo: J. T. Sandell, Thornton Heath.

LAMBETH PALACE CHAPEL.

graved over the tomb, "Corpus Matthæi Archiepiscopi hic tandem quiescit."

In the evening of his work-filled life, in his rare intervals of leisure, the archbishop's great interest, outside his ceaseless labours in the government of the church, lay in the collecting of valuable manuscripts, mostly relating to the early history of England, some of which were edited and published under his superintendence. The historian and student should ever hold his memory precious. His collection of these records, which have through his care become available for scholars, is in itself

of rare value, while the noble example he set by this work of his was perhaps still more precious. His collection still exists, in the Parker Library of his college of Corpus Christi, Cambridge, where it is the greatest treasure of that ancient and honourable house, and is preserved with extraordinary care by the "Society," who are fully conscious of the value of their great master's loving bequest.* To preserve from destruction the scattered ancient monuments of national learning, once in the libraries of the confiscated monasteries, many of which, alas! had been sold for "waste," as we have already related, the archbishop employed agents to make search through England and Wales for books of all sorts, but especially historical. Among the more important of these ancient national works edited by Parker were the "Flores Historiarum" (per Mathæum Westmonasteriensem collecti), the "Historia Major" of Matthew Paris, Walsingham's "Historia Anglicana," Asser's "Life of Alfred," and an edition of Elfric's Anglo-Saxon Homily, to which reference has been made on more than one occasion in this History; Parker recognising the great value of this latter as a monument of the belief and teaching of the Anglo-Saxon Church on a subject round which such long fierce controversy had exercised men's minds in the Reformation age.

It is, indeed, no little to the credit of the great archbishop that he found time, in the midst of his perplexing and never-ending cares, for such work as this. In England he will ever rank as one of t first who saw the necessity of providi materials for the student and scholar, o of which the story of the Church England from the earliest times might told and retold. Vast stores of this lo the archbishop was conscious, once existe The libraries of the ruined monasteries h been extraordinarily rich in these ancie monuments of learning. A large porti of the ample leisure of the monastic orde especially of the great Benedictine co munity, had been spent in copying a arranging these chronicles. These h been, as we have remarked, dispersed, and many cases wantonly destroyed, but ma still existed. An enormous number we according to tradition, gathered togeth thanks to Parker's diligence; we ev read of as many as 6,700 volumes havi been procured by one of his agents in t course of four years' diligent search. So of these were probably worthless, and l aside; others were no doubt copies of t same work, and it is presumable that t number of the books was greatly exagg ated; but we possess a catalogue of 482 these precious manuscripts, given to t library of Corpus Christi college by t book-loving archbishop, who may fai be given the honour of being the first the great English collectors of materi for the history of England. For althou his especial care was for church history, which he ascribed so great a value, his c lection was of the greatest importance the civil history of his country. Park wise and devoted churchman though was, must be considered pre-eminently scholar; his tastes and pleasures we those of a patient and earnest studen

* It has been the ancient practice that in all inspections of the precious Parker MSS., two members of the foundation should be present.

it his great literary work, which was the
arm and delight of the closing years of
s most useful life, was the outcome of
his desire to give the Elizabethan church
basis in the past." *

Among the glories of the reign of
lizabeth, the wonderful development of
erature in England was the most en-
ring, and has had the most permanent
fect on the marvellous progress of the
nglish nation. The impulse was first
ven by archbishop Parker, in his great
ork of collecting the historical manuscripts
om the wreck of the monastic libraries.
e was followed by other historical
holars who profited by his labours; by
tow, the careful antiquarian; by William
amden, head master of Westminster
hool; and especially by Sir Walter
aleigh, whose "History of the World"
ay be looked on as the first of the many
istories which have since enriched our
terature. When Parker gave this first
mpulse to scholarship, England was
ngularly behind the other chief Euro-
ean nations in letters. The Renais-
ance had in this particular, owing to
arious circumstances, borne little fruit
mong us: the many years of civil and
eligious troubles had effectually pre-
ented the spread of learning in our
land. But very soon after the death of
Parker, the movement of which he was
he illustrious pioneer gathered strength.
Within four years after he had passed
way, John Lyly published his celebrated
omance of "Euphues," filled with quaint
onceits, written in an inflated style, but
full of striking and beautiful thoughts.
The work obtained a wide popularity, and
for a time the language and expressions of
"Euphues" became the vogue, especially
among Elizabeth's courtiers. This earliest
among modern English romances has en-
riched the language with the permanent
epithet of "euphuism," a synonym for
decorous unreality. * Closely following
upon Lyly's famous story appeared the
noble prose writing of the "Arcadia" and
other works of Sir Philip Sidney, the ideal
"gentleman" of the second period of the
great queen's reign; while the yet greater
names of Hooker and Bacon, following in
the last years of the century, further
illustrated the wondrous age which wit-
nessed the awakening of modern English
prose literature. Of Hooker's writings,
which especially belong to our own church
story, we must presently speak in greater
detail.

But in this marvellous sudden awaken
ing of letters among us, great as were
the Elizabethan prose writers, Lyly and
Sidney, Hooker and Bacon, the poets
and dramatists were even more extra-
ordinary. "The full glory of the new
literature broke on England with Edmund
Spenser. The appearance of the "Faërie
Queen" is the one critical event in the
annals of English poetry; it settled, in
fact, the question whether there was to
be such a thing as English poetry or no.
The older national verse, which had
blossomed and died in Cædmon and his
school, sprang suddenly into a grander

* See Excursus E for a short account of the
Parker" Library of Corpus Christi College,
ambridge.

* It will be remembered how mercilessly the
quaint pedantry of "Euphues" was caricatured a
few years later by Shakespeare in *Love's Labour's
Lost*.

life in Chaucer (to whose writings as especially illustrative of certain aspects of ecclesiastical life in England we have already referred), but it closed again in a yet more complete death. . . . No great imaginative poem had broken the silence of English literature for nearly two hundred years, when Spenser landed in Bristol (from his Irish exile) with his 'Faërie Queen.' . . . It was received with a burst of general welcome. It became (did the poem) the delight of every accomplished gentleman, the model of every poet, the solace of every soldier . . . from that moment the stream of English poetry has flowed on without a break." *

The fierce theological disputes of the time curiously coloured the immortal poem of Spenser. The repeated allusions, the very characters of the poem, remind us how deep the religious questions of the period had sunk into the hearts of all sorts and conditions of men; how theology had surrounded, permeated, penetrated all life. Already had Spenser in his earlier and less-known pastoral, the "Shepherd's Calendar," ranged himself on the side of the Puritan or extreme Protestant party. But the magnificent poem of the "Faërie Queen" is even more pronounced than the "Shepherd's Calendar" in its tendency. Puritan to the core, it has been termed. "The worst foe of its 'Red Cross knight' is the false and scarlet-clad Duessa of Rome, who parts him for a while from Truth, and leads him to the house of Pride. Spenser presses strongly and pitilessly for the execution of Mary Stuart. No bitter word ever breaks the calm or his verse save when it touches upon t perils with which Catholicism was e vironing England, perils before whi his knight must fall, 'were it not th Heavenly Grace doth him uphold a steadfast truth requite him out of a . . . . It is in the temper and aim his work that we catch the nobler a deeper tones of English Puritanism We see how these Spenserian poems "a all animated by his own religious view we see in them the force of early Pr testant feeling, the hatred of Romanis as being the source of error, the devoti to Elizabeth as the symbol of Englan noblest aspirations. The 'Faërie Quee is indeed a poem most characteristic the time in which it was written. . . . is the noblest monument of the fine cul vation of Elizabeth's age." *

Nor was the literature which blossom out with such strange and startling su denness in the last thirty years of t sixteenth century, alone represented masters of English prose like Lyly a Sidney, Hooker and Bacon, or by son men such as Spenser. A wondrous gro of playwrights arose at the same time, a created the English drama. As famo in their own way, and perhaps even mo influential with the people, were the no little-read works of Marlowe, Greene, a Peele. But all these names are forgott in the surpassing glory which surroun the memory of perhaps the greate playwright and dramatist the world h ever seen—William Shakespeare—wh

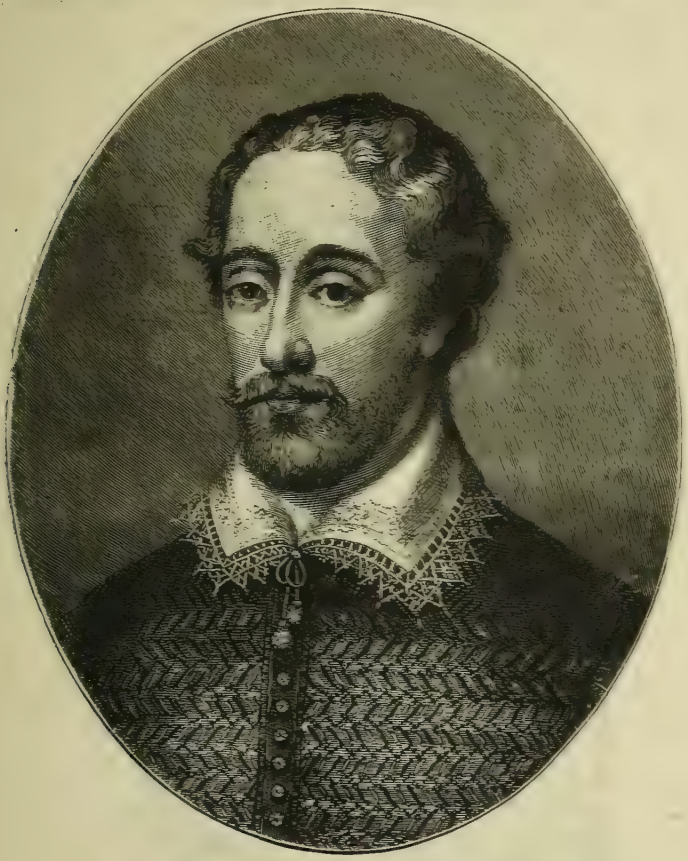
* Green: "History," chap. vii., sect. vii.

* Green, *Ibid.* See also bishop Creighto "Age of Elizabeth," book vii., chap. ii. We ha given some examples of Spenser's Puritan leanin further on in our story.

ïourished in the last years of the virgin ıueen. It was indeed a wondrous school ɔf dramatists, of which Shakespeare is the ıcknowledged prince and chief, and which

James I., and the theatre declined before the feverish excitement which preceded the times of the great rebellion." *

When, however, the splendid roll of prose



EDMUND SPENSER.
(*From an engraving by G. Vertue, after the Bretby portrait.*)

ıcludes such names as Ford, Massinger, en Jonson, Beaumont, and Fletcher. he Elizabethan drama "continued to ırive in England until the severer ıorality of the Puritans revolted against ıe licence into which it began to fall ıder the writers of Elizabeth's successor,

writers, of poets and dramatists, of the reign of the great queen is proudly displayed; when the recital of the marvellous literary

* For a more detailed account of this splendid Elizabethan outburst of literature of various kinds and different schools, see the vivid and picturesque pages of bishop Creighton and Mr. Green, above referred to.

renaissance which took place in England in the last quarter of the sixteenth century is told, the student of the story of the Church of England must never forget that the pioneer of the famous band who have contributed so largely to the making of modern literary England was that quie scholarly man, who in the days of stres and storm, with the divine help, built u the noble fabric of his church; the pain worn, gentle, but ever wise archbisho Matthew Parker.

THE RED CROSS KNIGHT.
(From the first edition of the "Faëry Queene," 1590.)

CHAPTER LVIII.

THE GREAT CONTEST WITH SPAIN AND ROME.

Sympathy in England for the Mediæval Church Order—Elizabeth's Toleration—Mary of Scotland the Natural Head of the Roman Party—Her History—Elizabeth Excommunicated by Pius V. in 1570—Character of this Pope—Roman Catholic Conspiracies against the Queen—The Jesuits—Their Seminaries and Plots—The Queen forced to Repressive Measures—Schemes for her Assassination—Babington's Plot, and Execution of Mary—Revival on Mary's Death of Spanish Designs—Character of Philip of Spain—His Connection with England—Claims the Crown—Cardinal Allen's Pastoral—The Armada and its Failure—Effect on the English People.

THE genesis and progress of the singular and intense dislike to Roman Catholicism among the English people, is a curious and interesting study, and claims in this place some detailed mention of events spread out over some twenty years, by way of explanation. For it had great influence upon the history of the Church of England.

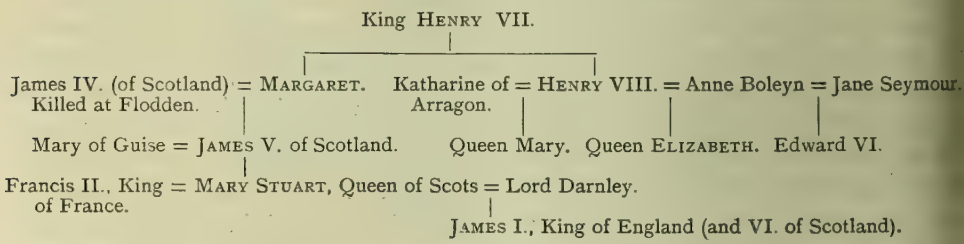
We have already noticed that the Church of England of Parker, Cecil, and Elizabeth, a church of the Reformation, but at the same time a church studiedly conservative in matters which belonged to primitive Catholic tradition, represented the religious feeling of the great majority of the English people; but side by side with this majority were a considerable number of men fairly content with the old state of things, with a deep attachment to the old form of worship to which they had been accustomed from the days of their childhood. In the midland and northern counties this attachment to the old state of things was most marked. There were many things which served to remind the people of the old faith. A lingering attachment to some of them made the new and colder forms of religion distasteful to not a few minds. The old festivals were neglected. The ruined abbeys, the defaced churches, the monuments of the dead perishing for want of care were ever before their eyes. The new religious life seemed, indeed, comparatively silent and colourless.

As early as the year 1562, we find De Quadra, bishop of Aquila, the Spanish ambassador in London, writing to the minister of Spain in Rome requesting him to ask the Pope Pius IV., in the name of English Roman Catholics, whether they might be present without sin at "the common prayers." These prayers themselves, he said, were those of the old church, altered only so far as to omit the merits and intercession of the saints, so that there would be nothing in such a compliance unlawful. The communion might be evaded; they asked for no dispensation here; it was only the ordinary services they wished for permission to attend. The Inquisition, however, which was then powerful in Rome, determined that there must be no compromise; so the Pope replied to the request from England sternly in the negative. Henceforth, the dividing lines between the adherents of the old and new learning became more and more marked.

For a long time the queen looked with gentleness upon these devotees to the old state of things, and repressed the persecuting zeal of her bishops and counsellors, when they would have interfered with them. Priests quietly devoted to the Roman obedience were still to be found in every part of England, especially in the northern counties. Mass was still said in many private houses. Nuns were left unmolested under the shelter of Roman Catholic families; and it was only later in her reign that the queen, becoming aware of the fanaticism and open hostility manifested to her government and person by the English Romanists, stimulated by the open support of Rome, devised sterner measures of repression.

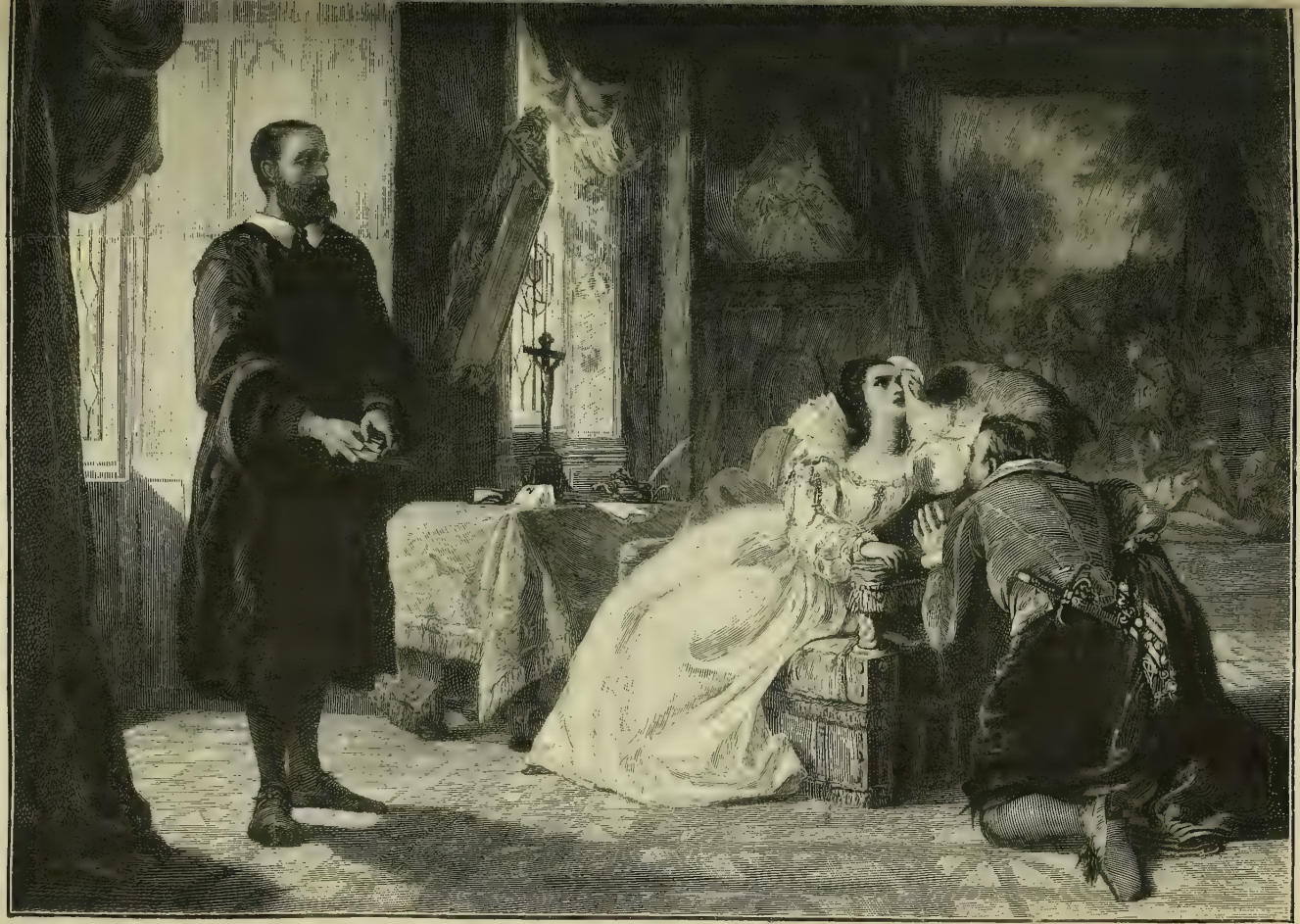
For instance, the people of Lancashire refused utterly to come any more to divine service in the English tongue, we read that at their side. The Pope's authority was openly maintained; sedition was undisguisedly fostered; penances were openly commuted for money; the old mediæval disused practices were being in many places gradually introduced again. This state of things had been enormously increased and encouraged by the promulgation by Pope Pius V., in 1570, of the bull which excommunicated Elizabeth.

The recognised head of this party gradually growing in audacity if not in power as the reign of Elizabeth advanced was Elizabeth's near kinswoman, the notorious Mary, queen of Scots, upon whom most of the English Romanists looked, not only as Elizabeth's legitimate successor, but even as the rightful queen of England. The direct claim of Mary Stuart to the English crown is shown by the following little table:—


King Henry VII.
James IV. (of Scotland) = Margaret.
Killed at Flodden.
Katharine of Arragon. = Henry VIII. = Anne Boleyn = Jane Seymour.
Mary of Guise = James V. of Scotland.
Queen Mary.
Queen Elizabeth.
Edward VI.
Francis II., King of France. = Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots = Lord Darnley.
James I., King of England (and VI. of Scotland).

Lord Derby forbade the use of the liturgy in his private chapel. Again, Dr. Grindal, archbishop of York, found on coming to his diocese that the gentlemen were not affected to godly religion. He relates himself how they observed the old fasts and holidays; they prayed still on their strings of beads. Disguised priests were numerous and busy; corpse candles were lighted again beside the coffins of the dead, while clerks and curates sang requiems

The queen of Scots was thus descended lineally from a daughter of Henry VII *older* than Henry VIII. [The eldest born Arthur, the first husband of Katharine of Arragon, died before his brother, Henry VIII.] The history of this brilliant and ill-fated princess, who played so prominent a part in the reign of Elizabeth, and who so largely contributed to the feeling with which Roman Catholicism came to be regarded in England, is as follows.



JOHN KNOX REPROVING MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS.

(By permission, from the picture by W. P. Frith, R.A., in the Mappin Art Gallery, Sheffield.)

When quite a child Mary was left, by the early death of her father, king James V., heiress to the Scottish throne. Henry VIII. had endeavoured to bring about a marriage between her and his young son Edward. This policy was continued by the Protector Somerset. It completely failed, and the Scots, instead, arranged a marriage of their young queen with the dauphin of France, the hereditary enemy of England. Mary, queen of Scots, thus spent her girlhood and early womanhood at the gay and somewhat dissolute court of France. Her husband the dauphin succeeded to the French throne under the name of Francis II., and Mary was thus for a brief period queen of France as well as of Scotland. Francis II. soon died, however, and Mary was left a widow at the early age of eighteen. She then returned to Scotland to take possession of her ancestral throne. This was in the year 1561, in the fourth year of Elizabeth's reign. At this period Mary was one of the most lovely, accomplished, and attractive ladies in the world. More French than Scottish, from her girlhood she had occupied the highest position in society, and had been trained in all the ways of intrigue and statesmanship, regarding herself as rightful queen of England, as well as of Scotland. In religion and politics she was an ardent Romanist.

At first, on her return to Scotland, she was welcomed with real and devoted enthusiasm. A beautiful girl, only eighteen years of age, their own hereditary queen, who had for a brief season worn the crown of France with a singular charm and dignity, which had won her unnumbered passionate admirers in the foreign land of her adoption; heiress, too, by undoubted descent to the English throne; a consummate mistress of all the arts and intrigues of a court; for a time she was the idol of a large portion of the warlike and chivalrous Scottish nation. But Mary Stuart, with all her splendid gifts and matchless opportunities, unscrupulous and utterly selfish, was unable to retain for any lengthened period her hold upon the affections of the Scottish folk; while her sensual nature soon led her into committing the gravest errors in policy—errors which, in the course of her unhappy career, too often shaded into crimes. Although a brilliant and showy personality, she was, after all, but a sorry chief of a great religious party.

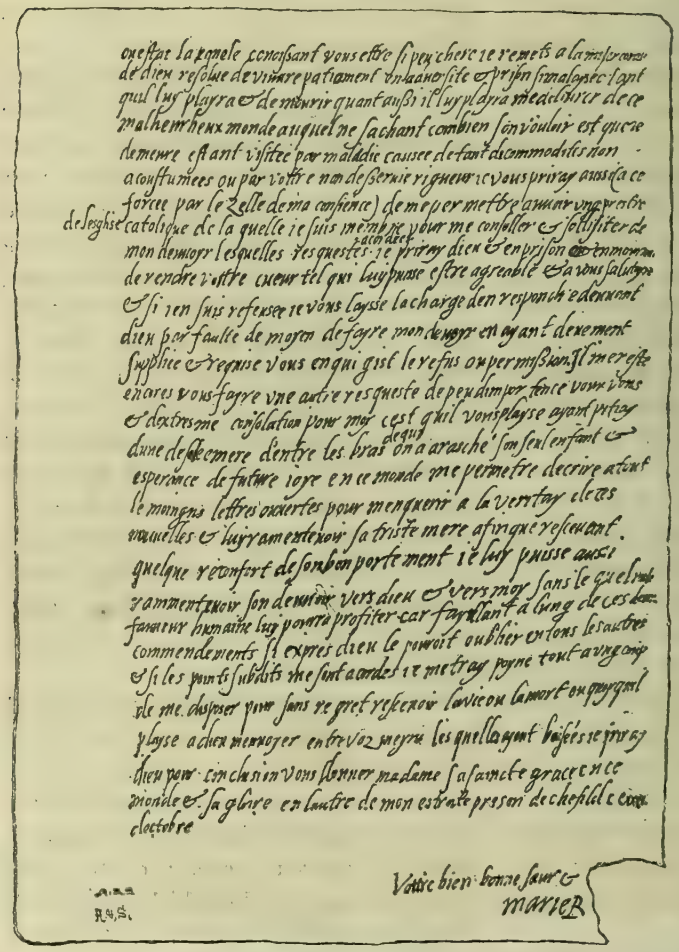
Her second marriage with Henry, lord Darnley, her cousin, a Roman Catholic like herself, kinsman also to many of the leading Scottish lords, was a most unhappy one. He has been styled, not without reason, a proud, ignorant, self-willed boy, utterly unfitted to be the mate of such a princess as Mary Stuart. It was in 1565 that Mary married her cousin Darnley. The episodes of the great tragedy which ruined Mary's life followed quickly. In the year following the marriage, David Rizzio, the queen's confidential secretary, and, men said, too-intimate friend and counsellor, was torn rudely from her presence by Darnley and his friends, and foully murdered in the royal Scottish palace of Holyrood. The queen pretended, after a time, to forgive the bitter and cruel affront; but early in 1567 Europe was startled at the news of another deed of blood, more far-reaching in its consequences than the murder of David Rizzio. Darnley, who

outwardly had been partially reconciled with Mary, on the night of a ball at Holyrood left the palace for a lonely house close to Edinburgh, called Kirk of Field, where he was residing. The ill-matched pair parted in the evening in apparent friendship, seemingly with affection; Mary kissed her husband and pressed a ring, in token of her returning love, on his finger. But that night the "Kirk of Field" was blown up by gunpowder, and the unhappy Darnley was found dead in the garden. The queen has never been cleared from suspicion of complicity in the awful crime, and her subsequent conduct went far to confirm the terrible accusation. The disgrace of Mary was complete when, in the late spring of that same year (1567) she married the earl of Bothwell, whom Froude does not hesitate to term "the foulest ruffian among her subjects." Before this iniquitous marriage was carried out, Bothwell was formally divorced from his legitimate wife. Mary at once created her third husband duke of Orkney and Shetland. There is but little doubt that the queen, whose growing dislike for Darnley had ripened into loathing after his share in the murder of Rizzio, had indulged in a guilty passion for Bothwell. Bothwell had compassed, probably with the queen's consent, the death of Darnley at the Kirk of Field.

Events now succeeded one another in quick succession in the unhappy career of Mary. Her conduct had deservedly ruined her in the estimation of all the European nations. At home her name had become a byword of shame and disgrace. A very few months after the Bothwell marriage, she became a captive of the Scottish lords, who had determined to dethrone her, in Lochleven castle, a queen henceforth only nominally. For a year she remained in duress at Lochleven; in 1568 she contrived to escape, and was soon joined by a strong force gathered together by men who still believed in the unhappy queen. Lord Murray, her half-brother, who had become regent of Scotland, met her troops and defeated them at Langside, near Glasgow. After the battle, which ruined her hopes, she fled to England, throwing herself on the mercy of her kinswoman, Elizabeth. From the year 1568 till 1587, when she expiated the errors and mistakes of her sad career in the hall of Fotheringay castle, a period of between eighteen and nineteen years, she remained a prisoner in England, treated now with greater, now with less severity, a centre of wild and generally ill-conceived plots against the life of Elizabeth, her government, and the established Anglican communion; a perpetual menace to the peace and prosperity of England.

We have given a plain, unvarnished sketch of the active portion of the life of the queen of Scots, as it appeared to her contemporaries who were responsible for the government of Scotland and England. Was she, after all, guilty of the dark crimes on the ground of which the Scottish lords demanded and enforced her abdication, before she threw herself upon Elizabeth's mercy? Again, was she privy to the plots for the assassination of Elizabeth, for which she suffered in the hall of Fotheringay? Round her memory has ever raged a war of contrary opinions. The genuineness of many of the pieces of accusation have since been gravely doubted;

but much remains unexplained, and probably the true story of that unhappy life of plots and intrigues will never be told. To some she still remains a spotless and romantic figure of a beautiful and cruelly persecuted prisoner; to others as the incarnation of wickedness, deceit, and lust. By not a few in our day the touching and pathetic presentment of the great Scottish romancist (Walter Scott) is still accepted as a piece of genuine history.



END OF A LETTER TO QUEEN ELIZABETH, FROM MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS, WHEN IN PRISON, ASKING TO HAVE A CATHOLIC CHAPLAIN. (*British Museum.*)

Among the tombs of the illustrious dead in the royal abbey of Westminster, there is no more stately monument than that erected with so much care and cost by her son, king James I.—a tardy reparation, if it be a reparation, and not a piece of royal policy, after long years of utter indifference and cruel neglect. Did king James, when ordering in his letter the removal of the remains of what was once Mary, queen of Scots, from the grave of Peterborough to the stately abbey tomb, believe in his mother's innocence and wrongs? The words, at least, would seem to imply that he did, when he wrote his royal commands, "that the like honour might be done to the body of his dearest mother, and the like monument be extant of her, that had been done to his dear sister, the late queen Elizabeth." "Over the fatal coffin which received the headless corpse of poor Mary Stuart at Fotheringay, was raised a monument like

to that of Elizabeth, but on a grander scale, as if to indicate the superiority of the mother to the predecessor, of the victim to the vanquisher."* Her tomb has ever been her bones, lately translated to the burial-place of the kings of England at Westminster, are resplendent with miracles." "This is probably," adds the historian

MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS, AT THE AGE OF THIRTY-EIGHT.
(*From a Contemporary Portrait.*)

revered by sympathising Scots as the shrine of a canonised saint. "I hear," says Demster, thirteen years after the removal of the remains from Peterborough, "that

* Dean Stanley: "Memorials of Westminster Abbey," chap. iii.

of the abbey (dean Stanley), "the latest instance of a miracle-working tomb in England, and it invests the question of queen Mary's character with a theological as well as an historical interest."

During the greater part of the eighteen

or nineteen years of Mary Stuart's captivity in England, discredited though she was in the world after the Darnley tragedy, and the subsequent marriage with Bothwell, she was looked upon as the natural head of the English Roman Catholics, and by many at least as the probable successor to the crown. After the year 1570, when Mary Stuart had been in England about two years, the bull of excommunication launched by Pope Pius V. against Elizabeth, placed the English Roman Catholics in a new position. Hitherto, they had been tolerated in their practices, in some instances even perhaps favoured by Elizabeth; but this act of the Roman see, which affected to regard the English queen as a pretender, a usurper, a vessel of all iniquity, could only be regarded by the government of Elizabeth in the light of a declaration of war—as an act of open aggression; while the faithful adherent of the Pope in England could not help being more or less looked on as a traitor.

The occupant of the see of Rome in 1558 had been Paul IV., a violent and passionate old man, whose policy of known hostility to Elizabeth had, as early as 1559, given place to the gentle and conciliatory measure adopted by his successor, Pius IV., who ruled from 1559 to 1566. Michele Ghislieri, who followed him under the designation of Pius V., had been before his elevation a Dominican Inquisitor. He was a man of devoted piety and of blameless life, but at the same time a stern, relentless bigot; it was this Pope who in 1570 fulminated the bull of excommunication against Elizabeth, which was secretly nailed on the door of the bishop of London's house. His successors more or less followed the same bitter, hostile policy. It was Gregory XIII., who followed him as Pope, who ordered a *Te Deum* to be sung in honour of the atrocious massacre of the Huguenots (French Protestants) on St. Bartholomew's day, 1572, and went in person in solemn procession at the thanksgiving for that dreadful act. The Pope, the recognised supreme head of the Roman Catholic religion, became thus closely associated in the minds of Englishmen with plots against the government and the peace of England, being more or less connected with the several successive designs against the life of the beloved queen, with awful crimes like the St. Bartholomew's massacre in France, and the deeds of blood which disgraced the Spanish governor Alva's rule in the Netherlands.

In England gradually, as the reign of Elizabeth advanced, under the hostile inspiration of Rome the Roman Catholic became, not without reason, generally suspected of disloyalty; and—reluctantly on the queen's part—the policy of toleration was exchanged for a sterner policy of repression, and now and again even of persecution. Several dangerous conspiracies against the life of Elizabeth were unmasked by the ceaseless vigilance of the queen's ministers, Cecil and Walsingham. In all these the captive Mary Stuart was involved. In one of them the duke of Norfolk, the chief nobleman in England, and a Roman Catholic, was convicted of traitorous designs, of proposing to marry the captive queen of Scots, and of intending to place her on the throne of Elizabeth. Norfolk was beheaded as a traitor in 1572.

A still more subtle method to restore the influence of Roman Catholicism in

England was adopted through the instrumentality of an active though secret propaganda, undertaken by a succession of devoted and earnest missionaries, trained in foreign seminaries under the auspices of the recently founded Society of Jesus, known as the Jesuits. This world-famous order owed its origin to a young Spanish soldier named Ignatius Loyola, who, after being dangerously wounded at the siege of Pampeluna in 1521, consecrated his life to religion. A few like-minded comrades joined Loyola, and they devoted themselves to the advancement of Christianity, and constituted themselves the vowed servants of the Pope, at whose disposition they placed themselves unreservedly. We hear of them first at Rome in 1537. They offered to come to England in the days of Cardinal Pole, but Pole distrusted them, and declined their proffered assistance. The Jesuits were bound by the most solemn vows of obedience, but the rule of their order confined them to no monastic or secluded life. They were, and have ever since been, devoted to the more practical duties of religion—to preaching, to hearing confessions, and especially to the work of education.

The order spread rapidly in continental Europe, and became a most formidable army of supporters of the Papal claims to supremacy. At Douai, and later at Rheims, under the powerful sanction and patronage of Philip of Spain, important seminaries for the training and education of English Roman Catholics were established. These famous educational centres near England, together with an English college founded by Pope Gregory XIII. at Rome in 1579, became centres of disaffected English Romanists. To the men trained in these educational homes the order of Jesus became the object of especial admiration. The Jesuits were the newest of the "orders"; their especial *raison d'être* was the defence of the Pope, whose lofty claims had been called in question by the daring innovations of the Reformation. The new "order" was the Pope's body-guard. It had its centres in every great city. The most profound learning, the most entire self-devotion, unquestioning obedience, unremitting industry, were its watchwords. The most fervid among the English Romanists were eager to become members of the famous company.

At the end of 1578 Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, wrote to Philip "that the number of Catholics increases daily, the instruments being missionaries from the seminary which your majesty founded. A hundred of those who went to study there or at Rome have returned in this past year. They travel disguised as laymen, and, young as they are, the fervour with which they throw themselves into the work, and the cheerful fortitude with which they accept martyrdom when occasion offers, are entirely admirable. Some have already suffered with the utmost calmness. . . . Till lately there were but few priests left in England, and religion was dying out for want of teachers . . . but now, by means of those who have come over, it has pleased God to provide a remedy."

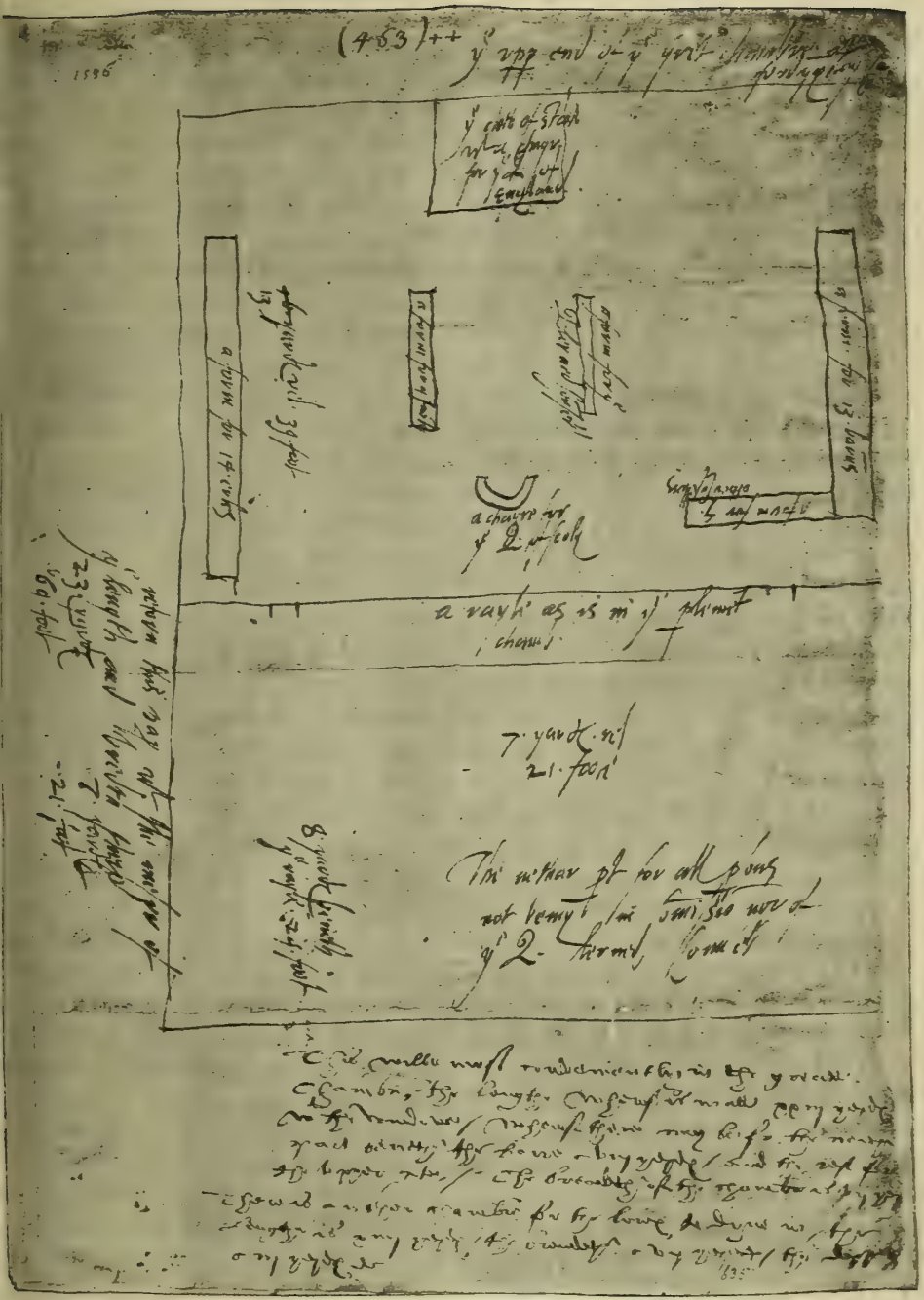
These words of Mendoza fairly picture the state of things in England in 1578 and the following years, and clearly describe the new danger to which the settlement of religion under the queen, Cecil, Parker,

and their coadjutors, was exposed. The Jesuit missionaries in England became more and more active. We hear of numbers flocking to the secret services of these priests, who, in various disguises, itinerated from place to place. A printing-press was set up, which issued pamphlets bearing on controversial points, written by skilled hands, and scattered them among the people. An active propaganda of the old learning was undertaken by these zealous men.

Very reluctantly the queen was at length induced to adopt severe measures against these disturbers of the public peace. For it must be remembered that the religion so earnestly and effectively preached by these new missionaries meant revolution; meant the queen's dethronement, if not her death; meant a complete disruption of the whole existing machinery of church and state; meant complete submission to the Pope, and a return to the old pre-Reformation mediæval superstitions. Towards the close of 1580 various arrests were made, and in accordance with the unhappy practice of that age—too common, alas! in all countries—torture was had recourse to, to extort confessions. The adoption of this infamous mode of questioning was apologised for somewhat later thus, in a letter addressed to secretary Walsingham: "Nor was any man tormented for matter of religion, nor asked what he believed of any point of religion, but only to understand particular practices against the queen for setting up their religion by treason or force." Alas! not a few of these brave but mistaken men were even put to death under circumstances of revolting cruelty; but those who are enthusiastic admirers of their earnestnes and undoubted fortitude under suffering must not forget that they suffered a traitors, not as missionaries.

That the queen's life was again an again in danger from these repeated plot was firmly believed, and not withou reason. The mission of these Jesuits wa evidently no mere innocent evangelisa tion. It was connected—there is abun dant evidence for the assertion—with dar plots for assassination and rebellion. terrible object-lesson was indeed presente to the English statesmen who were ac vising Elizabeth, by the assassination the heroic prince of Orange (William th Silent), the able and successful leader the Netherlands revolt against the blood tyranny of Alva and Philip of Spain. Th assassination of William the Silent wa attempted in 1582, and fatally carried ou at Delft in 1584. It was an act which wa mainly due to the fanaticism inspired b the fervid preaching of the same grea Jesuit order in the Low Countries. Con stant plots, more or less important in th numbers and organisation of those wh shared in them, came to light in thes years. One most notable was the con spiracy of Throgmorton, which undoubtedl designed the assassination of Elizabeth an the placing of the captive queen of Scot upon the throne, by the aid of Spain an of Roman well-wishers in France. Throg morton's papers, which were seized, wer found gravely to implicate Mendoz Philip's ambassador, who was in conse quence summarily ordered to quit th realm.

Thus the Roman Catholic reactio gradually became more and more close



ROUGH SKETCH BY LORD BURLEIGH OF THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE HALL OF FOTHERINGAY CASTLE FOR THE TRIAL OF MARY, ON OCT. 12, 1586. (*British Museum.*)

associated in the minds of Englishmen with treason, revolution, and even with cowardly assassination. The earnest Roman Catholic—even the law-abiding—as the reign of Elizabeth wore on, gradually appeared in the eyes of the people clad in the dark and sombre livery of a traitor. So widespread was the persuasion that the loved queen's life was in imminent danger from the machinations of traitors, that "a voluntary association was formed, the members of which solemnly undertook to prosecute to the death all who should make an attempt against the queen (Elizabeth), and all in whose behalf such an attempt should be made. This was a threat against the imprisoned Mary—a warning to her party that her death would follow on the success of any plot against Elizabeth. The Catholic assassinations were met in England with a stern threat of vengeance. The two parties stood in undisguised hostility the one to the other." *

In 1583–4 Mendoza, the ambassador, wrote that as many as 11,000 persons were under surveillance or in strict arrest as suspected of traitorous designs connected with religion. As many as 500 Jesuits or seminary priests were believed to be at work in the realm; a great number of these had at different times, since the adoption of more rigorous measures, been arrested, and batches of them, convicted of traitorous designs, had been executed. But the propaganda went on; the death of each of the martyrs, as they were termed, was celebrated as a victory of the Catholic religion, and each story of their sufferings, when told abroad in th seminaries of Rheims and Rome, was fresh incentive for others to offer them selves for the dangerous English missio

The hour drew near for the culminatio of all this. The assassination of the Eng lish queen—that "wicked woman," as sh was termed—an event earnestly desire and, if possible, to be compassed, wa freely spoken of in the lecture halls foreign seminaries, where the tools fo these dark conspiracies were forged. Th two chiefs of Roman Catholicism, th clerical and the lay, had signified the approval of the queen's murder. Pop Gregory XIII. gave his sanction to th carrying out of the murderous deed; an Philip II., king of Spain, the most powe ful potentate in the world, had expresse his views in writing. "To kill Elizabet was an enterprise," wrote the Spanis monarch, "so saintly, and would be of s great a service to Almighty God, that Go would prosper it, unless provoked by th backwardness of men."

In 1586 the plot was hatched whic brought about the grand catastrophe. is known in English history as "Babing ton's Conspiracy," from the chief co spirator, a young English Roman Catho gentleman. The details were planned i the Rheims seminary, and several of th principal agents were more or less co nected with the court of Elizabeth. Th great plot included, besides the assassin tion of the English queen and her chi ministers (of these Cecil and Walsingha the secretary, were the most prominent the setting at liberty of Mary, quee of Scots, with, of course, her proclam tion as queen in the room of Elizabet

* Bishop Creighton: "Age of Elizabeth," book v., chap. ii.

and an invasion of the Spanish troops from the Netherlands to co-operate with the English Romanists, who were expected to rise and support Mary Stuart. But the ever-watchful minister, Walsingham, Elizabeth's secretary of state, was not to be caught napping. His emissaries were everywhere—in Paris, in Rome, in the very seminaries themselves; and every dark detail of Babington's arrangements was known in London. When the fullest information had been obtained, the ringleaders were arrested. All the private papers of the queen of Scots were seized. Mary, though guarded strictly, lived in semi-royal state, and was allowed the service of waiting women and secretaries. Some of the arrested confessed their guilt freely, but confessions were hardly needed. A mass of damning evidence in the papers seized was in the hands of Elizabeth's council; and England, long conscious that dark deeds were meditated by some of the Romanists, awoke to the full knowledge of the horrors which had been formally agreed upon in this carefully arranged conspiracy. The project of Babington, as we have noted, included the murder of Elizabeth's ministers as well as of the queen herself. The English Romanists, most of them guiltless of all knowledge of such designs, were universally credited with designs of assassination, foreign invasion, and all the terrors of civil war. They stood out in the estimation of the great majority of their fellow-countrymen as at once betrayers and enemies of their country. Babington and his associates were publicly tried and executed, some of them with all the terrible adjuncts which in those days constituted a traitor's doom; hanged by the neck, but only for a moment, these unhappy men were then cut to pieces, with skilful prolongation of their dying torments.

The queen of Scots was shut up in Fotheringay Castle and rigorously guarded, and subsequently subjected to a formal state trial. In the face of the most tremendous proofs of her complicity in the plot, Mary Stuart to the last, with a strange dignity and composure worthy of a nobler life, denied all knowledge of the intended murder of Elizabeth. She was condemned, and refusing to beg her life of the English queen, died on the scaffold in the great hall of Fotheringay, with a splendid courage worthy of her royal and illustrious lineage, calm and queenly to the end. Friends and foes alike of the Scottish queen, who for so long had been so prominent a figure in European history, bear witness to the serene resignation with which Mary met her death. So calm and self-possessed, so queenly in her last words and actions was she, that it would almost seem as though she was deliberately playing a part for the judgment of posterity.

We have already referred to the different estimates which posterity has formed of this great figure which occupied for so long a period so important a place in the gallery of historic personages of the age of Elizabeth. To some she will ever be the consummate skilful actress, the beautiful but selfish woman, the slave now of her ambition, now of her passions, "the fitting tutelary saint for the sentimental Romanism of the modern world," while in the hearts of others the hapless Mary Stuart is enshrined as the fair, suffering woman; the

sad, uncomplaining victim of an iron, remorseless destiny; the patient heroine of a lost cause and a fading religion; in her very errors and mistakes even more sinned against than sinning. Our work here, however, is simply to show the lasting effect on the minds of the English people of the policy of the political English Romanists in the early days of the new settlement of the Church of England.

When the dread death sentence was pronounced and published, the news was received by the large majority of English people with wild and delirious joy. In the modern estimates of the great Fotheringay tragedy, it should be remembered that at the time the feeling of the people was generally one of intense satisfaction that so dangerous a plotter was removed from their midst. This feeling was strong among the quiet law-abiding Englishmen; they felt that at any moment the flames of a civil war might burst forth. The constantly recurring Roman Catholic plots against Elizabeth's life ever kept this dread possibility in view, and the centre of all these conspiracies had been the queen of Scots.

The plotting queen, who had so long been the powerful and dangerous, though sorely disgraced head of the Roman Catholic party in England, lay quiet at last in her bloody coffin beneath the shadow of the mighty Norman arches of Peterborough cathedral. It would have seemed that nothing further was needed utterly to discredit the Roman cause among the English people. Already the name of Romanist was synonymous with the name of traitor; already the idea of Romish success or supremacy was inextricably bound up in the eyes of men with ideas of misrule, confusion, and revolution. But another tremendous blow to the influence of Roman Catholicism among the English people was still to fall.

For long years the Spanish monarch had been watching England, waiting for the moment when his designs upon the great island kingdom, whose power and wealth he knew so well, could be carried out with a fair prospect of success. In these designs, it must be remembered, religion and ambition were equally mingled. To the heir of Charles V. and the husband of the long-dead Mary Tudor, the subjugation of England presented itself, not merely in the light of a conquest necessary to maintain the grandeur and prosperity of his own well-loved Spain; but to conquer and to convert the powerful and mighty island of heretics, in the eyes of Philip, ranked as a blessed work—a very Crusade.

Since the publication of Mr. Motley's very noble and luminous "History of the Dutch Republic," the character of Philip II. of Spain has been laid bare to the student of history, and a just appreciation of that famous or infamous man can now be formed. Two popular pictures of him exist. To the Roman Catholics he was the brave and devoted champion of what they deemed the true orthodox form of Christianity, unswerving in his purpose to extirpate from the countries of Europe heresy in its many forms. Philip II. represents to the mind of Romanists the ideal of a Catholic sovereign—the true soldier of God. To the reformers, on the other hand, of all nationalities, Philip was the cruel, ambitious ruler; the instigator

of the ruthless persecutions of the Low Countries—persecutions before which the

THE EXECUTION OF MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS.
(From the picture by Ford Madox Brown, by permission of Henry Boddington, Esq., Pownall Hall, Wilmslow, Cheshire.)

deplorable events of the reign of Mary of England pale into insignificance. In England, Philip the persecutor was dreaded as one who aimed not merely at the extirpation of the reformed religion, but at its very existence as a nation. The

Spanish sovereign was credited, and fairly, with the design of reducing England to the position of a province of Spain.

The true portrait of the king of Spain is something between the two. He was not the hero the Roman Catholic historian loves to paint him; on the other hand, he was far from being the fiend in human shape of the reformers' picture. That he was, however, the most dangerous enemy England ever had to dread and to combat is indisputably true.

The son of Charles V. was an intensely religious man. With him religion, in that form he had been trained to regard as the only true form, was ever paramount. When his father, Charles V., after his abdication, worn out by a life of ceaseless care, lay dying in his solitude in the Spanish monastery of Yuste, he commended to his son a solemn duty, which he in his war-filled anxious life had never been able to carry out. His son and successor was to extirpate "heresy," then rampant in the world of the sixteenth century, in his own broad dominions; he was to wage, too, an implacable war with the same dreaded heresy in the dominions of his neighbours. The Spanish territories of the wealthy and powerful Low Countries, and England, where once he had worn the crown, were the two principal centres where this heresy he had to destroy especially flourished. Philip received his father's dying wish as a message from God. "He saw in his position and in his conviction a call from Providence to restore through Europe the shaking fabric of the church, and he lived to show that the most cruel curse which can afflict the world is the tyranny of ignorant conscientiousness, and that there is no crime too dark for a devotee to perpetrate under the seeming sanction of his creed." At home, in his own Spain, the work king Philip set himself to carry out was comparatively simple. Each priest and monk in Spain was a ready-made soldier of the Inquisition, without mercy, even as God in their view of Him, was without mercy. "The rack, the dungeon, the stake, the gibbet, soon purified the Spanish dominions of Philip II. . . . In Sicily, Naples, and Lombardy there was even less difficulty; beyond the Atlantic Christianity was as yet only known in the form in which it had been preached by the Dominicans." *

The story of the persecutions, followed by the successful revolt of the Low Countries, with the historic commercial world-centres of Antwerp, Bruges, and Ghent, will ever be the most instructive chapter in the annals of the famous Spanish monarch. The attempt to coerce and to subjugate England through the tremendous instrumentality of the "Armada" ranks, perhaps, as the second of Philip's mighty efforts to carry out Charles V.'s dying injunction. How signally both efforts resulted in utter failure is told in the stirring annals of the sixteenth century. In the persecution directed by Philip's renowned instrument, Alva, in the Low Countries, it is calculated that in three months as many as eighteen hundred persons perished at the stake and on the scaffold. It was the despair and nations' wrath, the outcome of this tremendous burst of Spanish fanaticism, which moved

* Froude: "History of England," vol. xii. chap. xvi.

the Netherlanders to revolt, and in the end successfully to break down for ever the fabric of Spanish rule in the north countries of Europe.

The personality of the author of these awful persecutions—the husband of queen Mary Tudor, the ambitious claimant to the throne of Elizabeth and the sovereignty of England, the champion of Roman Catholicism, the man who made Romanism hateful in the eyes of the English people—is a strange and interesting one. He was no soldier. Historians like Froude and bishop Creighton, following the careful and accurate analysis of Motley and the brilliant sketch of his biographer, Prescott, dwell on Philip's reserved and cautious disposition. Slow and hesitating, he utterly lacked the energy, the high-mettled spirit, the romance, the dash and power of the Spanish character. Few seem to have been his vices. Moderate in his habits, careful and business-like even to a fault, a constant sufferer from ill-health, in the still seclusion of his gloomy palace-monastery of the Escurial he would sit the long day through, weaving the cunning web of Spanish diplomacy, ruling from that silent cabinet the vast empire of Spain and the Indies; reading despatch after despatch which poured in upon him from his obsequious lieutenants in every part of the world, mastering them all, commenting upon them with a marvellous patience and restless industry. Acting then upon the information thus painfully and laboriously gathered, he slowly issued the sovereign orders which guided the course of this terrible persecution, that stern, relentless campaign, or directed the development of the mighty web of Spanish commerce in the two worlds; but never losing sight for one moment of the grand aim of his life's work—the extirpation of the heresy of the Reformation, and the establishment of what he deemed to be the one true Catholic faith.

Such was Philip II. of Spain, true to his convictions to the last; a sad, gloomy, unhappy man, the author of untold misery—of sufferings the like to which, considering the mighty area over which he ruled and the number of human souls affected by his decrees, the world had never witnessed before—but never swerving one hair's-breadth from what he believed to be the truth. He lived to see his fairest, richest provinces torn from his grasp by the very heretics he had so relentlessly pursued; he lived to see the England he coveted for his own great and powerful as England had never been before; he lived to see his enormous fleets shattered and discredited, and the unrivalled commercial grandeur of his loved Spain already faded and tarnished; and, more than all, he lived to see the Reformation, whose destruction had been his life-long dream, firmly rooted and established both in the revolted Low Countries and in England. And dying in 1598, after a long reign, which had lasted some forty years, of a weary and painful malady bravely and patiently borne, as he passed away men heard him say: "I die like a good Catholic, in faith and obedience to the Roman church." *

Philip the Second, king of Spain

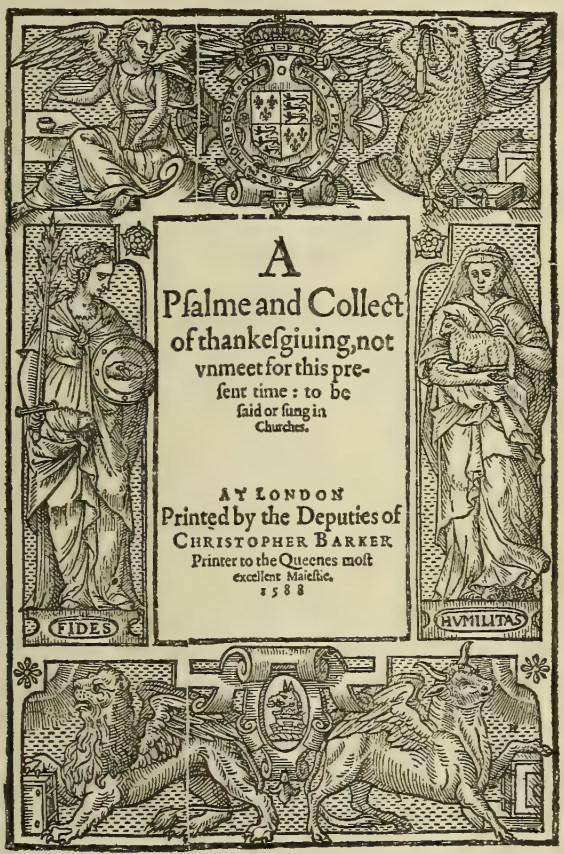
* *Cf.* Froude: "History of England," vol. ix., chap. xvi.; vol. xii., chap. xxxiv. And bishop Creighton: "Elizabeth," book vi., iii. And also Motley: "Dutch Republic," Prescott: "Philip II." and Stirling: "Cloister-Life of Charles V."

(1556–1598), heir of the ambitions of the emperor Charles V., and of most of his enormous and widespread realms, from the year 1554 had been curiously mixed up with English politics. His marriage with Mary Tudor gave him a peculiar interest in England, and a quasi-regal authority over the English people. The marriage, never a happy connection, was severed by Mary's death in 1558; but Philip, who on his father's abdication in 1556 had become king of Spain and sovereign lord of many another land, was desirous, if possible, to retain his hold on England by marrying Mary's sister, Elizabeth. Foiled in this attempt, Philip ever viewed England and her queen with dislike and suspicion but, as we have seen, his policy prevented any open manifestation of hostility, be cause, had Elizabeth been driven from th throne, the succession would have cer tainly fallen to Mary, queen of Scots, who through her close matrimonial connection with France, Spain's most hated rival

PHILIP II. OF SPAIN.
(*After the portrait by Titian.*)

would have been a far more dangerous English sovereign from a Spanish point of view than Elizabeth. As time went on, and Elizabeth became the formidable champion of the Reformation, the dislike of Philip, as an earnest and bigoted Roman Catholic, for the English sovereign grew in intensity. Other circumstances, too, connected with the vast colonial empire of Philip and the commercial enterprises of Spain, which were seriously interfered with by English adventure, widened the breach year by year between Elizabeth and Spain.

At last the tragedy of Fotheringay left the way open for Spain to prosecute the long-cherished project of humiliating England and dethroning Elizabeth; the queen of Scots was dead, and the old fear of assisting France through Mary Stuart existed no longer. Even before her death Philip had meditated a great attack on England; but now that she was gone, the Spaniard who had been the



TITLE-PAGE OF A PSALM OF THANKSGIVING FOR THE VICTORY OVER THE ARMADA. (*British Museum.*)

husband * of Mary Tudor could claim the throne for himself. What the formidable attack of Philip on England in 1588, the year following the execution of Mary, queen of Scots, really signified, is best and most graphically shown in the pastoral letter to the English people of cardinal Allen. Allen had been for years the indefatigable teacher of the disloyal Roman Catholic seminarists at Douai and at Rheims. Pope Sixtus V., who had already offered a large sum of money to Philip to help him in his invasion of England, had made him a cardinal; and Allen was also named as the future archbishop of Canterbury.

This pastoral letter of cardinal Allen rehearsed the terrible anathemas levelled by Rome at queen Elizabeth, urging at the same time the faithful English Roman Catholics to rise in arms and thus welcome the Spanish champion of their religion. Copies of this pastoral of Allen's were secretly conveyed across the Channel, and distributed by means of the many Roman missionaries scattered up and down the country. The Spanish invasion, so runs the traitorous document which heralded the advent of the Armada and the soldiers of Parma, who were to be convoyed across the narrow seas by means of the ships of Spain, was intended to dethrone the usurping heretic Elizabeth, who was termed the infamous daughter of the excommunicated Henry VIII. The English queen was described as born in adultery; as one who had overthrown the English Church, profaned the sacraments, and torn God's priests from the altars in the very act of celebrating the holy mysteries. In the sees of the bishops she had placed the scum and filth of mankind—infamous, lascivious, apostate heretics. She had made England a sanctuary of atheists and rebels. Innocent, godly, and learned men, priests and bishops in England and Ireland, had been racked, torn, chained, and even barbarously executed; and the queen had filled up at last the measure of her wickedness by killing the anointed of God, the lady Mary, her nearest kinswoman, and by law the rightful possessor of her crown. The holy father had for a long time treated her with gentleness; but finding that such treatment availed nothing, he at length asked the princes of Christendom to aid him in the punishment of so wicked a monster—the scourge of God and shame of womankind. The most Catholic king [Philip II. of Spain] had undertaken the task, and his soldiers were about to land on the English coast. "His holiness," pursued Allen, "being of your own flesh and blood, has been pleased to choose me as his legate for the restoring of religion. . . . He discharges you (the faithful) of your oath of allegiance, and requires you to join his Catholic majesty's power on their arrival." They (the faithful) were to fight for God's church and the honour of English knighthood, for Christ, for religion, and for the holy sacraments of the faith. The saints in heaven were interceding for them; the blood of the martyred bishops, friars, priests, and laymen was crying to God for their victory; they were not to fear, for the English nation would turn from the setting sun, and would follow no more the broken fortunes of a

* Philip had also shadowy claims to the English throne through his descent from the house of Lancaster; John of Gaunt having married Constance, daughter of Peter the Cruel of Castille, from whom the emperor Charles V. was descended.

mean and filthy woman. They were to take heart and quit themselves like men.*

Much more of similar traitorous stuff was contained in this singular document of cardinal Allen, which preceded the advent of the Spanish Armada. The mighty armament itself sailed from the shores of Spain for the invasion of England in the July of 1588, under the command of the duke de Medina Sidonia, the grandest and apparently the most powerful fleet that the world had ever seen, while a trained and well-equipped Spanish army, under the able generalship of the prince of Parma, waited for their coming on the coasts of the Low Countries.

The utter discomfiture of this magnificent Armada by the English fleet, under the gallant Howard, Drake, and their valiant companions, is a well-known story, and does not belong to our own. But the memory of king Philip's attempt, and the awful danger to which England had been exposed, remained for ever green in the memory of the English people. It has never been forgotten. Twenty years filled with plots, with secret machinations, with constant rumours of revolt, revolution, and assassinations, had already sunk deep into the hearts of the nation. The Armada was the crowning blow to Roman Catholicism in this country. The innocent suffered with the guilty. There is no reason to suppose that the majority of English Romanists really sympathised with these would-be disturbers of the national peace, or ever dreamed of making common cause with the traitorous men who desired the violent death of Elizabeth and the elevation of the queen of Scots to the throne; still less favoured the views of Philip of Spain. But, naturally, the well-known conspiring of the little band of Jesuits and of seminarists, their undisguised teachings, the horrible fulminations of successive popes, the designs of Philip, which, when the Armada sailed in all its grandeur and pomp of war from the shores of Spain, seemed near their dread fulfilment—all these things impressed the English people with the persuasion that Roman Catholicism was a public and perpetual menace to the very existence of the empire; that the English Roman Catholic was at heart a traitor, one who for the interests of what he deemed the true religion was ready to sacrifice the best interests of his country.

Never has this stern object-lesson been forgotten; and the dislike, in many cases the positive hatred, of the English nation to Rome and its faith, which even after three centuries still lives among us, is largely traceable to the events which happened during the first thirty years of Elizabeth's reign, very briefly and roughly portrayed in the preceding pages. In much, the dispassionate modern historian freely confesses, this dislike is exaggerated and perhaps unreasonable; but it was then far from baseless, and, rightly or wrongly, it has largely influenced and deeply coloured the whole subsequent history of the Church of England. How strongly these events influenced Elizabeth, and determined her conduct and the policy of her confidential advisers in church matters, must now be related, as we proceed to take up again our chronicle of the ecclesiastical settlement of her reign.

* *Cf.* Froude, who gives this "Admonition to the Nobility of England by Cardinal Allen" at greater length: vol. xii., chap. xxxvi.

CHAPTER LIX.

ARCHBISHOP GRINDAL AND THE PURITAN PARTY.

Elizabeth's Religious Views—Overpowered by the Circumstances of her Reign—Influence of Exile upon the Reforming Bishops—Influence of the Queen—The Resulting Compromise—Thomas Cartwright and the Extreme Puritans—The First English Presbytery of 1573—Edmund Grindal—Claims of the Puritans—Strength of the Puritan Movement—Resistance by Grindal and Horne—Grindal's Views and Action as Archbishop of York—Becomes Primate of All England—The "Prophesyings"—Displeasure of the Queen—Death of the Archbishop—His Character and Work.

ELIZABETH in many respects inherited her father's (Henry VIII.) views on religion. It has been said broadly, but not without some truth, that king Henry attempted to constitute an Anglican church differing from the Roman Catholic church on the point of the papal supremacy, and on that point alone.* His daughter to a large extent shared these views. "Circumstances rather than preference had placed her originally on the side of the Protestants. Her connection with them was political, and it was only when she needed their assistance that she acknowledged a community of creed. With the quarrel with Rome she was identified from her birth. Her mother's marriage had caused the rupture, and the reunion under her sister had been accompanied by her own disgrace. But with the creed as distinct from the papal supremacy she had no quarrel at all. Mass and breviary, accompanied by national independence and liberty, not of worship but of conscience, would have suited best with her own tastes. . . . For Protestantism Elizabeth had never concealed her dislike and contempt. She hated to acknowledge any fellowship in religion either with Scots, Dutch, or Huguenots. She represented herself to foreign ambassadors as a Catholic in everything except in allegiance to the Papacy. . . . She left the Catholics in her household so unrestrained that they absented themselves at pleasure from the royal chapel without a question being asked. She allowed the county gentlemen all possible latitude in their own houses."*

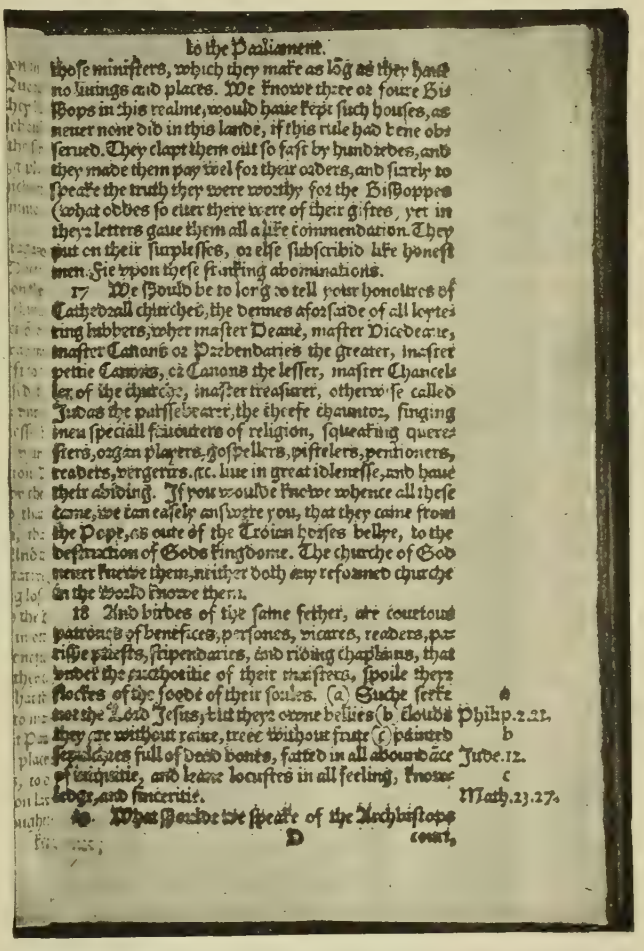
These passages of our historians, allowing perhaps for a little exaggeration, fairly represent Elizabeth's mind toward religion. The great queen, however, was no theologian like her father, and in these matters felt less deeply than he had done, and allowed herself to be largely influenced by her episcopal advisers. These had been, of course, mostly chosen from the reformed party, which had suffered so grievously under the rule of her sister Mary. Their influence with her was enormously strengthened, as we have seen, by the events which happened during the first thirty years of her reign. The danger

* Macaulay: "History of England," vol. i., chap. i.

* Froude: "History of England," vol. xii., chap. xxxviii., and "Conclusion."

om the Roman Catholic party to her erson and dynasty in which she con- antly lived, the feeling that "the Pro- stants were the only sub- cts on whose loyalty she ould rely," inclined her, owever, to another policy, nd enabled Parker and his llows, and their immediate ccessors, happily to carry ut in great measure their ews of church doctrine nd government.

These bishops, learned and minent men for the most art, during the Marian per- ecution had spent several ears in exile, and naturally ad passed under the in- uence in a greater and less egree of the great foreign eformers with whom they ame in contact during that xile; with such master inds as Peter Martyr and ullinger, and the yet more xtreme Calvin and Beza. rchbishop Parker, perhaps, as of the famous company e least influenced by the owerful minds of the foreign formers; but Jewel, as we ve seen, reluctantly con- nted to subordinate his uritan tendencies. Grindal situated for some time to ccept a mitre under the conditions im- sed by Elizabeth, Parker, and Cecil; hile Sandys, for a time at all events, enly espoused the views held by the uritan party in England. These are conspicuous instances of the great Elizabethan bishops; and there is no doubt but that the strong predilections of the



to the Parliament.

those ministers, which they make as log as they have no livings and places. We knowe three or foure Bishops in this realme, would haue kept such houses, as neuer none did in this lande, if this rule had bene obserued. They clapt them out so fast by hundredes, and they made them pay wel for their orders, and surely to speake the truth they were worthy for the Bisshoppes (what oddes so euer there were of their giftes, yet in their letters gaue them all a like commendation. They put on their surplesses, or else subscribid like honest men. Fie vpon these stinking abominations.

17 We should be to long to tell your honoures of Cathedrall churches, the dennes aforsaide of all lerned ruing lubbers, wher master Deane, master Dicedeane, master Canons or Prebendaries the greater, master petie Canons, or Canons the lesser, master Chancellor of the quyre, master treasurer, otherwise called Judas the purssebearer, the cheefe chaunter, singing men speciall fauourers of religion, squeaking queresters, organ players, gospellers, pistelers, pentioners, readers, vergers, &c. liue in great idlenesse, and haue their abiding. If you woulde knowe whence all these come, we can easely answere you, that they came from the Pope, as out of the Troian horses belly, to the destruction of Gods kingdome. The churche of God neuer knewe them, neither doth any reformed churche in the world knowe them.

18 And birdes of the same fether, are courtous patrones of benefices, persones, vicares, readers, parisse preests, stipendaries, and riding chaplains, that vnder the authoritie of their maisters, spoile their flockes of the foode of their soules. (a) Suche seeke not the Lord Jesus, but their owne bellies (b) clouds they are without raine, trees without fruite (c) painted sepulchres full of dead bones, fatted in all abourdnesse of iniquitie, and leane locustes in all feeling, knowledge, and sincerities. (a) Philip. 2. 21. (b) Jude. 12. (c) Matth. 23. 27.

19 What should we speake of the Archbishops court,

D

PAGE OF CARTWRIGHT'S "ADMONITION TO PARLIAMENT," CONTAINING THE PASSAGE REFERRED TO ON PAGE 411. (*British Museum.*)

queen in favour of what we may still term the "old learning," considerably modified their actions, and contributed in no small degree to the wise and happy compromise which marks the constitution,

the doctrines, and the ritual of the Church of England. As Macaulay somewhat roughly but happily writes, the Church of England "occupies a middle position between the churches of Rome and Geneva. Her doctrinal confessions and discourses, composed by Protestants, set forth principles of theology in which Calvin or Knox would have found scarcely a word to disapprove. Her prayers and thanksgivings, derived from the ancient breviaries, are very generally such that cardinal Fisher or cardinal Pole might have heartily joined in them." Her ritual is based entirely upon the best primitive models, only purged from superstitious additions which had no place in the more ancient and purer uses; while her episcopal succession, traced from the days of the apostles, maintained the unbroken continuity of the Church of England in the days of Elizabeth with the church of Theodore and Dunstan, of Lanfranc and Anselm.

In the last four or five years of archbishop Parker's life (1570–1 to 1576) the Puritan discontent with the established order of things assumed considerable proportions, had far-reaching consequences. The most prominent figure on the Puritan side was an able and persevering Cambridge scholar, one Thomas Cartwright. Born somewhere about 1535 in Herefordshire, in early life his perseverance in his studies brought him through various obstacles to St. John's college, where his industry attracted attention. It is said that throughout his life he never allowed himself more than five hours for sleep. He was attached to the extreme Reformation party, and during Mary's reign earned his bread as a lawyer's clerk Returning to Cambridge after Mary death, he became in succession a fellow St. John's and Trinity. On the occasio of queen Elizabeth's visit to the universit he was chosen as one of the more dis tinguished scholars to dispute before her and it is supposed by some that his hostilit to the reigning powers in the church wa first excited by his jealous indignation o that occasion, that the queen failed speciall to notice him. At all events, he le Cambridge for a time and betook himse to Geneva.

Returning to England, we next fin him occupying the distinguished positio of Margaret professor of divinity at h university; and he was in 1570 looke upon as the ablest controversialist o the Puritan side. Both in the pulp and in the lecture hall he was in th habit of furiously inveighing against th established government of the church; di allowing the vocation of bishops and othe ecclesiastical officers, the administratio of the holy sacraments, the observation rites and ceremonies. Many of these h openly denounced as damnable, devilish and detestable. Over the minds of man of the resident students Cartwright ob tained a singular influence, through h eloquence and earnestness. On on occasion it is related he denounced the us of surplices; the next day, with thre exceptions, all the students of Trinit appeared in the college chapel withou the customary surplice. Through the in fluence of Whitgift, who at that time wa master of the college, Cartwright wa deprived of his university preferments an banished from Cambridge.

In 1571 the now famous Puritan leader resented his well-known "Admonition to arliament." It consisted of two parts, id is a good specimen of the intolerant, tter spirit with which the extreme uritans viewed the Church of England, id to what length their principles carried iem; it must also be borne in mind that ey had in the England of that day a werful minority of the people well dis-osed to them, some even in high positions authority. Leicester, the powerful vourite of Elizabeth, had constituted imself especially their protector and atron. Cartwright and his fellow Puritan achers ignored the apostolical succession jealousy guarded by archbishop Parker. hey maintained the perfect equality of shops and presbyters, pronouncing the shop to be incapable of a title. They nounced all ranks in the hierarchy, con-mning the offices of deans, archdeacons, id prebendaries, and held that their ecedence was an infringement upon the ivileges of ordinary presbyters. The e of the Geneva Prayer-Book might be owed, but the clergy should possess a e licence for extemporaneous prayer. ints' days, the Lenten and other fasts served from time immemorial in the atholic church, were denounced as un-riptural and superstitious. The use of e sign of the cross in baptism was an fence; confirmation must not be regarded essential; kneeling at the Lord's Supper d to idolatry. The surplice and the remonies retained in the Church of ngland were branded as disgraceful.*

A curious passage taken from Cartwright's "Admonition to Parliament" will well illustrate the extraordinary bitterness of the extreme Puritan party at this period. After stigmatising cathedrals as "Popish dens," which together with the queen's chapel by their organs and curious singing "must be patterns and precedents to the people of all superstitions," the *Admonition* goes on with the following: "We should be long to tell your honours of cathedral churches, the dens aforesaid of all loitering lubbers, where master dean, master vice-dean, master canons or master prebendaries the greater, master petty canons or canons the lesser, master chancellor of the church, master treasurer or otherwise called Judas the purse-bearer, the chief chanter, singing men, squeaking choristers, organ-players, gospellers, epistollers, pensioners, readers, vergers, etc., live in great idleness, and have their abiding. If you would know whence all these come, we can easily answer, *that they come from the Pope as from out of the Trojan horse's belly, to the distraction of God's kingdom.*"

This violent and insolent diatribe was formally answered by Whitgift. Cartwright was never restored to his university position; several times we read of his being even committed to prison by bishop Aylmer (of London). Through the patronage of Leicester, however, he was subsequently appointed to the mastership of a hospital at Warwick. In his latter years Whitgift, when archbishop, showed him various acts of kindness, even allowing him again to preach at Warwick upon his promise to observe the laws and government of the Church of England. Worn out by his ceaseless studies, his disappointments, and care-filled, anxious

* Compare dean Hook: "Archbishops," vol. ix., ap. xii., and vol. x., chap. xxiv.

life, Cartwright died in 1603, having been in his latter days, some believe, won to a gentler and more loving estimation of his adversaries.

To go back, however: as the result of the fierce diatribes of Cartwright the Cambridge professor, and the exaggerated and unhistorical views of reformation pressed by the extreme reformers, in the May of 1573 we hear of a separate association or community being formed at Wandsworth in the neighbourhood of London. This first presbytery consisted of nonconforming ministers, who were joined by certain laymen. From this small beginning, which quickly followed upon Cartwright's formal attack on the church in the "Admonition to Parliament," we trace the first organisation of Protestant dissent in England.*

It will be thus seen to what grave dangers the church was exposed during the first years of its establishment, and how difficult and dangerous was the work of guiding it. On the one side was Rome and its phalanx of devoted and earnest English adherents, determined at all costs—even at the terrible alternative of sacrificing the national independence—to restore the Roman domination and the mediæval doctrines taught and the rites practised before the great upheaval of the sixteenth century. On the other side was the Puritan party, equally determined upon introducing into England the many changes adopted by the foreign reformers, although such changes would irretrievably have destroyed the continuity of the English church with the ancient Catholic church.

* Dean Hook: "Archbishops," vol. ix., chap. xii

In the providence of God these grav dangers were averted. The sympathies Elizabeth, the loved Tudor queen, who power was very great—far greater tha the Englishman of the nineteenth ce tury can imagine—were at first undeniab with the Romanists, as far as doctrines a mediæval rites were concerned; but the sympathies were gradually alienated as h reign advanced by the attitude of th Romanist party, which identified itse with the deadly enemies of Englan becoming, as we have seen, closely allie with Spain and her deep-laid desig upon the very existence of England a nation. The peril which menaced th church from the Puritan party was averte largely owing to the wise counsels a measures of Cecil, afterwards known lord Burleigh, the great minister of th reign, and perhaps still more to the wisdo of the learned man who occupied the po tion of metropolitan in those first anxio years — Matthew Parker — and to th moderation and loyalty of the band scholars and earnest men by whom he w surrounded. Those Elizabethan bishops- Jewel, Grindal, Cox, Whitgift, and others- were men for the most part whose theolog was deeply coloured with the teaching the eminent foreign reformers, at who feet they had once sat and learned th story of the Reformation; but who f the sake of preserving intact what the felt on the whole was catholic truth, f the sake of maintaining unbroken the co tinuity of the ancient English church, su ordinated, as a rule, their personal feelin and desires, and loyally accepted th middle course of conciliation so dear Parker the archbishop and Cecil th

ninister; that *via media* which has been, and still is, the strength of the Church of England.

The successor of Parker in the primacy was his friend and intimate associate Grindal, archbishop of York. The choice of Grindal to fill the important position of Archbishop of Canterbury is an indication of the popular movement in favour of Puritanism. The disfavour with which the Roman Catholic party were generally viewed had been more or less reflected upon the "high" Anglican reformers, who were steadily inclined to a conservation of as much of the old mediæval rites and customs as as consonant with the removal of superstitious and comparatively later usages. Grindal, though Parker's friend, and on the whole one who sympathised with his work and policy, was a more advanced reformer than the first Elizabethan archbishop, and his feelings towards the Puritan party were decidedly warmer than those of his predecessor. His appointment to the great post is therefore an indication of the general popular bias in the year 1575. To Elizabeth, however, he was never a *persona grata*. Her views never varied, and it was only the determined hostility of the Romish party which induced her very reluctantly to favour the extreme Protestants. But she felt, and with reason, during a considerable portion of her reign, that not only her person was in danger but that a revolution was even meditated, and the very existence of her loved England threatened by the Catholics.

EDMUND GRINDAL, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.
(*From the engraving by Arnold Buchel, in "Heroölogia Anglicâ," published at Arnheim in* 1620.)

Edmund Grindal was born in the Lake district about the year 1519; his family were of the middle class. The future archbishop, in the course of a distinguished university career, came under the notice of Ridley, then the master of his college (Pembroke Hall). He filled various positions in his university; was subsequently appointed chaplain to Ridley when the great reformer occupied the see of London; then we find Grindal a royal chaplain at the court of Edward VI. The most interesting detail in connection with the first portion of the future archbishop's life was his intimacy with Martin Bucer, whose influence at Cambridge has been

already described. This close friendship with the eminent foreign reformer no doubt permanently influenced the whole of Grindal's subsequent life and policy. He was with Bucer during his last illness, and was the recipient of his dying wishes.

During the Marian persecution he formed one of that little band of distinguished exiles at Strasburg; and in common with most of his associates, devoted himself to the ardent study of the Reformation principles, his guide at that period of his career being Peter Martyr, to whose lectures and instructions Grindal was a diligent and attentive listener. During this time of exile he contracted that firm friendship with the eminent German reformers which so largely influenced his future life.

On the accession of Elizabeth he returned to England, where he was warmly welcomed by Parker, and almost immediately was employed in the ecclesiastical work taken in hand by Parker and Cecil. Appointed a commissioner to consider the revision of the Prayer-Book (1558–9), he was at once, as one of the inner band of divines, singled out to fill high office in the Church of England. His scruples about some of the ceremonies retained by Cecil and Parker, and his anxious misgivings as to the queen's evident leaning to practices viewed with grave suspicion by his foreign friends, such as the retention of the crucifix in the royal chapel, made him hesitate for a time before he decided to throw in his lot with the moderate party, then in the ascendant. However, Parker succeeded in overcoming his hesitation, persuading him that, after all, these things—the vestments of the clergy and other matters in dispute—we but of secondary importance; and, wi some reluctance, he accepted the bishop of London when Bonner was deposed.

He was consecrated at Lambeth in t December of 1559, with Dr. Cox, bishop Ely, Dr. Rowland Meyrick, bishop Bangor, and Dr. Edwin Sandys, bishop Worcester; the last-named eventua followed him in the sees of London a York. These consecrations were arrang by Parker with all the care which befitt a rite so important to the continuity of t English Church. The names of the co secrators of Grindal and this little group eminent Elizabethan prelates are preserv in several authoritative records. Th were Scory, bishop of Hereford, Barlow Chichester, Hodgkins, bishop-suffragan Bedford, and archbishop Parker himself.

Grindal's Puritan leanings were ea manifested in his disinclination to we the episcopal dress, to which he submitt with great reluctance. His loyalty, ho ever, to the general principles of the Engl Church was unquestionable. This is cl from his consenting to act as one of t commissioners who revised the n Calendar in the Prayer-Book, to whi such grave exception was taken by t extreme reformers. He was also, stran to say, connected with the Latin form the Prayer-Book, which was virtually t First Book of Edward VI., and whi Latin form collegiate churches, as we ha seen, were permitted to use.

Very early in his episcopate a destruct fire necessitated the partial reconstructi of St. Paul's cathedral. An immense su was expended on this restoration. T money was largely provided by a tax levi

n the London clergy. On this occasion rindal's liberality was princely. Before ie Reformation, the vast nave of St. aul's (Paul's Walk) was commonly used an exchange in which business was ansacted, and where people used to walk id converse. This desecration was in irt remedied by Grindal's reverential re.

The pressure brought to bear by foreign eologians upon prelates like Grindal id Horne, bishop of Winchester, whose uritan views were well known in conti-ental centres such as Zurich and Strasburg, here they had lived and studied during ie Marian persecution, is well illustrated a letter addressed to these prelates by ullinger. The letter bears the date of 566. Grindal was at this time bishop of ondon. The complaints of Bullinger ere no doubt echoes of what he heard om discontented Puritan divines in ngland. Amongst other grievances, the mous German divine dwelt on the llowing: "We hear, though we hope ie report is false, that certain new articles e required of ministers, to which if they fuse to subscribe they have to relinquish eir office." The articles in question ntained, amongst other things, the follow-g "superstitions," as reformers like ullinger deemed them. The measured anting in churches was to be retained, gether with the sound of organs; minis-rs who performed the office of baptism ere obliged to use breathings, exorcism, e sign of the cross, lighted tapers; in e receiving the Lord's Supper, kneeling as necessary (which has an appearance of oration); all the power of church govern-ment was pronounced to rest solely with the bishops; and no pastor was allowed publicly to deliver his opinion on ecclesiastical matters. Other matters are mentioned in this curious letter, some of which had no existence at all in the practices of the Church of England. Bullinger concluded by a hope that Grindal and Horne would consult with their episcopal brethren and other "holy and prudent" men touching the amendment and purification of these and similar superstitions.

From the "Zurich letters"* we see clearly what it was the Puritan party desired, and how strenuously they were endeavouring to strip the Anglican church of many of the rites and ceremonies and ritual observances happily preserved by Parker and his coadjutors in the Elizabethan settlement; rites and ceremonies and ritual, be it remembered, of immemorial antiquity, and which could not be attacked by any thoughtful scholar or divine as being "superstitious." Among the principal points dwelt upon may be instanced "the different orders of the clergy being still maintained, as formerly in the 'Papacy,' namely, the two archbishops, one of whom is primate; after these are the bishops, then deans and archdeacons, and last of all rectors, vicars, curates. . . . No pastor is at liberty to expound the Scriptures to his people without an express appointment to that office by the bishop. The book of prayers, *i.e.* the English Prayer-book, was filled with many absurdities (to say no worse of them) and silly superfluities, and seems to be

* Quoted at some length by dean Hook, "Archbishops," vol. x., chap. xix.—who also gives *in extenso* the above quoted letter of Bullinger.

composed after the manner of the papists, the grosser superstitions, however, being taken away." In the English church these foreign reformers, no doubt the mouthpiece of English Puritans, complained that "many festivals were retained—consecrated in the name of saints with their vigils as formerly, singing in parts, in the church, and with organs, the tolling of bells at funerals. . . . By the queen's command all persons must reverently bow themselves in the church at the name of Jesus. That space which we call the chancel, by which in churches the laity are separated from the clergy, still remains in England, and prayers are said in the place accustomed in the time of popery. . . . The confirmation, too, of boys and girls is also in use, and the purification of women after childbirth. In the administration of the Lord's Supper, for the greater reverence of the sacrament, little round unleavened cakes are re-introduced by the queen. . . . Everyone, too, is obliged to communicate at the Lord's Supper on his bended knees. In every church throughout England the minister must wear a linen garment which we call a surplice; and in the larger churches, at the administration of the Lord's Supper, the chief minister must wear a silk garment which they call a cope. . . . In their external dress the ministers of the word are at this time obliged to conform themselves to that of the popish priests. The square cap is imposed on all, together with a gown as long and loose as conveniently may be, and to some also is added a silk hood."

We may—indeed, we must—respect the earnestness and real devotion of these extreme reformers in England, Germany, and Switzerland, the advanced guard, to speak, of the great Puritan army w in years to come, for a while, captu England and her church; but the chu they desired to build up upon the ru of mediæval Christianity in good tr would have been but a sombre and na Temple of Truth. The church th dreamed of for England would never the long run have appealed to the ma of the English people, would never h gathered into her holy walls that gr multitude of all sorts and conditions men who now with greater or less pi earnestness, many of them with a splen self-sacrificing devotion, worship wit the broad pale of her sanctuary. Had Puritan church become the establis church of our land—as once Bullinger, still more Calvin and Beza, so passiona desired—is it too much to assert that counted thousands, who have been cont to live and die in the fold of the Chu of England, would have taken refuge in unchanged mediævalism of Rome, wh they—forgetful of her grievous error would have found so much that was la ing in the austere and colourless Puri forms of worship? Nor could these treme reformers with any truth or jus appeal to primitive Christian antiquity the model upon which they wished to construct their cold, bare church. Rid and Cranmer, Parker and Whitgift, w the great expounder of their ecclesiast polity, the learned and judicious Hoo chose as the models of their ritual observances the ritual and observan as far as they could be ascertained, of earliest churches of Christendom, be superstition and man's ambitious instin

had in any way marred and defaced them.

The danger that the Puritan reaction would undo much, if not all, the wise work of Parker and the first makers of the reformed and purified Church of England, was for many years an ever-present, real danger. The dread and hatred of Roman Catholicism, owing to the ill-omened and unpatriotic policy, above dwelt upon, of certain prominent persons of the Roman party, had deeply permeated the English nation, and favourably disposed men's minds to Puritanism, as the exact opposite to the feared and detested Romanism. This danger, however, was largely averted through the loyal conduct of such prelates as Grindal, Horne, and Sandys. They were men imbued by their foreign training and foreign friendships, with a strong Puritanical bias. But theirs was the high wisdom which could discern the beauty and strength of the church in which they held high office. In the hour of stress and storm they therefore subordinated their own inclinations, and loyally held fast to the ritual, of which they often disapproved, which had been established by the first great Elizabethan archbishop and his coadjutors; believing—and truly—that the Church of England, if it was permanently to gain the affection of the people, must be a church of mutual concession, when concession involved no real sacrifice of principles.

So we find Grindal and Horne thus replying to Bullinger's remonstrances: "We hold that the ministers of the Church of England may adopt without impiety the distinction of habits now prescribed by public authority, both in the administration of divine worship and for common use." The two Puritan bishops, as some would term them, with a splendid loyalty to their church, after reiterating in decisive terms that there existed in England the most entire liberty of preaching the purest doctrine, and likewise of exposing, laying open, and condemning by means of sound instruction errors and abuses of every kind, whether as to ceremonies or doctrine, or the sacraments or moral duties, went on to say: "We cannot accept this crude advice, neither ought we to be passive under the violent appeals which unceasingly in the pulpit are disturbing the peace of the church and bringing the whole of our religion into danger. . . . If we were to acquiesce in the inconsiderate advice of our brethren (the Puritans), and all unite our strength illegally to attack the habits by law established, to destroy and abolish them altogether, or else all lay down our offices at once—verily, we should have a papistical, or, at least, a Lutherano-papistical ministry, or none at all. . . . *Since we cannot do what we would, we should in the Lord do what we can.* . . . We receive," said these wise and loyal Puritans, "or rather tolerate the interrogations to infants, and the sign of the cross in baptism, and kneeling at the Lord's Supper, because it is so appointed by law."

This and much more was written by these good men, utterly declining to have any part in the Puritan schism, preferring to yield in non-essential points, some of which were evidently distasteful to them, for the sake of preserving the unity of the great church to which they belonged. It

is this wise and conciliatory spirit which has ever been one of the great sources of the strength and enduring influence of the Anglican community.

It was the strong Puritan bias of Grindal, united to a gentle conciliatory spirit, which it is said induced Parker to recommend his friend's promotion to the arch-see of York, which was vacated in 1568 by the death of archbishop Young. There was a long vacancy in the see, Grindal not being "confirmed" until the spring of 1570. The Puritan element in London was very strong, and the leanings of Grindal, loyal though he was to the church, in some measure very probably unfitted him in the eyes of Parker for the government of the see of the great and often unruly metropolis, which, from its position and nearness to the Continent, was the natural refuge of men of extreme religious opinions, who were not tolerated in their own land, and which reckoned among its regular inhabitants many turbulent spirits. The primate is reported to have said "that he liked well the removal of Grindal, for he reckoned him not resolute and severe enough for the government of London, since many of the ministers and people thereof, notwithstanding all his pains, still leaned to their former prejudices against all measures of reform." He was alluding here to the Puritan schismatics.

During his four to five years' tenure of the York archbishopric, Grindal's canons of discipline (1571) are interesting as indicative of his views, and also as throwing some light upon the state of the church at this juncture. Priests, in these canons, are forbidden to use any ceremonies or gestures not appointed by the Book of Common Prayer. There was an evident leaning on the part of many to the old mediæval ceremonies. The clergy were forbidden, in the administration of the Holy Communion, to put the consecrated bread into the people's mouths, but were directed to put it into their hands. The Holy Communion was to be received three times a year, in addition to Ash Wednesday. This "compulsory" reception shows us that the old mediæval practice of simply assisting at the "mass" was deeply rooted in the hearts of men and women. In the comparative fewness of communicants, when compared with the ordinary congregation, so often commented upon and deplored by all schools of thought in the Church of England of the present day, we still see the results of the mediæval teaching, which seemed to be content with the worshippers "assisting" at the solemn service and, save on special occasions, with "beholding" rather than communicating. His desire to do away with stone altars as they existed in many churches; his prohibition in the matter of wearing beads and praying upon them; his forbidding worshippers to make the sign of the cross when at any time they entered the church, are memorials of this famous Protestant divine's strong personal inclinations during his tenure of the arch-see of York.

His administration was generally popular in the northern counties of England, in spite of his well-known views. As an ardent encourager of learning he was justly celebrated. In the labours connected with the putting out of the "Bishops' Bible," already described, Grindal took a prominent part. The estimation in which

From photo by J. Dugdale & Co., Bath.

BATH ABBEY.

he was held, probably by the majority of the English people, is curiously borne witness to by the great song-man of the age. In the glorious verse of Spenser we see a true picture of the life and thought of England in the last quarter of the sixteenth century; and Spenser has chosen archbishop Grindal, who at that time had fallen into disfavour with Elizabeth owing to his too pronounced Puritan sympathies, as his model of a Christian pastor.*

In the year 1575, when archbishop Parker, as we have related, passed away, the royal choice fell on Grindal as his successor, largely owing to the influence of the minister Cecil. His long experience, his quiet, gentle wisdom, his great learning and general popularity, no doubt pointed him out as a fitting primate; but it was especially his well-known strong Puritan bias which determined Cecil to press his appointment with the queen. The danger to the church and state from the plots and designs of the Romanist party was becoming more obvious every year; and it was felt by the wise and far-seeing statesman that the safety of the queen and her government, and the very existence of the Church of England, would best be consulted by assuring the strong support of the more thoughtful of the Puritan reformers. Among the prominent ecclesiastics Grindal appeared the prelate who was most likely to conciliate this party; while his well-known moderation would, it was supposed, prevent him from going too far in the paths of Puritan conciliation.

The great and dangerous post, however, had few charms for him, and it was only after considerable pressure that Grindal consented to accept the high office. The wisdom of the appointment was soon made manifest; for in spite of his decided leanings in the direction of Puritanism, the new archbishop speedily showed that he was resolutely determined to maintain the discipline of the church, and rigidly to uphold the order established by his predecessor Parker.

Directly after he had entered upon the duties of his great office, he determined upon a metropolitical visitation in his province of Canterbury, which included all the southern, eastern, and midland dioceses. The preliminary inquiries addressed to the suffragan-bishops of the province give us a fair idea of the regulations in force in the Church of England at this period, 1575–6. Questions were asked of the officiating ministers of all the churches and chapels, whether the "common prayer" was said or sung distinctly and reverently without any kind of alteration; whether on Wednesdays and Fridays, not being holy days, the Litany was duly used; whether in each church or chapel the Book of Common Prayer, with the new Calendar and a Psalter, was provided for the parish; and whether a copy of the English Bible in the largest volume, the two tomes of the Homilies, the Paraphrase of Erasmus translated into English, the table of the Ten Commandments, a convenient pulpit well placed, a comely and decent table for the Holy Communion, with a fair linen cloth to lay upon the same, and some covering of silk, buckram, or other such like, a fair and comely communion

* See Excursus F for Spenser's interesting references to Grindal.

cup of silver and a cover of silver for the same which might serve for the ministration of the communion bread, were all duly provided ; likewise a decent large surplice with sleeves, a sure coffer with large lock and keys for the keeping of the register books, and a strong chest or box for the alms of the poor.

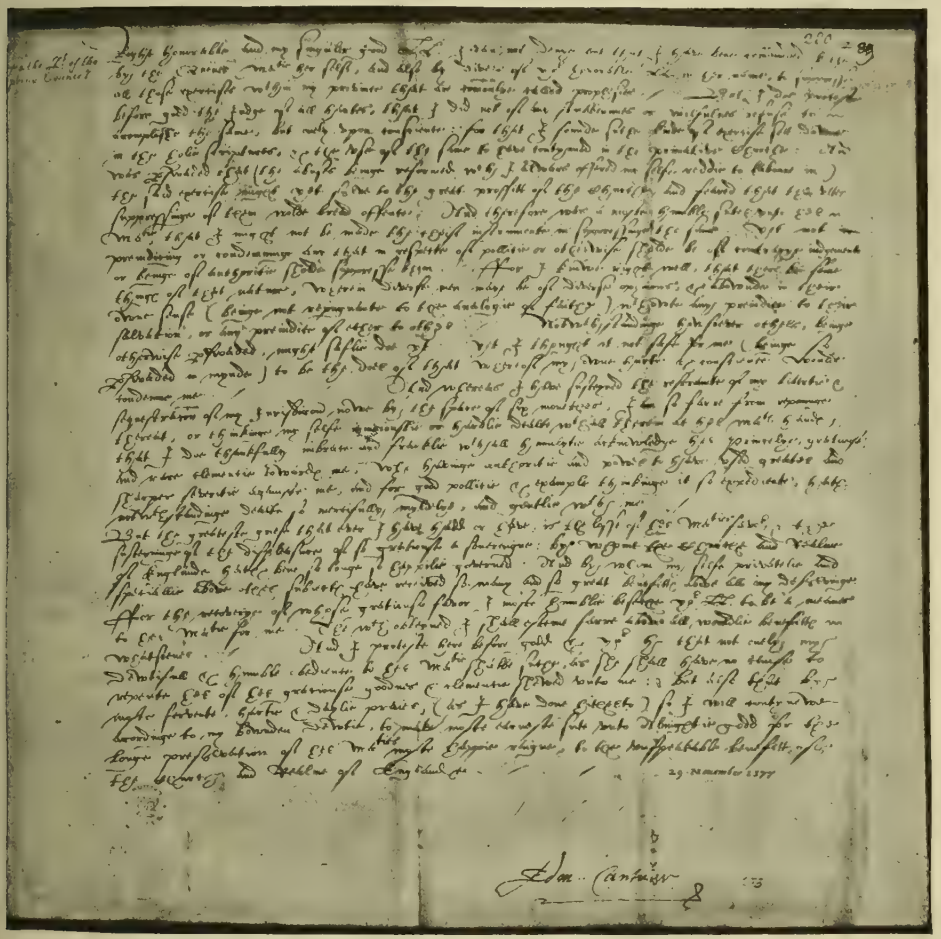
All these things were evidently deemed essential by Grindal, as belonging to the due observance of the services and ritual, etc., of the Church of England, and such formal inquiries preliminary to a general archiepiscopal visitation showed that the primate had no intention of making any undue concessions to the extreme party; while the following questions which were also put indicated the primate's intention to allow no "usages" which might be deemed superstitious even by moderate reformers, even though the "usages" belonged to a remote antiquity, to be practised in the church over which he ruled. So inquiries were also made whether the minister wore a cope, and whether he had recourse to gestures, rites, or ceremonies not appointed by the Book of Common Prayer, such as crossing or breathing over the sacramental bread and wine, or showing the same to the people to be worshipped or adored ; whether in the ministration of the sacrament of baptism any oil and chrism, tapers, spittle, or any Popish ceremony were adopted.

Injunctions were issued, but it is doubtful if they were ever put in force ; for the archbishopric was put, as we shall presently see, into sequestration before the visitation was completed. In the injunctions the churches and chapels, with the chancels thereof, were to be duly and sufficiently repaired ; regulations were made with reference to the tolling and ringing the bells on Sundays and holy days. Monthly or quarterly sermons were to be preached, and in the absence of a sermon the Homilies were to be duly read. The clergy were required to conform to the Thirty-nine Articles agreed upon in the Convocation of 1562. On the other hand, the books introduced by the Romanists, and tending to the purposes of superstition, were to be utterly defaced, rent, and abolished.

Grindal also addressed an exhortation to the clergy of his province, urging them to press upon their parishioners the duty of resorting to their parish churches every Wednesday and Friday, and there in addition to the services of the day they were to hear a sermon or homily on fasting and repentance. It was suggested that on these days they were at least to spare one meal to be dedicated to the service of the poor. The practical and devout mind of the archbishop is especially shown in the advice he required to be given to the master of every household, not to omit to convene his family every night to make humble prayer to Almighty God that He would show mercy to those who had justly deserved His anger.

There is no doubt that, loyal as Grindal was to the general principles of the Church of England, his policy and friendliness to the Puritan section of the community, and his determination to stamp out certain mediæval customs which were loved by many, and still were practised in not a few churches, gave grave offence to the queen The strained relations which evidently existed between the archbishop and

Elizabeth were brought to a head in the curious controversy between the queen and primate in the matter of the "Prophesyings." It is difficult exactly to comprehend why these "Prophesyings" were so peculiarly hateful to Elizabeth. We hear of them first in the days of Parker. The name seems to have been given to meetings of the clergy, when Scripture was freely discussed, and difficult and disputed texts debated upon, and the opinions of the Puritans were by these means probably openly ventilated and pressed. Parker appears to have shared the queen's dislike to these "Prophesyings," and in his days they were formally forbidden, in spite of



LETTER FROM GRINDAL TO THE LORDS OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

Excusing himself for not suppressing "prophecyings," and stating that he "did not of my stubbernnes refuse to accomplishe the same, but because I thought it not safe for me . . . to be the doer of that whereof my owne harte and conscience would condemne me."—Signed. (*British Museum.*)

the earnest remonstrances of some of his suffragans who were favourable to these open discussions of disputed theological questions. Under Grindal's rule they appear to have been revived in various places. The queen insisted that these clergy-meetings should be formally put a stop to. The archbishop remonstrated, suggesting that they should be permitted under strict rules and discipline ; but the queen was obstinate in her requirement that they should be absolutely forbidden. Grindal declined to comply with the royal command, and in consequence the archbishop was "sequestered" for five years, and was formally debarred from holding a Convocation. He seems, however, during this period to have continued to exercise most of his archiepiscopal functions—such as officiating at consecrations, etc. The whole question is somewhat confused, but it is clear that the queen was much opposed to Grindal's views and general policy.

The tangled knot of the relations between the sovereign and the primate was cut by the rapidly failing health and death of the archbishop. Illness enfeebled his powers, he lost his eyesight, and wished to resign. During the last days of his life, Whitgift, bishop of Worcester, acted generally as his deputy. Whitgift, of whom we must next speak, was ever a *persona grata* to the queen, who desired to appoint him at once archbishop in the room of Grindal ; but Whitgift refused to accept the arch-see so long as Grindal lived. The end, however, came soon, and the blind archbishop died in 1583, when Whitgift became his successor.

We have dwelt upon the works and days of the second of the Elizabethan archbishops with perhaps a little more detail than his quiet unobtrusive character, somewhat wanting in firmness and decision, at first sight would seem to call for. Grindal was not a great prelate or a far-seeing ecclesiastic ; he was simply a patient, earnest, scholarly man, who resolutely set himself to do what appeared to him his duty. From his early days he was thrown in the company of eminent men, who learned to value his industry, gentle piety, and unswerving rectitude of purpose. He is an admirable example of many noble souls who, from the days of Elizabeth down to our own times, have been firmly convinced that the Church of England was not only the best constituted church in the world, but was well fitted to mould and guide the religious life of his fellow-countrymen. Though a Puritan by early training and long and intimate associations, Grindal ever declined to allow the peculiar views which he loved, seriously to influence his public acts. His life and work was a noble example of subordination and loyalty to the Church of England ; being convinced, in spite of many minor points in her discipline and usages which he gravely misliked, that on the whole, to use the striking words of a great divine who lived a few years later than Grindal, "the grounds on which the established Church of England was based, were of so rare and excellent mixture . . . that there was no other church in Europe so likely to preserve peace and unity."*

* Dr. Hammond, 1605–1660.

CHAPTER LX.

ARCHBISHOP WHITGIFT AND THE ANGLICAN DEVELOPMENT. RICHARD HOOKER.

Early Life of Whitgift—Independence of Foreign Influence—Enforcement of Uniformity—Views of the Extreme Puritans—Whitgift's Severe Measures against them—Guiding Principles of the English Ecclesiastical Reformers—Foreign Opinions on the Results of their Work—Temper of the English People—Influence of Whitgift's Policy on the Masses—And on the Puritans—Richard Hooker—His Controversy with the Presbyterians—Account of his "Ecclesiastical Polity"—Epoch-making Character of the Book—Sketch of Hooker's Life—Greatness of his Character and Work.

WHITGIFT, who succeeded Grindal in the primacy of the Church of England, was a man of a different calibre. To him the Puritan theories were utterly false. Equally loyal to the church as his predecessor, he was resolutely opposed to all concessions to a party which he felt would never be contented with simple toleration. The Puritans, in the eyes of Whitgift, aimed at changing the established church into something quite different. Their more extreme men even went so far as to advocate the abolition of episcopacy, and to urge the introduction in its place of the Presbyterian system. It was the church with the organisation of Calvin and Beza they longed to see substituted in England, in place of the church organised by Parker and Jewel.

John Whitgift was born about the year 1530. He belonged to a Yorkshire middle-class family. At Cambridge he was the pupil of John Bradford, who afterwards suffered martyrdom in the reign of queen Mary. His career was a distinguished one, and he early attracted the notice of Ridley, then master of Pembroke Hall, who afterwards appointed him one of his chaplains. During the Marian troubles he was protected from persecution by Dr. Pearne, master of Peter House; and on the accession of Elizabeth we find Whitgift, who was looked upon as one of the most promising of the younger Cambridge divines, chosen to fill the responsible office of lady Margaret's professor of divinity in his university. His promotion was now rapid.

Different from most of the prominent theologians who came into notice at the commencement of the Elizabethan era, Whitgift had never come under the influence of the great foreign reformers. During the Marian persecution, as we have seen, instead of living in exile at Strasburg, Zürich, or Geneva, he had resided quietly at Cambridge; and to this, no doubt, his utter want of all sympathy with the Puritan party may be largely attributed. As early as 1567 he was brought under the notice of the queen, who seems to have been singularly attracted by his great power as a preacher. By his sermons and conversation he so won her esteem that she determined to advance his fortunes. There is a curious story of a pun she made upon his name, calling him her White-gift. Through his court influence he was advanced to the mastership of Trinity college; and during his tenure of that office we twice hear of him as the

energetic vice-chancellor of the university. In 1573 he became dean of Lincoln, still holding his Cambridge offices. During his ten years of prominent university life he was distinguished as a most able and indefatigable controversialist and apologist of the Church of England. His treatises in answer to Cartwright the Puritan, who violently attacked the established church, have been already alluded to at some length. In 1576 he was advanced to the see of Worcester, making steady progress year by year in the queen's favour.

In Whitgift Elizabeth found a churchman after her own heart, and what was very rare in those days, a great English divine of the school of the new learning, who had never sat at the feet of any of the great foreign reformers. He, like Parker, believed in a duly consecrated episcopacy as a divine institution, and according to the judgment of antiquity,* considered episcopacy as essential to the being of a church. In common with the queen, he was bent on maintaining the perfect continuity of the Church of England, preserving carefully as many of the Catholic rites and usages as were consonant with the removal of merely superstitious practices. He was, besides, resolutely determined to enforce order and regularity as well as uniformity in the church, by gentle, persuasive means if possible; but when resistance was stubborn, by the introduction of harsher measures. His later administration in carrying out these views has been too justly branded with the charge of actual persecution.

It is undeniable that, owing largely to the circumstances already dwelt upon, the country was favourably disposed to Puritanism. A Puritan House of Commons rendered the rigid carrying out of this policy of repression difficult, if not positively dangerous. But in Whitgift the queen found a primate who thought much as she did on questions of church order; and so aided, the vast and undefined power of the great Tudor sovereign had its own way, and what has been termed the high Anglican system became under Whitgift and Elizabeth firmly established in England. How deeply she valued Whitgift is shown by her wish, when Sir Thomas Bromeley, the lord chancellor, died in 1587, to entrust the archbishop with the great seal. He declined the honour, being wise enough to see that the time was past when it was for the church's interest to unite the great lay and clerical offices in one person; but he induced the queen to make his friend and confidant, Sir Christopher Hatton, chancellor. Hatton's advancement, however, did much to strengthen the archbishop's hand. Whitgift preserved the queen's friendship to the last, and was with his great mistress when the end came.

Grindal, as we have seen, died in 1583. The queen, being thoroughly convinced that the conciliatory measures of that gentle, loyal primate towards the Puritan party in the church—a party daily growing stronger and more emphatic in their denunciations of what they deemed the retrograde policy of the Church of England

* "They (the members of the ancient Christian world) did not account it to be a church which was not subject to a bishop. . . . Ecclesia est in episcopo."—St. Cyprian iv., epistle ix. "The outward being of a church consisteth in the 'having of a bishop.'" (Hooker: "Ecc. Polity," book vii., chap. v., 3 and following sections.)

—were utterly insufficient for the preservation of the life of the church, at once appointed Whitgift to the vacant primacy. The new archbishop undertook the task of introducing a more rigid order and a sterner discipline into the church. He found many of the extreme reformers "taking orders and holding offices in the church, that they might use their position to subvert it." Whitgift was determined to put a stop to this, and ordered that all the clergy should subscribe to three articles, affirming the royal supremacy, the lawful ness of the Book of Common Prayer, and their assent to the Thirty-nine Articles. In pursuance of this policy, he issued articles of inquiry to the clergy, which they were requested to answer by virtue of their office.

JOHN WHITGIFT, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.
(*From an Engraving by George Virtue, 1717, from an unknown picture.*)

An outcry was immediately raised that the Inquisition was being introduced into England. Cecil (lord Burleigh) wrote to Whitgift that "this judicial and canonical sifting of poor ministers is not to edify or reform. In charity, I think they ought not to answer all these nice points, except they were very notorious offenders in papistry or heresy." Whitgift in reply defended his action, and added: "I know your lordship desireth the peace of the church, but it cannot be procured after so long liberty and lack of discipline if a few persons, so meanly qualified as most of them, are countenanced against the whole state of the clergy." In vain the House of Commons, which generally was on the Puritan side, protested; and even the queen's trusted ministers expressed their dread as to the results of what they deemed the archbishop's high-handed proceedings. Elizabeth steadily supported him. She would not permit even the strongly-expressed judgment of her faithful minister Cecil to interfere with the policy of an archbishop whose views on church government, and whose dislike to Puritan interference, so entirely coincided with her own feelings.

How dangerous were the designs of the more extreme of the Puritan party to the very existence of the church, appears from the opinions apparently generally held among them. Certain of their number were in 1587 brought before "the court of the high commissioner for causes ecclesiastical." It is not probable that the more moderate acknowledged the holding of such destructive views; but many at this time, and those, too, prominent members of the anti-church party, no doubt sympathised with these opinions, which more or less permeated all the Puritan faction. The following are among the more striking of these opinions: "That the Church of England was no church, or at the least no true church, because the worship of the English Church was flat idolatry; that the preachers had no lawful calling; that the government (of the church) was ungodly; that no bishop or preacher preached Christ sincerely and truly; that the people of every parish ought to choose their bishop; that every elder, though he be no doctor nor pastor, was a bishop; that set prayer was blasphemous; that the child of ungodly parents ought not to be baptised." *

Severe measures were resorted to in certain cases, and some of the more prominent of these Nonconformists were even executed. These acts of cruelty will ever be a blot on Whitgift's life. The times were, however, troubled, and heresy was too often construed into treason. Still, such extreme measures were deplorable. Many earnest and conscientious men fled the country, and took refuge in Holland, where gradually the body of *Independe* were formed, who came to the front la in the great civil war of the next centu Yet during the reign of Elizabeth t great mass of the Puritan Nonconformis rigorously though they were treated, we devotedly loyal; the more thoughtful bel well aware that "on the security of h person and the success of her administ tion was staked, humanly speaking, t fate of the realm and of all reform churches. The Puritans, even in t depths of the prisons to which she co signed them, often prayed, and with simulated fervour, that she might be ke from the dagger of the assassin, that bellion might be put down under her fe and that her arms might be victorious sea and land. One of the most stubbo of the stubborn sect, immediately after hand had been lopped off for an offer into which he had been hurried by intemperate zeal, waved his hat with t hand which was left him, and shout 'God save the queen.' The sentime with which these men regarded her h descended to their posterity." * Th historian,† although bitterly blami the cruelty with which she treated t people to whom he belonged, thus writ "However, notwithstanding all th blemishes, queen Elizabeth stands up record as a wise and politic princess, delivering her kingdom from the di culties in which it was involved at h accession, for preserving the Protesta reformation against the attempts of t Pope, the emperor, and the king of Spa abroad, and the Queen of Scots, and h

* See "Life of Archbishop Whitgift," by Sir George Paul, comptroller of Whitgift's household. Published 1612.

* Macaulay: "History of England," chap. i.
† Neal.

Popish subjects at home. . . . She was the glory of the age in which she lived, and will be the admiration of posterity."

Succeeding writers of different times and of various schools of thought have found bitter fault with one or other of those great ones, who were raised up in these days of stress and storm to reduce the confusion and perplexity into which religion among us had fallen, to order. Parker and Guest have been charged with over much leaning to mediævalism, with too great love for the rites and ceremonies of the church of the old learning; Jewel, Sandys, and Horne, with lingering love towards the destructive tendencies of the divines of Geneva, Strasburg, and Zürich; Grindal has been often accused of being a Puritan in heart, and of being too ready to use his great office for the purpose of undermining the catholicity of the English church. In Whitgift, on the other hand, some see a wish to stamp out the spirituality and earnestness, the splendid vigour and freshness, of the reformers; and in his harsh and inquisitorial methods of government discover a set purpose to reduce the established communion into a church subject to an iron rule of ecclesiastical despotism similar to that exercised by the Italian popes, with only the difference of the unbending orders issuing from Canterbury instead of Rome. Elizabeth the queen has been credited with being a Romanist at heart, loving too well all the old mediæval superstitions, and bent upon re-introducing into the church of her island empire the ancient superstitions and idolatries which disfigured the pre-Reformation religion, with the one exception of the old allegiance to Rome; while her minister Cecil stands out in the minds of other critics as a time-server and a heartless opportunist, as a statesman who all through the period of his long and unexampled influence, simply viewed religion as an instrument useful to his royal mistress, of whom—these think—he was the too faithful servant.

In all these various criticisms of the devoted and patriotic ministers and the group of divines around the great queen, who during her long reign succeeded in establishing order and discipline in the church, under much that is wilfully exaggerated there is, of course, a basis of truth. They were men, no doubt like other men, prone to error and mistakes, influenced in different ways by their past training and present surroundings; but who, as a whole, were distinguished for their unswerving loyalty to the church of which they were the devoted servants. They all with one accord were resolute in maintaining its continuity with the past. They were all, in their different ways of working, determined that the Church of England—the church of the future—should be no new church, but simply the pre-Reformation church purged of the old superstitions, and freed from the old and hateful domination of Rome.

In the church which they built up out of the ruins of the pre-Reformation, the Edwardian, and Marian churches, the English bishops, careful with an exceeding carefulness, preserved unbroken the *apostolical succession* so precious in the eyes of all true churchmen, so necessary to the very being and existence of a Catholic church. Unbroken was the

descent of every Elizabethan prelate from the pre-Reformation bishops; no flaw in the consecration of any Elizabethan prelate can be detected by the lynx-eyed criticism of friend or foe. The *ritual*, though simplified and purified, was the old ritual of the Catholic church. The *formularies of religion* were strictly based upon the most ancient and primitive Catholic models. The *prayers*, with very rare exceptions, were word for word translated from the "Sarum" and other uses used for centuries in all the stately English abbeys and humbler parish churches. The *faith* was the faith professed by Chrysostom and Augustine, by Bede and by Dunstan, even the very words of the ancient Catholic symbols being preserved.

In all these things, Parker, the first reconstructor of the English order; Jewel, the apologist; Sandys, Cox, Horne, and others, though trained at Strasburg and Zürich; Grindal, the Puritan; and Whitgift, the high Anglican, were absolutely one. And to this group of really great men, the makers of the Church of England, every loyal and true son of our Anglican communion acknowledges a deep debt of gratitude, feeling at the same time an intense thankfulness to Him who is the church's Eternal Head, for His supreme mercy and love in raising up at such a time so noble, so true, so wise and scholarly a company as made up the Elizabethan divines, who lived and wrote and ruled in the last half of the sixteenth century.

We have an interesting and vivid picture of the impression which the order and reverence of the services of the Church England made upon an Italian "intell gencer," a representative of the Papal cour who had come to England with a view informing himself of the state of ecclesia tical matters under Elizabeth. His wor to an English gentleman who accompanie him (Sir Edward Hobby) were as follows "That they were led in great blindness Rome by our own nation, who made th people there believe that there was not England either archbishop or bishop cathedral, or any church or ecclesiastic government, but that all was pulled dow to the ground, and that the people hea their ministers in woods and fields, among trees and brute beasts; but for his ow part, after he had witnessed the services Canterbury cathedral on the occasion a visit of archbishop Whitgift, where th dean, prebendaries, and preachers in the surplices and scarlet hoods were presen when he had heard the solemn music wit the voices and organs, he was overtake with admiration, and protested that (unle it were in the Pope's chapel) he never sa a more solemn sight, or heard a mo heavenly sound." Sir Edward Hobby this expressed a wish that, when he r turned to Rome, "he would work miracl in making those that are led into this blin ness to see and understand the truth "It is," said the intelligencer, "the chi cause of my coming, to see with my ow eyes and truly inform others." Wher upon Sir Edward Hobby accompanied hi to London, and so to the court, where h saw and heard many things to confir Sir Edward's report on the governme of the church, and civil carriage the people in their obedience to th

lergy and magistrates in the common-ealth.*

This picture referred to the Elizabethan

another striking view of the aspect which the Church of England presented to another distinguished foreigner, the French

THE CHOIR, CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL.

urch of about the year 1583–4. A few ars later, in the year 1603, the year of e death of the great queen, we have

ambassador, Rosny, afterwards known as the famous duc de Sully. "My lord of London (Dr. Bancroft, soon afterwards archbishop in succession to Whitgift) there seriously put his majesty (king James I.)

* From the "Life of Archbishop Whitgift," Sir George Paul, first published 1612.

in mind of the speeches which the French ambassador, Monsieur Rosny, gave out concerning our Church of England, both at Canterbury soon after his arrival, and after at the court, upon the view of our solemn service and ceremonies—namely, that if the reformed churches in France had kept the same orders amongst them which we have, he was assured that there would have been many thousands of Protestants more there than now there are." *

Some twenty-two years later we have yet another picture of the Church of England painted by a foreign hand, which gives us an equally glowing view of the order and reverence and impressive grandeur of the Anglican services. It comes from the report of a distinguished member of the suite of the marquis d'Effiat, ambassador of France, to James I. just before the marriage of prince Charles (afterwards Charles I.) with the princess Henrietta Maria. The witness in question was a French lay abbot. He thus describes his impressions to the lord keeper (archbishop Williams): "I have been long inquisitive what outward face of God's worship was retained in your Church of England, what decorums were kept in the external communion of your assemblies Therefore, waving polemical points of doctrine, I demanded after those things that lay open to the view and pertained to the exterior visage of the house of God." He had previously consulted, he remarked, with English Romanists on the subject, "such as had taken the habit of some sacred order." He went on to say: "But Jesu! how they have deceived me!" The French lay abbot in question had been attending service in Westminster abbey on Christmas Day. "What an idea of deformity, limned in their own brain, have they hung up before me! They told me of no composed office of prayer used in all these churches by authority, but of extemporaneous babblings. They traduced your pulpits as if they were not possessed by men that be ordained by imposition of hands, but that shopkeepers and the scum of the people usurp that place in course, one after another, as they presume themselves to be gifted. Above all, they turned their reproaches against your behaviour at the Sacrament, describing it as a prodigious monster of profaneness. . . . All this I perceive is infernally false. And though I deplore your schism from the Catholic church, yet I should bear false witness if I did not confess that your decency at that holy duty was very allowable, both in the consecrator and receiver. . . . I will lose my head," he went on to say, "if you and our Huguenots are of one religion." After much more of this curious impression of the services and solemn decorum, he closes with the striking words: "I think you are not far from heaven." *

The question suggests itself: Did the Anglican presentment of the reformed religion, as it appears under the administration of Whitgift (1583–1604), who fairly seems to have expressed the mind of Elizabeth, commend itself to the majority

* Quoted by Dr. Wordsworth: "Ecclesiastical Biographies," from Barlow's "Sum of the Hampton Court Conference."

* Hacket's "Life of Archbishop Williams," 1693, quoted by Dr. Wordsworth: "Ecclesiastical Biography," vol. iii., pp. 610–613, notes.

f Englishmen? On the whole, we should nswer in the affirmative. In spite of onconformist opposition and Romanist ntrigues without, and differences of pinion within the church, there is no oubt that the Church of England stablished under Elizabeth, under the akeful care of the catholic-minded arker and his able and earnest co-ljutors — Jewel, Cox, Guest, Sandys, orne, Grindal, Whitgift, and others— ow aided, now restrained or guided by he queen herself and her great minister ecil, made a firm and enduring lodg-ent in the hearts of the people. Various mputations have been made as to the lative number of adherents of Romanism nd Protestantism at this time. Mr. allam, whose high rank among our storians gives vast weight to his opinion, nsiders that the Catholics (Roman atholics) were one-third, and the Protes-nts two-thirds of the nation. Macaulay, eclining "to number the people," believes at "each side had a few enterprising hampions and a few stout-hearted martyrs, ut the nation, undetermined in its opinions nd convictions, resigned itself implicitly the guidance of the government, and nt the sovereign of the day for the time eing, an equally ready aid against either the extreme parties. We are very far om saying," went on our popular his-rian, "that the English of that generation ere irreligious. They held firmly those octrines which are common to the Catholic d Protestant theology."*

Much of what was introduced by the ore thoughtful advocates of the new learning was widely and generally popular—such as the rendering of the prayers in English, the communion in both kinds, above all and before all the open English Bible, which all might read, ponder over, pray over. But the people at large had "no fixed opinions as to the matters in dispute between the churches. They were sometimes Protestants, sometimes Catholics; sometimes half-Protestants, half-Catholics. . . . These mixed feelings were not confined to the populace, Elizabeth herself was by no means exempt from them."* The ancient mediæval ceremonies and usages were long remembered by queen and people alike with affectionate reverence. In the royal chapel, we know, stood a crucifix with wax lights burning round it.

The great dramatists, who may be said fairly to reflect popular feeling, writing in the latter years of Elizabeth's reign, tell us, with no uncertain voice, that religion was deeply rooted in the hearts of Englishmen, in spite of their want of ardent zeal either for Protestantism or Roman Catholicism; a state of mind largely owing to their admiration for much in the teaching of the new learning being mingled with a deep lingering attachment to rites and usages, and even doctrines, so long associated with all English religious life. In the works of these dramatists we find religion ever treated with tender respect. The fundamental doctrines of Christianity are handled reverently. The dramatists who adorned the last years of the Elizabethan era, while evidently generally possessed in a high degree with reverence for religion, spoke scarcely like Protestants

* Macaulay: Essays—"Burleigh and His mes."

* *Ibid.*

or Romanists. They seemed to hover between the two. "Almost every member of a religious order whom they introduced is a holy and venerable man. They treat the vow of celibacy — in later times so common a subject for ribaldry — with mysterious reverence. . . . Massinger shows a great fondness for ecclesiastics of the Roman church . . . Shakespeare's partiality for friars is well known. In *Hamlet*, the Ghost complains that he died without extreme unction, and, in defiance of the article which condemns the doctrine of Purgatory, declares that he is

> "Confined to fast in fires,
> Till the foul crimes, done in his days of Nature,
> Are burnt and purged away."

Yet the author of *King John* and *Henry VIII.* was surely no friend to Papal supremacy." *

On such malleable natures the influence of the high Anglican policy of archbishop Whitgift, whose power in the church and state extended over the long period of some twenty years, was necessarily very great. It moulded the Church of England into the form generally aimed at by Parker, and on the whole preferred by Elizabeth, rallying to its ranks of moderates many of those who still loved—often, perhaps, with an unreasoning love—the old ways and rites. On the other hand, the high Anglican policy of Whitgift and his school no doubt alienated many of the really devout and earnest among the Puritan party; and the stern and persecuting measures unhappily adopted later in the reign, in 1592–1593, widened the breach that was gradually forming between the established church and the extreme Puritans. These men asked themselves—should they, after having freed themselves from the yoke of Rome, quietly submit to what they regarded as a new spiritual tyranny? Thus grew up in the latter half of Elizabeth's reign, during the primacy of her favourite prelate, Whitgift, that Puritan party which developed during the reigns of the great queen's successors—James I. and Charles I.—into the Presbyterian and Independent divisions of the great Puritan faction, which eventually declared war with the crown and church; and which for a season was victorious, and for some years, as we shall presently see, destroyed both the crown and church. The Puritan victory however, was but a transient one. The disappearance of church and crown was only seeming. In the heart of the people the church, with all its faults and shortcomings, had made a firm lodgment; and the victory of the church in 1660 was also the victory of the crown. But although 1660 saw the restoration of the monarchy and the downfall of the Puritan and Presbyterian supremacy, the unhappy breach between Anglicanism and Puritanism remains unbridged over, and Protestant England has ever since been split into two opposing camps.

It has been suggested that had Elizabeth and Whitgift pursued a different policy—a policy of complete toleration—the result would have been very different. This is, however, more than doubtful. The views of Elizabeth in the matter of church government and of church order

* Macaulay: Essays — "Burleigh and His Times." On the other hand, the strong bias of the poet Spenser for Puritanism has been already noticed.

CHRISTMAS DAY SERVICE IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY, IN THE TIME OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

which were mainly the views of Parker, Whitgift, and their coadjutors, and even of such prelates as Jewel and Grindal, were too widely divergent from the opinions held on momentous questions by the more earnest of the extreme reformers—held still, alas! by their lineal descendants, the present Nonconformist bodies—to admit of reconciliation. But while the wiser and more thoughtful among Anglicans and Nonconformists feel alike that union on the grave points of difference is impossible, they are at the same time conscious that other articles bearing upon fundamental religion, which both hold in common, are so many and so deeply important, that the two great parties which make up religious England may fairly hope ever to work together as brothers, ever to fight shoulder to shoulder as fellow-soldiers, though ranged under different flags, in the great crusade which is being ever warred against the sleepless enemies of the Cross.

The later years of Elizabeth witnessed the putting forth of the famous defence and systematic exposition of the position of the Church of England by Richard Hooker, in his "Ecclesiastical Polity." The work was published virtually under the immediate sanction of archbishop Whitgift, and has ever since held a unique, almost a semi-authoritative place among the writings of the chief divines of the Anglican communion. Some details of this remarkable work, which embodied then—and largely embodies still—the chief principles which fixed the position of the Church of England, will be interesting and useful. Hooker's book, it must be remembered, after the English Bible and the English Prayer-Book, was almost the first great work in English prose. Written in language of rare dignity and massive eloquence, to which was added profound learning, the importance of Hooker's work in the ecclesiastical history of England can, as it has been well phrased, hardly be overstated.

The immediate occasion of the composition of the famous "Ecclesiastical Polity" was the fierce controversy which arose between Hooker, the master of the Temple, and Mr. Travers, the afternoon lecturer or preacher at the Temple, who had been, it may be observed, disappointed in his hopes of succeeding to the mastership when Hooker, mainly through the powerful influence of archbishop Whitgift, was appointed to that important preachership. Travers, after Cartwright, of whose violent speaking and writing at Cambridge and in London we have already spoken, was perhaps the most distinguished Puritan leader of the day. The claims of the Puritan party, resisted by Whitgift the primate, and by Hooker in his famous work, have been well summarised thus: "For the church modelled after the fashion of Geneva the Puritan leaders claimed an authority which surpassed the wildest dreams of the masters of the Vatican. All spiritual authority and jurisdiction, the decreeing of doctrine, the ordering of ceremonies, lay wholly in the hands of the ministers of the church. To them belonged the supervision of public morals. In an ordered arrangement of classes and synods these presbyters were to govern their flocks, to regulate their own orders, to decide in matters of faith, to administer

discipline. Their weapon was excommunication, and they were responsible for its use to none but Christ. The province of the civil ruler was simply to carry out the decisions of the presbyters, 'to see their decrees executed, and to punish the contemners of them.' The spirit of Calvinistic Presbyterianism excluded all toleration of practice or belief. Not only was the rule of ministers to be established as the one legal form of church government, but all other forms, episcopalian and separatist, were to be ruthlessly put down. For heresy there was the punishment of death. Never had the doctrine of persecution been urged with such a blind and reckless ferocity. 'I deny,' wrote Cartwright, 'that upon repentance there ought to follow any pardon of death. . . . Heretics ought to be put to death now. If this be bloody and extreme, I am content to be so counted with the Holy Ghost.'" *

Against these adversaries, who counted in the number of their immediate adherents and sympathisers a powerful minority of the English people, including not a few of the great, the cultured, and the powerful, arose, in the words of Hallam, a defender of the English Church, "who mingled in those vulgar controversies † like a knight of romance amongst caitiff brawlers, with arms of finer temper, and worthy to be proved in a nobler field." We allude to the famous Richard Hooker, somewhiles master of the Temple, a profound scholar, and one of the greatest divines and thinkers who have adorned the Church of England, the author of "The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity." "This eminent work," went on our great historian to say, "may justly be reckoned to mark an era in our literature. . . . It is, indeed, not a little remarkable that England, until near the end of the sixteenth century, had given few proofs in literature of that intellectual power which was about to develop itself in Shakespeare and Bacon. We cannot, indeed, place Hooker (but whom dare we place?) by the side of these master-spirits; yet he has abundant claims to be counted among the luminaries of English literature. He not only opened the mine, but explored the depths of our native eloquence. So stately and graceful is the march of his periods, so various the fall of his musical cadences upon the ear, so rich in images, so condensed in sentences, so grave and noble his diction, so little is there of vulgarity in his racy idiom, of pedantry in his learned phrase, that I know not whether any later writer has more admirably displayed the capacities of our language, or produced passages more worthy of comparison with the splendid monuments of antiquity." *

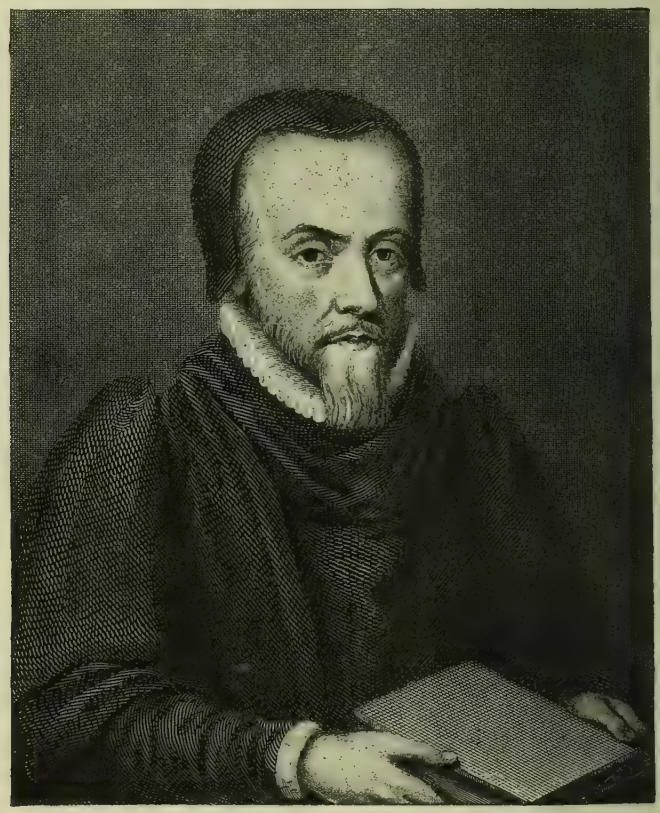
The treatise on the "Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity" has been well described as "the first great systematic development of Anglican theology, in which can be traced the ideal embodied in the Elizabethan settlement," and as "an apology for a partial and, to a great extent, accidental settlement of the difficult questions raised by the reformation. In it he appears to

* Green, iii., chap. viii., sect. i.

† Dean Church (Introduction to Book I. of the "Ecclesiastical Polity"), quoting this fine passage, justly charges Mr. Hallam with a harsh and unphilosophical judgment in the use of such terms, in the matter of the great religious controversy of the time.

* Hallam: "Constitutional History," i., 214.

write from a point of view to which the religious compromises of Elizabeth's reign wore the aspect of an absolute and unimprovable ideal. . . . He brought out the nobler features of the system he defended, exaggerated and false theory of the purpose and function of scripture as the exclusive guide of human conduct—he opposed his own more comprehensive theory of a rule derived not from one alone, but from all



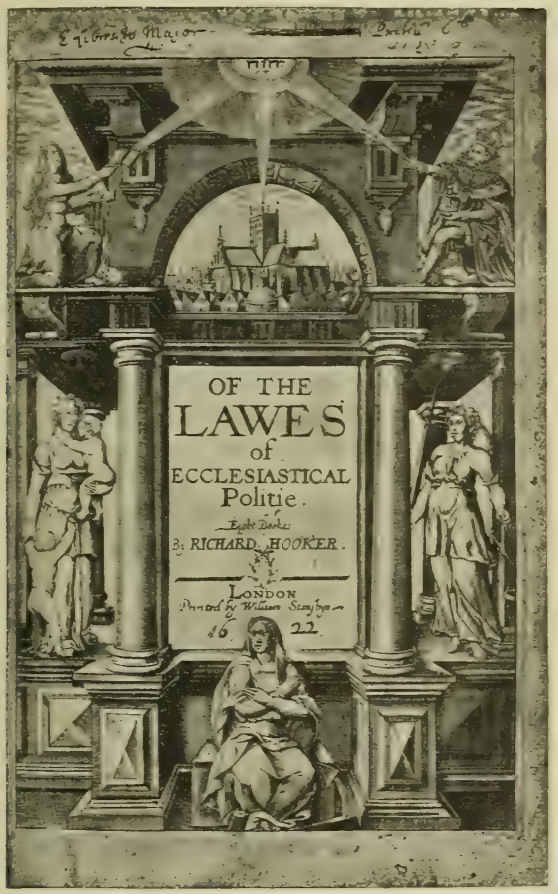
RICHARD HOOKER.
(From a rare print by Hollar.)

its fitness to be the church of a great nation, its adaptation to human nature and society, the reasonableness of its customs, the largeness of aim, and the freedom and elevation of spirit in its principles and working, compared with what claimed to take its place. . . . . To what he considered the fundamental mistake of the Puritans—an the sources of light and truth with which man finds himself encompassed." *

The work is divided into eight books. The first five appeared in print in the author's lifetime, the fifth being published in 1597, three years before his death,

* Dean Church: Introduction to Book I., "Laws of Ecc. Polity."

which happened in 1600. A considerable part of the sixth book has virtually perished, and grave suspicions exist that it was wilfully destroyed. The remaining



TITLE-PAGE OF "THE LAWS OF ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY." (1622 EDITION.) (*British Museum.*)

fragments of the sixth, and the seventh and eighth books—the two latter imperfect, but still in substantial preservation—remain. They were not, however, published till about fifty years after Hooker's death.

"No reader of Hooker," said a profound student of the Elizabethan masterpiece, "will forget the magnificent comprehensiveness of his treatment in the first book of the Polity, of the subject of the first three books, 'On the Nature of Law in general.' In the third division of this first book, the writer dwells on the law supernatural, of which the record and exponent is scripture, and explains the true domain and purpose of this law of scripture. So it is that he lays the foundation; with his foot firmly planted thereon, it is not

hard for him to strike in the next two books (the second and third) decisive blows against the two fundamental positions of his antagonists: the maxim that for the individual Christian life, 'scripture is the only rule of all things which in this life may be done of men;' and the maxim that for the corporate life of the church, 'there must be in scripture a form of church polity the laws of which may not be altered.' On each of these Puritan maxims he argued separately, examining the supposed claims of holy scripture for itself." The second and third books are, however, now comparatively little read. Bishop Barry, from whose essay we quote, considers it a fatal error to dwell upon any part of Hooker's massive work without study of the deep foundation laid in the first book, "more valuable he considers in itself, more important in its effects on subsequent English theology, certainly fuller of living instruction to us, than any part of the more apologetic and polemic superstructure which he has raised upon it."

In the fourth and fifth books are contained the defence of the worship and ritual of the Church of England. The fourth book deals with the charges brought by the Puritan party against our worship and ritual, of a want of apostolical simplicity, of too great likeness to the Church of Rome, of unlikeness to the system of Protestant churches abroad, of a derivation from the Judaic ceremonial of the Old Testament, of the retention of that which had been hopelessly corrupted by idolatry.* The fifth book, the most widely studied of all—the treatise almost universally put into the hands of all students of Anglican theology—examines the principle of a liturgy, then the various parts and accessories of our prayer-book worship, the doctrine of the sacraments and their forms of ministration, the details of our occasional services, the principles of fasts and festivals, the three orders, and even the accidents of our ministry and parochial system. "From time immemorial it has been studied as the best commentary on our prayer-book."* The famous passage on the great sacrament of the Eucharist, a passage of "earnest and impressive eloquence," which closes chap. lxvii., sect. 12, urging that "among all who hold not that base Zwinglian theory, which our church expressly repudiates, there are these great fundamental points of agreement, that it is a real participation of Christ, that it is a real means of grace of the Holy Ghost . . . and that all this being accepted, we should inquire and dispute no further," has been already in part quoted in this work.

Of the three remaining books, much of the sixth, we have already stated, has been lost. What we possess is but a fragment, and this fragment is directed in its argument "rather against Rome than against Geneva," dealing with confession and absolution. The seventh and eighth books, only published long years after Hooker had passed away, and taken from Hooker's rough drafts, lack the corrections of the author.

The seventh contains the argument for episcopacy and the question of apostolical succession. It lays down the principle that, there being no formal rule

* See Bishop Barry: "Essay on Hooker," in the "Masters in English Theology."

* *Ibid.*

of church polity enunciated in Holy Scripture, the form of government lay in the power of the church itself to determine; that *from the beginning, even from apostolic times, that form has been episcopal—a thousand five hundred years and upward* [Hooker wrote before A.D. 1600] *the church of Christ hath now continued under the sacred regiment of bishops.* Thus, even taking the lower view of universal church custom, it is rash and presumptuous to overthrow it; but taking the generally received persuasion, held from the first beginning, that the apostles themselves left bishops invested with power, *it may be boldly and peremptorily concluded that, if anything in the church's government, surely the first constitution of bishops was from heaven, was even of God; the holy Ghost was the author of it.*

Very gently, but still very firmly, the great Anglican theologian thus sorrowfully speaks of other reformed churches, less happily circumstanced: "Although I see that certain reformed churches, the Scottish especially, and French, have not that which best agreeth with the sacred Scriptures; I mean the government that is by bishops, inasmuch that both these churches are fallen under a different kind of regiment, which to remedy, it is for the one altogether too late, and too soon for the other during their present affliction and trouble; this their defect and imperfection I had rather lament in such case than exagitate, considering that men oftentimes, without any fault of their own, may be driven to want that kind of polity or regiment which is best, and to content themselves with this, which either the irremediable error of former times, or the necessity of the present, hath cast upon them."

The eighth and last book handles the principle of the royal supremacy, as maintained in the Church of England. This is not "Erastian," in the modern sense of the word. It simply asserts that all laws connected with the church were to be passed by the whole body, by the clergy in convocation, by the laity in Parliament, with the assent of the crown. The supreme authority to enforce these laws belonged to the crown, supreme in all causes ecclesiastical as well as civil.

Such was this monumental work, which, as we have stated, was the first great systematic development of Anglican theology, published under the immediate sanction of archbishop Whitgift, the favourite prelate and confidential friend of queen Elizabeth, at the close of the sixteenth century. The fifth, the largest and most important of the books, printed first in 1597, was expressly dedicated to Whitgift in a long and elaborate dedication of several pages. So important did Whitgift deem the work of Hooker, that his biographer, the well-known Isaac Walton,* tells us how the archbishop, about a month after Hooker's death (1600), sent one of his chaplains "to inquire of Mrs. Hooker for the three remaining books of Polity (VI., VII., VIII.) writ by her husband, of which she would not, or could not, give any account, and that about three months after this time, the bishop (archbishop) procured her to be sent for to London, and there by his procurement she was to be examined by some of

* In appendix to "Life of Mr. Richard Hooker."

her majesty's council concerning the disposal of these books." So important were these writings also considered by the queen's privy council.

As regards the general estimation in which the great work of Hooker was held, Isaac Walton tells us how both the reformed, and the learned of the Romish Church esteemed them, and repeats a curious story, that cardinal Allen, or the learned Dr. Stapleton, brought the book under the notice of Pope Clement VIII. The first book was read to the Pope, Isaac Walton goes on to say, in Latin, at the conclusion of which the Pope spoke to this purpose: "There is no learning that this man hath not searcht into, nothing too hard for his understanding; this man indeed deserves the name of an author; his books will get reverence by age, for there is in them the seeds of eternity, that if the rest be like this, they shall last till the last fire shall consume all learning."

In the same charming biography (Isaac Walton's) of the great scholar, which has become a classic among us, we read how at the first coming of king James (1603) into this kingdom, he inquired of the archbishop Whitgift for his friend Mr. Hooker, that writ the books of Church Polity; to which the answer was, that he died a year before queen Elizabeth [it was more than a year], who received the sad news of his death with very much sorrow; to which the king replied: "And I receive it with no less, that I shall want the desired happiness of seeing and discoursing with the man from whose books I have received such satisfaction; indeed, my lord, I have received more satisfaction in reading a leaf or paragraph in Mr. Hooker, though it were but about the fashion of churches, o church musick, or the like, but especially of the sacraments, than I have had in the reading particular large treatises writte but of one of those subjects by others though very learned men; . . . an though many others write well, yet in th next age they will be forgotten; but doubt less there is in every page of Mr. Hooker' book the picture of a divine soul, such pictures of truth and reason, and drawn i so sacred colours, that they shall neve fade, but give an immortal memory to th author." And, went on Walton to say, "i was so truly true that the king though what he spoke, that as the most learne of the nation have, and still do mentio Mr. Hooker with reverence, so he also di never mention him but with the epithe of 'learned,' or 'judicious,' or 'reverend or 'venerable;' nor did his son, ou late king Charles the First, ever mentio him without the same reverence, enjoinin his son, our now gracious king [Walto wrote in the time of Charles II.] to b studious in Mr. Hooker's books." Princes Elizabeth, daughter of Charles I., says i her relation at the end of "Icon Basiliké: "He (my father) bid me read bisho Andrewe's sermons, Hooker's 'Ecclesiasti cal Polity,' and bishop Laud's book agains Fisher, which would ground me agains Popery."

The prophetic words of king Jame respecting the fadeless colours of Hooker' pictures of truth and reason, and the im mortal memory of the author of the "Eccle siastical Polity," have, so far as the fou centuries which have elapsed since th master theologian fell asleep can bea witness, been fulfilled. "Fadeless colours

for his pictures of truth and reason, and an "immortal memory," are strong expressions; but as yet the wide popularity, to use no stronger a term, of Hooker's noble work among those thoughtful religious men who have ever been the strength of the great Anglican communion, shows no sign of waning. It is not too much to say that the writer of the books of the "Ecclesiastical Polity," in the case of the large majority of English churchmen, has touched their hearts as well as their understandings.

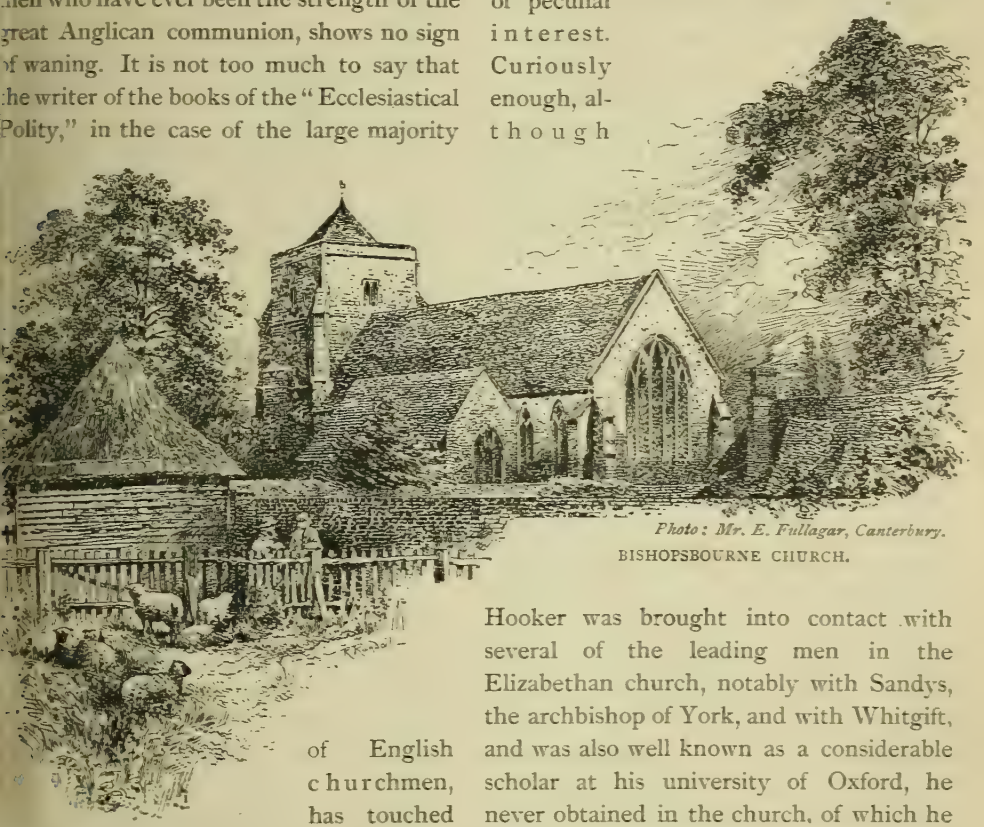


Photo: Mr. E. Fullagar, Canterbury.
BISHOPSBOURNE CHURCH.

The life-story of the greatest theologian of the Anglican communion, so rich in divines and scholarly writers, is an uneventful one, but it has been told by a real artist. Isaac Walton, in his simple biography, has invested the commonplace everyday life of Hooker and its homely troubles with a strange charm and pathetic beauty. To the student of the history of the Church of England, the circumstances which led to the composition of perhaps its most important theological work, is of peculiar interest. Curiously enough, although Hooker was brought into contact with several of the leading men in the Elizabethan church, notably with Sandys, the archbishop of York, and with Whitgift, and was also well known as a considerable scholar at his university of Oxford, he never obtained in the church, of which he became the most distinguished ornament, any preferment of high dignity, save perhaps the mastership of the Temple, which, after holding for some five or six years, he resigned, as incompatible with the prosecution of his studies. And yet, probably, after four centuries, his name is generally better known among us than that of any other of the famous Elizabethan divines, not even excepting the great archbishops

Parker and Whitgift, and the distinguished author of the "Apology," Jewel, sometime bishop of Salisbury.

Hooker's early connection with Jewel has been already noticed. It was to the kindness of Jewel that the humbly born Richard Hooker was indebted for his early education at Oxford, where he became a fellow of his college, Corpus Christi. He was distinguished especially as a Hebraist, and at Oxford some of the famous scholar's happiest days were spent in what he afterwards regretfully called "the freedom of my cell—which was my college." His first public appearance in London was in preaching at Paul's Cross. With some humour, mingled with pathos, Isaac Walton tells the story of the scholar's marriage with his landlady's daughter: "On his journey to London for the Paul's Cross sermon, Hooker contracted a severe cold. Nursed by his hostess, the wife of a draper in Watling Street, back into health, a feeling of gratitude induced the scholar to listen to her persuasion to take a wife that might prove a nurse to him, such an one as might both prolong his life and make it more comfortable." This wife was found in the person of her daughter Joan, "who brought him neither beauty nor portion . . . but the good man had no reason to rejoice in the wife of his youth, but had too just cause to say, 'Wo is me that I am constrained to have my habitation in the tents of Kedar.' This Joan seems to have been a commonplace, somewhat vulgar woman, utterly unsuited to the temper and disposition of the devoted student." By this unlucky marriage, his biographer tells us, "the good man was drawn from the tranquillity of his college, from that garden of piety, pleasure, of peace and a sweet conver tion, into the thorny wilderness of a bu world, into those corroding cares th attend a married priest and a count parsonage, which was Drayton Bea champ in Buckingham."

An amusing and graphic picture is giv us of the great scholar in his new hon with its uncongenial surroundings, on t occasion of a visit of two favourite pupi one of whom was Edwin Sandys, a s of the archbishop of York. Sandys a his friend Cranmer* found their tutor wi a volume of Horace in his hand, "tendi his small allotment of sheep in a comm field, which he told his pupils he w forced to do there." Subsequently th went with him to his parsonage, but were n left long in the enjoyment of his compa for presently "Richard was called by wife to rock the cradle." The rest their welcome, goes on the simple recit was so like this, that they stayed but the next morning, which was time enou to discover and pity their tutor's conditi Sandys, we read, at once proceeded acquaint his father the archbishop with tutor's sad condition, and to beg him remove him to some benefice that mig give him a more quiet and comforta subsistence. Through the archbisho influence, who represented to the bench of the Temple that Hooker was a patte of virtue and learning, he was appoint to the mastership of the Temple.

This was the turning-point of Hooke career. The afternoon preacher of t society was, as we have already notic

* This Cranmer was a grandson of the marty archbishop's brother.

he eminent Puritan leader, Travers. With his Travers Hooker was soon involved in ublic controversy; and, as Fuller wittily xpresses it, "the forenoon sermons at he Temple spoke pure Canterbury, and he afternoon Geneva." We have already lwelt upon the great Puritan contention, vhich aimed at fundamental changes in he church government of England. This ontroversy now became the business of Hooker's life. His great work, "The Ecclesiastical Polity," grew out of the heological disputes of which the Temple vas the scene in 1585–6, Hooker, of course, eing the champion of the Church of England. The sharp and bitter contro- ersy led the great theologian to ponder ver the grave divergences of opinion vhich unhappily divided the Puritan from he Anglican; and he laid the foundations t that time of his exhaustive treatise on Ecclesiastical Polity, which subsequently endered his name so famous among English divines. Finding the stir and ustle of the city incompatible with such tudies, he asked the archbishop to give im a post in the country where, as he aid, "I might behold God's blessing pring out of my mother earth, and eat ny own bread without opposition." Whitgift listened to his prayer, and he as removed to the living of Boscombe, ear Salisbury. In this retirement he mposed the first four books of his aster-work, which were published in 593–4. Through Whitgift's influence, e was removed in 1595 to the more crative preferment of Bishopsbourne, ear Canterbury, where he completed and ublished in 1597 the most important ection of his treatise, the fifth book.

It was only in the closing years of the life of the great student that men began to recognise that a thinker and writer of no common order had arisen amongst them. The parsonage of Bishopsbourne, where Hooker spent his last few years, is about three miles distant from Canterbury, near the Dover road, "in which parsonage Mr. Hooker had not been twelve months, but his books and the innocency of his life became so remarkable, that many turned out of the road, and others (scholars especially) went purposely to see the man whose life and learning were so much admired." "What went they out for to see," quaintly asks his biographer, Walton, fully conscious of the unimposing presence of his hero—"a man clothed in purple and fine linen?" And describing the disappointment of many curious visitors on meeting with the object of their pilgrimage, he thus paints the celebrated Richard Hooker, "as an obscure, harmless man, in poor clothes, his loins usually girt in a coarse gown or canonical coat; of a mean stature and stooping, and yet more lowly in the thoughts of his soul; his body worn out, not with age, but study and holy mortifications." *

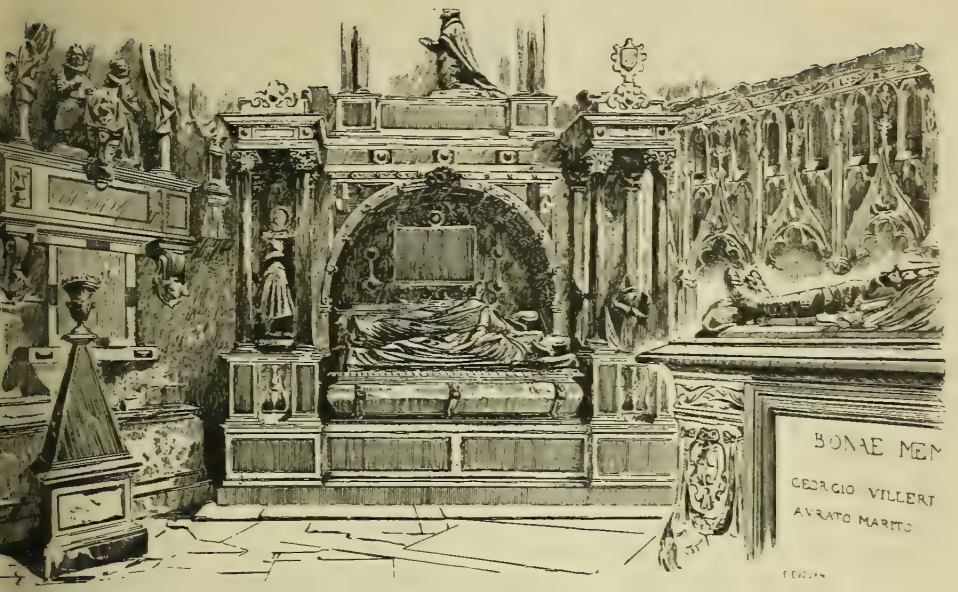
Some indignant surprise is not unnaturally felt that so little recognition was given to this eminent man by the leaders of the church and state in his lifetime; that one who deservedly is ranked among the two or three of the most conspicuous ornaments of the great reign of Elizabeth, was allowed to pass away in the comparative seclusion of a little country parsonage. But it seems that although Hooker had been well known for years to

* Isaac Walton: "Life of Hooker."

Burleigh, Sandys, Whitgift, and others, he had been only regarded as an accurate scholar and an able controversialist by these distinguished men; the real greatness of the man and the surpassing grandeur of his writings was only acknowledged too late for human recognition or gratitude. The noblest and most enduring section of the master-work—the fifth book—only saw the light in 1597; and before the year 1600 had run its course, Hooker had passed away to another and grander scene. In the biography from which we are quoting, written some sixty years or more after his death—a little writing which has charmed so many readers among our people, to whom the massive theology and the stately diction of Hooker, in his lucid and scholarly presentment of their church, is perhaps but the shadow of a mighty name—Isaac Walton is never tired of dwelling upon the humility and meekness and the devoted piety of Hooker.

Singularly beautiful is his account of the great scholar's deathbed, and of his colloquies in the last solemn hours with his dear friend, Dr. Saravia, a learned Canterbury prebendary. One of these dying utterances deserves to be quoted, even in the comparatively brief and arid annals of a history, as it gives some index to the mind of the man to whom the law and order of the Church of England, bas as he had so exhaustively shown in writings, upon the records and traditi of an immemorial antiquity, appeared beautiful and divine, so worthy of English nation who had adopted it as th form of Christianity. It was the day bef Hooker's death, and his friend, as looked on him, noticed the dying man " deep in contemplation, and not inclina to discourse." Saravia asked him w was the nature of his present thoug The scholar at once replied: "That was meditating the number and nature angels, and their blessed obedience a order, without which peace could not in heaven; and oh that it might be so earth!" His last words gently expres his wish to have lived a little longer, t he might have done the church m service; but he was sensible that he co not hope it, for his days were past.

Walton closes his story with the word "Now he seems to rest like Lazarus Abraham's bosom; let me here draw curtain, till with the most glorious co pany of the patriarchs and apostles, the m noble army of martyrs and confessors, t most learned, most humble, holy man sh also awake to receive an eternal tranquilli and with it a greater degree of glory than co mon Christians shall be made partakers o



THE BURLEIGH MONUMENTS IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

CHAPTER LXI.

CLOSE OF ELIZABETH'S REIGN. THE REFORMED CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

iendour of the Elizabethan Era—Loneliness of the Queen's Last Years—Closing Days and Death—Her Work and Character—Last Years of Whitgift—The Lambeth Articles—Lancelot Andrewes—His Controversy with Rome—The New Need for such an Apologist—Rise of the Jesuits—Character of Andrewes—Sketch of the Reformed Church of England at Elizabeth's Death—Sketch of the Puritan Party—Growing Bitterness of the Puritans against the Church—Reasons for this Bitterness—Its Permanent Results—Estimate by the Earlier Anglicans of the Reformation Divines and their Work.

WITH the last years of the sixteenth century, the curtain was about to fall on the brilliant gn in which so much had happened England—the reign which had witssed so many and such great changes, d had seen the marvellous development English power and greatness at home d abroad. In all these changes and velopments queen Elizabeth, during r long and, on the whole, prosperous reign, had borne the principal part. She had been rarely favoured throughout its long-drawn-out course with the help of a most illustrious company of assistants in every department of church and state, generally splendidly loyal, and singularly devoted to their royal mistress. No sovereign that had ever sat on the throne of England could boast of such a group of far-seeing faithful statesmen as Cecil and Bacon, Walsingham and Hunsdon; such a

company of soldiers and sailors, among whom the names of Philip Sidney, Drake, Howard of Effingham, will be for ever especially illustrious. Yet more famous in English story are the names of the chiefs of literature, who won for our country the first rank in the world of letters—Lyly and Sidney, Spenser, Ben Jonson, Shakespeare, and Bacon; while in the department with which we are more especially concerned in our history of the Church of England, a singularly wise, learned, and statesmanlike group of ecclesiastics surrounded the queen all through her eventful career—men like Parker and Jewel, Guest, Sandys and Cox, Grindal and Whitgift, and—last in rank but first in fame and in enduring influence — the judicious Hooker. But the end was come at last.

It was the melancholy destiny of the splendid queen that she outlived all her friends and faithful advisers, with perhaps the solitary exception of her favourite church counsellor and archbishop, Whitgift, who, however, only survived his royal mistress for one short year. "The great men who had upheld her throne in the days of peril, dropped one by one into the grave. Walsingham died soon after the defeat of the Armada; Hunsdon, Knollys, Burleigh (Cecil), Drake, followed at brief intervals, and their mistress was left by herself, standing, as it seemed, on the pinnacle of earthly glory, yet in all the loneliness of greatness, and unable to enjoy the honours which Burleigh's policy had won for her. The first place among the Protestant powers, which had been so often offered her and so often refused, had been forced upon her—'she was the head of the name,' but it gave h no pleasure. She was the last of her rac no Tudor would sit again on the Engl throne. Her own sad prophecy was f filled, and she lived to see those whom s most trusted turning their eyes to t rising sun. Old age was coming up her, bringing with it perhaps a conscio ness of failing faculties; and solitary in t midst of splendour, and friendless amo the circle of adorers who swore they liv but in her presence, she grew weary o life which had ceased to interest her."*

Not a few of those who had long be the foremost figures of Elizabeth's brilli court lay in the neighbouring abbey Westminster, where slept the mighty cestors of the queen; some in that sole royal ring around the remains of the C fessor, some in the yet more sumptuou adorned chapel of Henry VII., wh Elizabeth herself was so soon to be la The monuments of the Elizabethan m nates, who died well-nigh all before th mistress, are with us still, at once t glory and disfigurement of the abbey. illustrations of one of the most brilli chapters of our island story, they poss an undying interest, while at the sa time, in their huge and often tastel magnificence, they disfigure the beau of the fairest church in Christendo The most conspicuous of these memori of Elizabeth's courtiers are those of h kinsman and "rough and honest" cha berlain, lord Hunsdon, and of the Cecils.

Burleigh himself—the first of the t Cecils—though his funeral was celebrat in the abbey, lies in Stamford; but t mighty tomb over the graves of his w

* Froude: "History," vol. xii., conclusion.

nd daughter is at Westminster. "It ex-resses the great grief of his life, which ut for the earnest entreaties of the queen ould have driven him from his public uties altogether. If anyone ask, says ecil's epitaph, who is that aged man on ended knees, venerable from his hoary airs, in his robes of state, and with the rder of the Garter? the answer is, that e see the great minister of Elizabeth, is eyes dim with tears for the loss of hose who were dearer to him beyond the hole race of womankind." * Burleigh ied in 1598. On his death-bed the queen ften visited him. Never had a sovereign een served so long and so faithfully. His reat services to the Church of England uring the anxious period of the settle-ient, have been already dwelt upon. ying, he wrote to his son, to whom ie queen entrusted many of his father's ffices, "Serve God by serving the queen, r all other service is indeed bondage to ie devil." Elizabeth, though at times she esented Cecil's wise and moderate coun-els, thoroughly recognised the grandeur f his intellect and his unswerving loyalty, nd spoke of him in the following remark-ble terms: "Her comfort had been in er people's happiness, and *their happiness i his discretion*." After his death the ueen could not hear his name without iedding tears. Within four years, how-er, she followed him into the land eyond the veil.

We have an interesting description of the agnificent but lonely queen from the pen a German traveller, illustrative of her lendour in these last years, as she ap-peared in the chapel of her palace of Greenwich. "The presence chamber was richly hung with tapestry and strewn with rushes. In it were assembled the arch-bishop of Canterbury, the bishop of London, and the chief officers of the crown. The queen appeared, preceded by gentle-men, barons, earls, knights of the garter, all richly dressed. Next came the lord chancellor, bearing the seal in a red silk purse between two, one of whom carried the royal sceptre, the other the sword of state. Next came the queen, very majestic, her face oblong, fair, but wrinkled, her eyes small, jet black and pleasant, her nose a little hooked, her lips narrow, and her teeth black (a defect the English seem subject to from their too great use of sugar). She had in her ears two pearls. Her hair was of an auburn colour, but false; upon her head she wore a small crown. . . . Her air was stately, and her manner of speech gracious. She was dressed in white silk bordered with pearls of the size of beans, and over it a mantle of silk shot with silver thread; her train was very long, the end of it borne by a marchioness. . . . As she went along in all this magnificence, she spoke very graciously to foreign ministers and others, in English, French, and Italian—whoever speaks to her kneels. The ladies of the court followed her, dressed in white. She was guarded on each side by the gentle-men pensioners, fifty in number, with gilt halberds. . . . While she was at prayers, we saw her table set with the following solemnity." * Then follow more details of court ceremony: "It would seem," said

* Dean Stanley: "Memorials of Westminster bbey," chap. iv.

* Quoted by Bishop Creighton: "Queen Eliza-beth," chap. viii.

her biographer, "that as years went on, Elizabeth fenced herself round with greater state, and by an increase of magnificence in apparel, tried to hide from herself and others the ravages of time. Certainly she objected to any reference to her age. When the bishop of St. David's preached a sermon on the text: 'Lord, teach us to number our days, that we may apply our hearts unto wisdom,' Elizabeth, instead of thanking him, according to her custom, told him that he might have kept his arithmetic for himself; but I see that the greatest clerks are not the wisest men."

But all this outward magnificence could not hide the signs of oncoming old age; somewhat premature perhaps, for she was not yet seventy years of age; but the lonely queen was literally worn out with a long life of restless work, ceaseless anxieties, and continued excitement. It was in vain that she kept up a poor show of outward gaiety; in vain that she pretended to enjoy life as in old days. "She hunted, she danced, she jested with her young favourites; she coquetted, and scolded, and frolicked (just as she had done so forty years before). 'The queen,' wrote a courtier, a few months before her death, 'was never so gallant these many years, nor so set upon jollity.' She persisted, in spite of opposition, in her gorgeous progresses from country house to country house; she clung to business as of old." On the May day of 1602, "she went a-maying in the woods of Lewisham." She even gave the Scottish king a hint that his succession to her crown was yet in the dim distance, by keeping his ambassador waiting in a passage where he might see her dancing in her chamber. "But death crept on, her face became haggard, an her frame shrank almost to a skeleto At last, even her taste for finery disa peared, and she refused to change h dress for a week together. A strang melancholy settled down upon her; grad ally her mind gave way, she lost h memory . . . her very courage seeme to fail her. She called for a sword to l constantly beside her, and thrust it fro time to time through the arras, as if sh heard murderers stirring there. Food an rest became alike distasteful." *

A touching letter from Sir John Ha rington to his wife, giving the particula of an interview with the queen, tells something of her melancholy conditio during the last months. "Our dear queen wrote Sir John, "my royal godmothe doth now bear show of human infirmit too fast for that evil which we shall g by her death, and too slow for that go which we shall get by her releaseme from pain and misery. It was not ma days since I was bidden to her presenc I blessed the happy moment, and found h in a most pitiable state." On an allusio to the dead Essex, the queen dropped tear, and smote her bosom. The writ proceeds: "She held in her hand a golde cup, which she often put to her lips, b in sooth her heart seemeth too full lack more filling." Alluding to some vers Sir John had written, she smiled once a said, "When thou dost feel creeping tim at thy gate, these fooleries will please th less. I am past my relish for such matte Thou seest my bodily meat doth not st me well; I have eaten but one ill-tast cake since yesternight."

* Green: "History," chap. vii., sect. viii.

DEATH OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.
(From the picture by Delaroche.)

The end approached a few weeks later. Robert Carey, her kinsman, gives us a vivid picture of the dying Elizabeth. "When I came to court I found the queen ill-disposed. Hearing of my arrival, she sent for me. I found her sitting low upon her cushions. She called me to her; I kissed her hand, and told her it was my chief happiness to see her in safety and in health. She took my hand and wrung it, and said, 'No, Robin, I am not well,' and then discoursed with me of her indisposition, and that her heart had been sad and heavy for ten or twelve days; in her discourse she fetched not so few as forty or fifty great sighs." Then she spoke of the queen of Scots. The tragedy at Fotheringay was evidently sorely troubling her; and weeping she repeated that never had she given her consent to that sad death. She was too suffering the next morning to attend service in the royal chapel, but she had cushions laid for her hard by the closet door, and there she heard service. She remained on her cushions, says Carey, four days and nights at least. All about her could not persuade her to take sustenance or go to bed. Cecil and another of her council in vain tried to induce her, and Cecil* said that "to content the people she must go to bed." The queen looked up and said, "The word *must* was not used to princes. Little man, little man, if your father had lived you durst not have said so much; but you know I must die, and that makes you presumptuous."

She was induced at last to take to her bed. The sad scene of her death was i the palace at Richmond. The council wer assembled, and waited sorrowfully for th end. On the 23rd of March, 1603, sh was speechless, but made signs for th archbishop (Whitgift) and her chaplains t come to her. "About six at night," say Carey,* "I went in with them, and fe upon my knees, full of tears to see th heavy sight. Her majesty lay upon he back. The archbishop knelt down by her and examined her first of her faith, an she so punctually answered all his question by lifting up her eyes and holding up he hand, as it was a great comfort to all th beholders. Then the good man (Whitgift told her plainly what she was, and wha she was come to; and although she ha been a great queen here upon earth, ye shortly she was to yield an account of he stewardship to the king of kings. Afte that he began to pray. . . . When h had continued so long in prayer that th old man's knees were weary, he blesse her, and made as though he would ris and leave her." The queen made a sig with her hand; one of the ladies told th archbishop what Elizabeth desired. H must pray on. "He did so for a lon half-hour more, and then thought to leav her; the second time she made a sign t have him continue in prayer. He did s for another half an hour, with earnest crie to God for her soul's health, which h uttered with such fervency of spirit, a the queen to all our sight much rejoice thereat, and gave testimony to us all o her Christian and comfortable end."

She then fell asleep, and from that slee

* Robert Cecil was secretary of state. He was the great lord Burleigh's son, and succeeded to much of his father's influence.

* Carey was a son of lord Hunsdon, and kinsman of queen Elizabeth.

she never awakened. Strype,* in his life of Whitgift, bears similar testimony to the queen's earnestness and faith in her last moments. "I supply," writes this learned and voluminous author, "what one of her physicians, writing about her mortal sickness, is silent in. She had several of her learned and pious bishops frequently about her (the chaplains above alluded to), as particularly Watson, bishop of Chichester, her almoner, the bishop of London, and chiefly the archbishop (Whitgift), with whom in their prayers she very devoutly and with great fervency joined, . . . and making signs and shows to her last remembrance, of the sweet comfort she took in their presence and assistance, and of the unspeakable joy she was going unto."

We have dwelt with some detail on the closing scenes of the life of the great queen, drawing our picture wholly from contemporary sources, not only because the character of Elizabeth is peculiarly interesting to us on account of the momentous and permanent effect it has had upon the fortunes of the English people, or because of the splendour and surpassing lustre of the court with which she surrounded herself, but because it possesses a special importance in the eyes of the historian of the Church of England. The "Elizabethan" settlement of the difficult and somewhat confused questions raised by the Reformation; the religious compromises of the reign, which settled the position of the Church of England—a church which has emphatically shown itself fitted to be the church of a great nation—were largely influenced by the queen herself. It must ever be remembered that Parker, the great first archbishop to whom the compromises were in the main due, and Whitgift, the third archbishop, were the especial choice of the queen and her trusted minister and adviser, Cecil. Parker and Whitgift in no small degree enjoyed the intimate friendship, and generally the entire confidence of Elizabeth. The famous divines, also, who arranged the settlement and ordered the religious compromise, were chosen by Parker, without doubt, with the full sanction and approval of the queen.

Hence the life of one who so largely influenced the momentous events connected with the settlement of the ecclesiastical polity of our church, is more than an interesting study. It possesses a peculiar and enduring importance of its own. "It is easy," said her latest biographer,* "to point out serious faults in Elizabeth, to draw out her inconsistencies, . . . but this treatment does not exhibit the real woman, still less the real queen. Elizabeth was hailed at her accession as being 'mere English,' and 'mere English' she remained. Round her, with all her faults, the England which we know grew into the consciousness of its destiny. . . . There are many things in Elizabeth which we could have wished otherwise; but she saw what England might become, and nursed it into the knowledge of its

* Strype was a most learned contributor to the history and biography of the Church of England at that time. He was born in 1643, and lived to the age of ninety-four. He had access to the papers of lord Burleigh's private secretary, and to much more original matter. Although the many volumes of his works are chaotic and undigested, they contain a most useful quarry of material for historians of the age of Elizabeth.

* Bishop Creighton.

EFFIGY OF QUEEN ELIZABETH ON HER TOMB IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

power." And as with the state, so with the church. With all her acknowledged faults, the conviction of the surpassing greatness of the "Protestant queen" will grow among thoughtful Englishmen as time rolls on, and bear fresh and ever fresh testimony to the enduring character of her ecclesiastical work.

The remains of the great queen were brought by water from Richmond, where she died, to Westminster. The surgeons, contrary to her own expressed desire, cered (embalmed) the body. Camden gives us a quaint but complete expression of the universal grief felt at her death:

"The queen did come by water to Whitehall,
The oars at every stroke did tears let fall."

Her popularity, it is said, had for some time been on the wane, and it was one of her sorrows that she had lost the people's love. It is doubtful if this was really the case. Certain it is that the news of the death of the magnificent sovereign who had loved her England so well, evoked a burst of unfeigned sorrow among all sorts and conditions of men. Stow thus depicts the people's mourning for the dead Elizabeth when her body was transported from Whitehall to her resting-place in the royal abbey: "Now the Cittie of Westminste was surcharged with multitudes of al sorts of people, in their streetes, houses windowes, leads, and gutters, that came t see the obsequie; and when they behel her statue or picture* lying uppon th coffin, set forth in Royall robes, having crowne uppon the head thereof, and a bal and scepter in either hand, there was suc a generall sighing, groning and weeping as the like hath not beene seene o knowne in the memorie of man; neyther doth any historie mention any people time, or date to make like lamentatio for the death of their souveraygne."

She was brought, doubtless (says Dean Stanley) by her own desire, to the north aisle of Henry VII.'s chapel, to the unmarked grave of her unfortunate predecessor (her sister Mary). On the stately monument erected by James I. (though paid for, apparently, by the citizens of London) there are on the several sides long and somewhat inflated inscriptions descriptive of the glories of Elizabeth. One of these

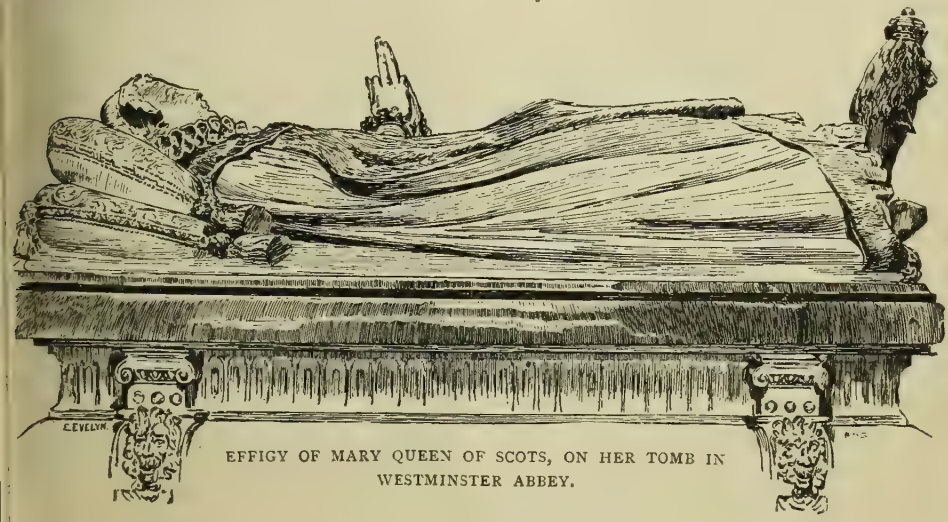
* The wax effigy that was usually laid on the coffin of sovereigns and of other illustrious persons. Some of these curious reliques of the great dead are still preserved in Westminster Abbey.

however, is most pathetic, as it tells in a few simple words how the royal sisters sleep together, the Roman Catholic and the Protestant, the daughter of Katharine of Arragon, and the daughter of Anne Boleyn: "Regno consortes et urnâ, hic obdormimus Elizabetha et Maria sorores, in spe resurrectionis."* "The stately coffin of Elizabeth rests on the coffin of Mary." The monument is an enormous pile of gorgeous Renaissance work, huge and stately rather than beautiful, telling sadly of the decadence of true art. It is much defaced and broken. Its most interesting feature is the recumbent effigy of the queen, and is, no doubt, a faithful representation of the great Elizabeth as she was known to her contemporaries in her later years. The features are calm and dignified, but wear that expression of utter weariness which seemed to come over her in her sad and lonely old age.

* "Partners both in throne and grave, we sisters Elizabeth and Mary sleep in the hope of the resurrection."

In the search for the sepulchre of James I., the wall at the east end of the monument of Elizabeth was laid bare, and through a small aperture a view was obtained into a low and narrow vault immediately beneath her tomb. "It was instantly evident that it enclosed two coffins, and two only, and it could not be doubted that these contained Elizabeth and her sister Mary. There was no disorder or decay . . . the dim light fell on a fragment of the coffin lid. There was the Tudor badge, a full double rose, on each side, the august initials E. R., and below the memorable date 1603."* The coffin had been originally covered, evidently with red silk velvet. Dean Stanley, who was privileged for a brief moment to see this solemn home of so much greatness, dwells on the impressive sight of the secluded narrow tomb, "thus compressing in the closest grasp the two Tudor sisters, 'partners of the same tomb and throne,' the great queen thus reposing in solemn

* Dean Stanley: "Memorials of Westminster Abbey."



EFFIGY OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS, ON HER TOMB IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

majesty, as can hardly be doubted by her own desire, on her sister's coffin."

Archbishop Whitgift survived the queen barely a year. One blot exists upon his character of consistency. His general policy, as we have seen, resisted the tyrannous narrowness of Puritanism; and in his warm and steady patronage of Hooker, in his acceptance of the "Ecclesiastical Polity" of that great master, he showed his determination to maintain the continuity of the existing Church of England with the historical church of the past. His conduct, however, in the matter of the so-called Lambeth Articles is inexplicable, save on the supposition that in his latter years "the instability of old age may have crept upon him," and that for the sake of peace he consented to agree to a concession to some views of the Puritan party, which were opposed to the doctrines of the church of which he had ever showed himself the resolute defender.

Let us briefly sketch the curious episode of the Lambeth Articles. It was in 1595 that a considerable party at Cambridge publicly denounced the opponents of Calvin as persons addicted to Popery, and certain heads of houses in that university went so far as to censure a divine who had spoken disrespectfully of Calvin. Whitgift, strange to say, seemed to sympathise with these Cambridge Calvinists, and arranged a meeting at Lambeth for the discussion of the points at issue. Dr. Whitaker, the Margaret Professor of Divinity, proposed to the archbishop a series of Articles, nine in number, which should be sent down to Cambridge stamped with episcopal authority. Whitgift called a meeting of some divines of high rank who considered these Calvinistic propositions, and positively approved of them and with certain modifications sent them down to Cambridge. These were the celebrated "Lambeth Articles." They asserted that "God has from everlasting predestinated certain people to life, and that some He has reprobated to death and that it is not in the power of every man to be saved." The whole proceeding was irregular, and the prelates and others who were assembled at Lambeth acted without any formal ecclesiastical authority for they were not assembled in a synod Lord Burleigh (Cecil), who was still alive and in power when the "Articles" in question were submitted to him, expressed his general disapprobation, and laid them before Elizabeth. She condemned them very strongly, and the archbishop seems at once to have submitted to her judgment. The result was that the Lambeth Articles were suppressed.

They appeared, however, again—early in the reign of James I.—at the Hampton Court Conference in 1604, when the Puritan party asked that "the nine assertions orthodoxally concluded at Lambeth" might be inserted in the Book of the XXXIX. Articles. The petition shared the fate in that Hampton Court Conference of the vast majority of the Puritan suggestions and requirements, and was absolutely rejected. Bishop Andrewes, of whom we must speak with some detail, who was considered at the beginning of the seventeenth century as the most learned and weighty of the Anglican divines, in his judgment on the Lambeth Articles thus expresses himself: "For sixteen years since I was ordained

priest I have never publicly or privately disputed on these mysteries of predestination, and now I would much rather hear than speak of them."

With the close of Elizabeth's reign the long and eventful life's work of her great archbishop and friend was virtually done; Whitgift was well-nigh seventy-four years of age, and was worn out. He was at first anxious lest the puritanical surroundings of Elizabeth's successor (James I.) would affect the royal disposition towards the Church of England; but he was quickly reassured, and a long and intimate conversation with king James at Theobald's convinced him that the new sovereign was well disposed to the church polity of his predecessor. "He did perceive," writes Whitgift's contemporary biographer, "the king's resolution for the continuance of the well-settled state of the church." The archbishop officiated at the coronation; and afterwards, at the beginning of 1604, at the Hampton Court Conference* between the Anglican and Puritan divines, though too indisposed to be always present, was able still considerably to influence its discussions. The same year he was stricken with a sudden illness (it was called a dead palsy), the result of a chill contracted on his barge during a water journey between Lambeth and Fulham. The king visited the old and faithful primate in his sickness, when Whitgift tried to speak to him in Latin; it is supposed wishing to say something weighty on the subject of the church he had loved so well; but only the words "*pro ecclesiâ Dei*" (for the church of God) were audible. He soon afterwards expired quietly, after an eventful archiepiscopate of twenty years and two months, "living and dying," as the writer (above quoted) of his life tells us, "as a chosen and beloved servant of God, who had devoutly consecrated his whole life to God."* After describing the funeral ceremonies, Paul quaintly closes the biography of this famous Elizabethan primate thus: "Having now committed the body of this most reverend personage (which was sometimes the mansion of a most excellent soul) unto his grave (where it rests in assured expectation of a glorious resurrection), I will speak of the outward shape and proportion thereof. He was of middle stature, of a grave countenance, and brown complexion, black hair and eyes; he wore his beard neither long nor thick; he was of good and quick strength. . . ." Apologising for dwelling upon "the renowned archbishop's actions and fame," he quaintly adds, "which could not without great shame unto myself and others his followers be buried in darkness with his body."

We have drawn in the preceding pages several pictures of typical divines of this great age, more especially of Parker, the first Protestant archbishop, the organiser; of Jewel, the bishop, and first apologist and writer; of Whitgift, the primate after Elizabeth's heart, who took up and developed Parker's work; of Hooker, the first great English theologian, the quiet student, the deep and profound thinker, who, in his undying work on the laws of the ecclesiastical polity of the Church of England, brought out in "clear and explicit words, at once dignified and stately, the chief

* See next volume.

* Sir George Paul, comptroller of the archbishop's household. First published in 1612.

principles which, implied and embodied in the Reformation, fixed the Anglican position from the first," gave us the first systematic development of Anglican theology. We must paint one more like picture, which will complete our gallery of portraits of representative churchmen of this great age. We shall then be in

LANCELOT ANDREWES, BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.
(*From an original engrav ng by Simon Passe*, A.D. 1618.)

a position to sum up what these men conceived their church should be.

Lancelot Andrewes, the subject of the last of our Elizabethan portraits, was a link between the Elizabethan and Jacobean ages. Born only two years later than Hooker, in 1553, when Mary was still reigning, a considerable personage, and a powerful influence during the latter years of Elizabeth, his career was prolonged for more than a quarter of a century after Hooker had passed away. Occupying or of the highest and most influential positio in the church, he lived through the reig of Elizabeth's successor, James I., a during the first part of the succeeding on and for many years before he died w esteemed the greatest living theologi of the English church.

Andrewes was early distinguished, bo at the university and subsequently London, at St. Paul's and Westminst as a singularly attractive teacher. As student he was indefatigable. Master many tongues, he was acknowledged beyond the limits of England as possessi an erudition well-nigh unrivalled. As preacher, Andrewes was confessedly many years the most sought-after in t Anglican communion, of which he w so long the distinguished ornament. N sermons like Andrewes' had as yet be preached in the English church. B popular preacher though he was, t subject of this little picture was even mo distinguished as a controversialist. H vast and varied learning, sacred and p fane, his powers as a linguist, his singul command of language, his trained a polished intellect, all singularly contribut to his success in the rough field of d cussion and disputation; although t accomplished teacher, the eloquent preach the patient seeker after a life hidden wi God, was, as has been truly said, "only necessity a polemic." But when reluctan he took up arms for his loved Church England, in that sad field of controve he was amongst Englishman without rival.

Such a champion was indeed necessar for the close of the sixteenth and

earlier years of the seventeenth centuries brought into view a group of master minds on the continent of Europe, whose words and writings constituted a grave danger to the very existence of the Anglican church. Rome was not then what it had been in the days of the secular Popes, when mediæval orders in the early middle ages had done for Rome, was now in different ways being effected by this new and devoted "Roman" Militia.

The ways and methods of the Dominican and the Franciscan—though these orders were still a formidable force in the Roman

TOMB OF LANCELOT ANDREWES, IN ST. SAVIOUR'S, SOUTHWARK.

Luther preached, and Erasmus wrote: a grave reformation had passed over its widely-extended communion. The Papacy and its system had resumed in many foreign lands much of its old sway over the human heart. Above all, the new order of the Jesuits, which had through the sixteenth century been constantly growing in numbers and weight, was giving a new and undreamed-of strength to the papal power at Rome. What the Catholic Church—were somewhat unfitted for the new conditions under which the Papacy was confronted with Protestantism. The Jesuits, equally devoted to Rome, were trained now to acquiesce in, now to refute the "New Learning," as the peculiar exigencies of the moment might demand. In them the Pope possessed a sleeplessly-vigilant, devotedly-loyal, and carefully-trained band of followers, with stations in every part of the globe.

The famous "order of Jesus" produced at this early period of their existence a group of master minds: a little company of men, not only profound scholars, but able and acute historians and controversialists. Suarez, who died in 1617, has been popularly termed "the last of the schoolmen." He is ever regarded as one, if not the chief glory of the "order of Jesus"; he was certainly their greatest theologian and metaphysician. His published writings fill twenty-three folio volumes. One of his works, published at the instigation of Pope Paul V., in 1613, was "A Defence of the Catholic Faith against the Anglican Sect," a book which king James I. ordered to be burnt by the hands of the hangman. It was, however, better combated by the Anglican theologians of the seventeenth century. Cardinal Baronius, a disciple of the saintly St. Philip Neri, enriched the new Roman literature with his *Annales Ecclesiastici*, a labour which cost the scholar thirty years of toil. The first volume was published at Rome in 1588, and the twelfth and last was printed in 1607. It has been and still is considered a master-work, of enormous industry and profound research. Cardinal Duperron, archbishop of Sens, who was born in 1559 and who died in 1618, another voluminous and able writer, stands in the forefront of skilled controversialists, and in one of his famous works "drew a detailed and able comparison between the church of St. Augustine and of the four first councils, and the churches of his day, Roman and reformed; and boldly asked which of the latter bore the greater resemblance to the earlier type." But the Church of England was confronted also by Bellarmine,* a greater man, perhaps, than any of these. This divine lived between the years 1542 and 1621. He belonged to the famous "order of Jesus," and obtained the rank of cardinal in 1599, and the archbishopric of Capua in 1602. This brilliant and distinguished man is reckoned one of the greatest of the sons of the Roman Catholic church, and the first of her polemical divines. For many years he was uniformly taken by all Protestant advocates as the champion *par excellence* of the Papal claims; and a vindication of Protestantism regularly took the shape of an answer to Bellarmine.

Fortified by the learning and research, the skill and the eloquence of this distinguished group of theologians, historians and controversialists, it appeared indeed that "Rome had much more to say for itself than had appeared to Cranmer, or even to Jewel."† It will ever be Andrewes' title to honour that he fearlessly met the challenge thrown down by Bellarmine and Duperron, as champion of the Church of England. "Andrewes," it has been well said, "wrote with the advantage which enlarged knowledge had thrown on the aims and language of both sides in the struggle; and he did not shrink from claiming for his church as large and

* A glance at the "dates" of these famous theologians who arose at this period in the Roman Catholic church, will show how formidable was the phalanx of opponents of the Anglican communion at this particular juncture, the last quarter of the sixteenth and the first fifteen or twenty years of the seventeenth centuries. Baronius lived 1530–1607; Suarez, 1548–1617; Duperron, 1556–1618; Bellarmine, 1542–1621. Of this great four, Suarez and Bellarmine were Jesuits.

† Dean Church.

essential conformity with antiquity, even in outward things, as could be pretended by Rome, and a far deeper agreement in spirit."

At home the power and vast influence of Andrewes, whom bishop Hall styles with rare truth "the renowned bishop of Winchester," and "the matchless bishop Andrewes," was in large measure owing to his sweetness and gentleness of temper; to his almost perfect character, to what has been well termed "his irresistible charm of real holiness." He was one of the most lovable of men. Occupying as he did for many years a foremost place in the Anglican hierarchy, courted and sought after by all sorts and conditions of men, from the sovereign on the throne down to the boy-student of the university and public school, he remained to the last utterly unspoiled. Ever the most loyal subject, ever the tender and devoted friend, and, above all, a man of prayer; one who in the midst of court life and public life,* alike in the solitude of his loved study as in the royal council chamber, alike in the composition of his most learned and exhaustive treatises as in the stir and excitement of the pulpit of Westminster and St. Paul's, breathed an atmosphere rather of heaven than of earth.

Before telling the story of the church under king James I., and of the events which led up to the great Rebellion, and the temporary downfall of the Church of England, it will be well to give some definite idea of what this church was, as conceived by Elizabeth, her minister Cecil, and the eminent learned and patriotic theologians who flourished in that period of building up and of reconstruction. From the writings of Hooker and Andrewes, we gather a clear-cut conception of the Church of England as it appeared in the eyes of its great teachers at the close of the sixteenth and in the first years of the seventeenth centuries—a conception which, taking into consideration the many difficulties which beset them, and the human errors which ever mar all earthly work, however noble and desirable, was fairly carried out. It was based upon the following foundation principles.

The framers of the Elizabethan church settlement, in the foundation story of their work placed four things, and these —with us still—have endured without change, during the three centuries which have elapsed since Parker died and Hooker and Andrewes preached and wrote. (1) They maintained the episcopate and the ordinal; (2) they gave to the people the English Book of Common Prayer; (3) they put boldly and without reserve the English Bible into the hands of all; (4) they finally and unreservedly repudiated the authority of Rome, and in place of that misused authority they substituted, as of old, the authority, without exactly defining its limit, of the crown, acting ever in concert with the church and the representatives of the church.

* Andrewes was successively master of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, prebendary of St. Paul's and Westminster, dean of Westminster, bishop of Chichester, Ely, and Worcester, a privy councillor, lord high almoner, dean of the Chapel Royal. His great controversial works, now only known perhaps to a very few theological scholars, were the massive and exhaustive treatises written in reply to cardinal Bellarmine: the "Tortura Torti," with its quaint and now little understood title, and the "Responsio ad Apologiam Card. Bellarmini.

The purpose of the Elizabethan divines "was, taking the actual historical church of Augustine and Ethelbert, of Becket and Wolsey, of Warham and Pole, as the existing historical representative and descendant of that supernatural society which is traceable through all the ages to apostolic days, to assert its rights, to release it from usurpation, to purge away the evils which this usurpation had created and fostered; and, accepting the Bible as the primitive church had accepted it, and trying to test everything by Scripture and history, to meet the immediate necessities of a crisis which called not only for abolition, but for reconstruction and replacement."* The ideal which these men and their queen set before their eyes was, as far as possible, to harmonise "antiquity and novelty, control and freedom, ecclesiastical and civil authority, the staid order of a church as old as the nation, and the vigour of a modern revolution of the age of the Renaissance." Their ideal was "to stimulate conscience and the sense of individual responsibility, and yet to keep them from bursting all bounds; to overthrow a vast ancient power, strong in its very abuses, and entrenched behind the prejudices and the great deeds of centuries, and yet to save the sensitive, delicate instincts of loyalty, reverence (*ehrfurcht*), and obedience; to make room in the same system of teaching for the venerable language of ancient fathers, and also for the new learning of famous modern authorities."† Their noble ideal, and one which they, on the whole, succeeded in realising, was that the continuity and identity of the existing church with the historical church of the past should be maintained.

The experience of three centuries with all their wear and tear, with even the terrible interlude of a sweeping Revolution which for a few years eclipsed the church, has shown that the work of these Elizabethan builders was at once a good one and an enduring . . . "It has shown a wonderful power of obstinate tenacity against jars and shocks, a force of continuous growth and of vigorous recovery after disaster and stagnation. It has certainly vindicated its claim to life and reality." To sum up in few words, "The Church of England at the Reformation had taken up its ground on the Scriptures and the primitive church. It had avowed its object to be a return, as far as was possible, to what the teaching of the apostles and their disciples had made the primitive church to be."*

There was, however, another side of our country's religious life. In no country had the Reformation and its principles sunk so deep into the hearts of the people as in England. From the middle of the reign of Elizabeth, we have already noticed how England became "the people of a book, and that book was the Bible; how the general study of the divine writings evoked a startling enthusiasm" . . . and consequently the whole life of the nation felt the change. Foreigners who visited England in this period especially commented upon this interesting phase of English life.

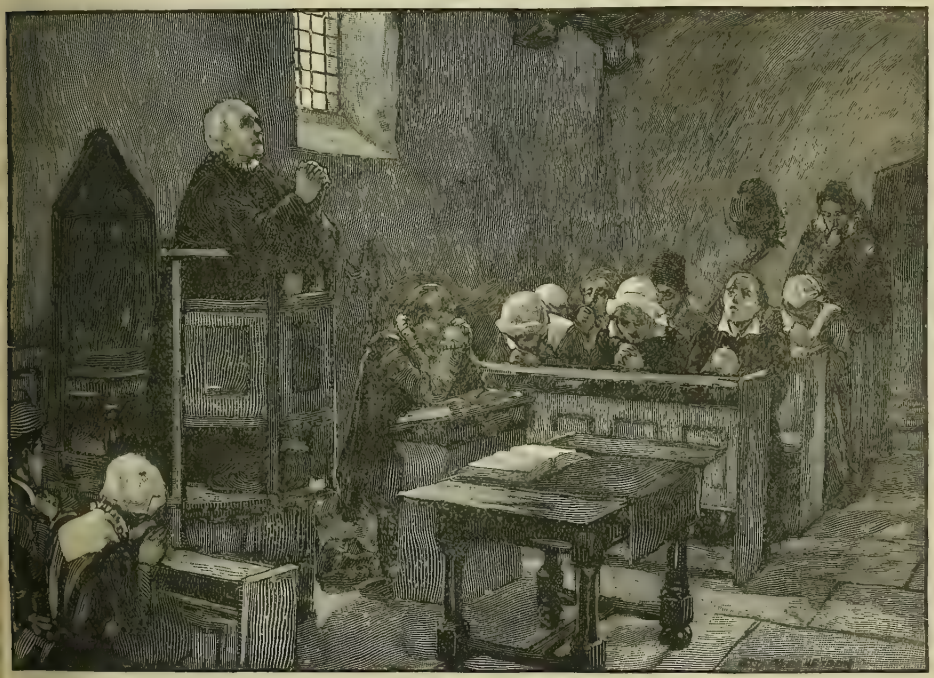
* Dean Church: "Masters in English Theology (Lancelot Andrewes)."

† *Ibid.*

* *Ibid.*

And the religious England of the second half of the sixteenth century, thus stirred and moved to its very heart by the Reformation spirit, was now divided into two great parties. Both were intensely in earnest in their desire to purge away mediæval superstition and foreign usurpation, and to restore a nobler and purer worship. But while one party were, as we have just seen, more conservative, and determined to sanction no change which would break the continuity of the reformed church with the old historical church of the Anglo-Saxon, Norman, and Plantagenet times; the other party, usually known as the Puritans, without at first being positively hostile to their maintenance, cared less for these things, deemed by the Anglicans of paramount importance.

The earlier Puritan was no gloomy fanatic. Those "fierce Jewish hatreds" which later on so marred his profession of faith, did not characterise it until a subsequent period. Not a few of the great Elizabethan divines themselves had strong Puritan leanings, which they more or less subordinated for the sake of unity, and with the desire of establishing law and order in the church they loved. How great a power was Puritanism in its earlier stages among the people, before it was disfigured by the extravagance and wild demands of men like Cartwright, and



PURITAN WORSHIP IN THE TIME OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

the school who followed him, we see from the evident puritanical leanings of Spenser; from the temper, on more than one occasion, of the House of Commons; from the existence of a strong party, too, even at the court of Elizabeth, although the queen herself had little sympathy with the school. The higher side of Puritanism, which long lingered in the ranks of the men who were influenced by it, is beautifully delineated in such works as Lucy Hutchinson's memoirs of her husband, the man afterwards sadly known as colonel Hutchinson, one of the unhappy Regicides. The Puritan gentleman in his youth, with all his deep sense of the truth of religion, was highly accomplished, chivalrous, and deeply religious. This was very early in his career, though the Puritan sadness appeared, and gave a sombre colouring to his life. John Milton, a little later, is another example of the highest and purest type of these more extreme Protestants.

It is sadly interesting to trace the various influences which darkened Puritanism, rendered its professors more unbending and fanatical, and gradually widened the breach between the Anglican and the Puritan; a breach which has gradually widened still more, and now parts the Church of England from the Nonconformists by a gulf which no serious man can see any reasonable hope of ever bridging over. Unutterably sad it is to think of England, *the* home of Protestantism, with all its grandeur, and power to help and inform the world, being so hopelessly divided; to think of its best, and truest, and most earnest sons in opposite camps. Very true ring the mournful words of one of our profoundest thinkers, which tell us how, "even in the best state which socie has just reached, it is lamentable to thi how great a proportion of all the effo and talents in the world are employed merely neutralising one another." *

This "parting of the ways" must mentioned here, because it began ea in Elizabeth's reign. It was attributal to many circumstances. Among the mo prominent stands out the revival of Ro and the Papal power, which has been treat of above. This alarmed and dismay the earnest Puritans. The council of Tre had done more than definitely settle t dogmas of the Roman Catholic churc It had enormously purified the life a government of the Roman communic The awful scandals which had shock Erasmus and dismayed More and Col were in great measure things of the pas and though the old mediæval errors doctrine remained uncorrected, nay, h been even authoritatively ratified, t loose morality, the venial government, a the relaxed discipline of the enfeebl and discredited church had given pla to a sterner and more earnest state things. Simultaneously with this gre Roman "reformation" had arisen th mighty militia of the papacy, the "Ord of Jesus," an order of preachers, teache missionaries, and even statesmen. It w indeed, a new life which inspired Ro before the sixteenth century had run course.

The effect was marvellous. Rom Catholicism, which for a time appear dying, became again a vast power in t world. Countries which for a time seem

* J. S. Mill: "Political Economy," book chap. xi., 16.

ost to it were regained; while in the ands of the newly discovered western vorld, it advanced under the shelter of he flag of Spain, annexing new empires of ndreamed-of magnitude and boundless vealth. Even in Europe, strange to say, Romanism gained ground, recovering people it had lost or well-nigh lost. In South Germany, Bavaria, with its broad nd wealthy territories, returned to the Roman obedience; and the great house of Hapsburg definitely adopted the cause of he Pope's as its own. France, then as now he first in influence and power of the tates of Continental Europe, so long wavering between the religion of the old nd new learning, under the influence of he once Protestant Henry IV. of Navarre, who bought his crown and his fair capital ity of Paris at the price of a mass, became lefinitely Roman; and the Huguenot faith, which at one time seemed likely to become he faith of France, relegated for the most art to the old provinces of Aquitaine and Provence, became nothing more than the ith of a sect, where once the reformers ad hoped to have seen it the religion of nation. Even in the Low Countries, here, thanks to the heroic resistance of William of Orange and the founders of the Dutch republic, the promise of the for- nes of the Reformation seemed so bright, the southern portion of the old Bur- ndian province Roman Catholicism re- ined its old position; and Brabant and last and West Flanders, the most im- rtant portions of the present kingdom Belgium, again were reckoned among te lands of the Roman obedience. From te days of this Roman Catholic reaction til the present time, the countries then recovered by Rome—viz. South Germany, the Low Countries, and France—have been reckoned among the most staunch and faithful of the papal adherents.

All this was sorely grievous and disappointing to the earnest Puritan spirit, which gradually became embittered. The high hopes and outlooks cherished in the days of Luther, and even later than Luther, of a wide and general Reformation, were dissipated. At home also alarming symptoms, as they thought, were manifesting themselves. "The historical feeling [in the Church of England] showed itself in a longing to ally the religion of the present with the religion of the past; to claim part in the great heritage of Catholic tradition. Men . . . started back from the bare intense spiritualism of the Puritan, to find nourishment for devotion in the outer associations which the piety of ages had grouped around it—in holy places and holy things, in the stillness of church and altar, in the awful mystery of sacraments."* In their own England a Hooker arose, and with a terrible accuracy demonstrated the fundamental errors of the system of extreme reformers; and a Whitgift for many years, as primate, gave effect to views repugnant to Puritan wishes and ideas.

And Whitgift was resolutely backed up by the undefined and vast power of the crown, under an imperious Tudor sovereign. During her long and glorious and generally popular reign, Elizabeth's sympathies were wholly with the high Anglican party; for the Puritans the great queen cherished only feelings of dislike

* Green: "History of the English People," chap. viii., sect. ii.

and distrust, feelings which gathered strength rather than diminished. As time went on, and the sixteenth century drew towards its close, the Puritan outlook in England grew more and more gloomy. Its more extreme advocates, such as Cartwright, were exposed even to a harsh persecution; some were positively put to death. Wider and ever wider grew the breach; dislike grew gradually into hatred. The language and remonstrances of the Puritans grew more and ever more exaggerated. From the beginning of the seventeenth century, another and a sterner spirit animated the Puritan party. The gentler, the more yielding and more Christian spirit which animated such men as archbishop Grindal, in part disappeared; the fierce and uncompromising spirit of men like Cartwright gradually began to take its place. It was no longer a small section of the Puritans who set themselves in open opposition to the Anglican settlement, but great numbers of the party, slowly and hesitatingly at first, adopted the extreme views which their fathers would have indignantly repudiated.

In common with all reformers from the first days, they clung to the words and teaching of the Bible; but the more extreme Puritans as they developed and multiplied found comparatively little in the New Testament to suit their peculiar and distorted views. "The Old Testament contained a history of a race selected by God to be witnesses of His unity and ministers of His vengeance, and specially commanded by Him to do many things, which, if done without His special command, would have been atrocious crimes. In such a history it was not difficult for fierce and gloomy spir to find much that might be distorted suit their wishes. The extreme Purita therefore, began to feel for the O Testament a preference, which perha they did not distinctly avow even to the selves, but which showed itself in all th sentiments and habits."* We find ma of them at this period giving their childr the names no longer of Christian saints, b of Hebrew heroes; we find the Sund transformed into the old Jewish Sabba and hedged about with a number Judaic restrictions; we find a stern a rigid life, out of which many of the mo graceful and at the same time harml habits and customs were eliminated, ch acterising the Puritan sect. They affec a peculiar and unbecoming dress; th condemned as sinful, innocent amuseme and relaxation; they rejected the ve literature which their fathers had couraged and largely contributed to. Ev the poems of the Puritan Spenser we forbidden.

Even this was not all. As we shall more in detail in the new chapter of history now about to open, while this sp of discontent with the established stat things in religion was disturbing large nu bers among the more serious and G fearing Puritans, the two first Stuart ki James I. and Charles I., attempted to force their views as to the duties and ri of kings. James I. passed away unlo but still tolerated by the mass of his subj Charles I. inherited his father's ideas views, and determined to carry them in his government. Wentworth

* Macaulay: History of England," chap

Strafford), *the* minister of the unhappy reign, shared in his master's estimate of the royal prerogative, believed that an absolute king was the best and truest form of human government, sadly mistaking the temper and the determination of the English people. And associated with Strafford, and Wentworth's policy. Puritanism allied itself with the parliament, fighting for the immemorial rights and privileges of Englishmen; while Anglicanism adopted the fortunes of the king. When the parliament, after a long and bloody war, was victorious, the division between

THE SORCERESSES, AN INCIDENT OF PURITAN TIMES.
(*By permission, from the picture by Walter MacEwen.*)

strange to say, sharing with him his views of the importance of absolutism, was the archbishop of Canterbury, William Laud. For many years Charles, Strafford, and Laud carried out the fatal policy. The fact of Laud being a prominent personage of this ill-fated trio, enormously widened the rift between Puritanism and Anglicanism. Anglicanism became tainted in the eyes of even the moderate Puritans, with all the faults and political mistakes of Charles the two great parties of English Protestants had become more pronounced. Between the Anglicans and Puritans now were the ineffaceable memories of Edgehill and of Marston Moor, of Naseby and Worcester, of a hundred other less known hotly-contested battles. The churches of England, the possessions of the Anglican clergy, were treated as the spoils of a vanquished enemy are treated by a merciless conqueror. The children of Cranmer and Ridley, of Parker

and Jewel, the pupils of Hooker and Andrewes, under the hateful appellation of Malignants, were driven from their churches, were stripped of their possessions, were forbidden, under severe and cruel penalties, even to worship with the rites or to utter the prayers approved by and unspeakably dear to the Marian martyrs, or the Elizabethan Reformers.

When once more, under the overwhelming reaction of the Restoration, the Anglicans regained their lost power and more than their old influence among the people, scant consideration was shown by them to the vanquished when in their turn they occupied the place of victors; and for years, under the rule of Charles II. and his Cavalier parliament, a series of bitter, cruel, fierce Acts, now condemned by the most fervid Anglicans, in succession harassed and distressed the once triumphant Puritans. The chance was thus lost—perhaps for ever—of uniting even with slender cords of friendship and consideration the two opposing schools of Protestant thought in England. The saddened historian, as he writes his melancholy chronicle, must condemn alike the Church of England and the Puritans for their fatal, short-sighted, persecuting policy, at once unsympathetic and un-Christlike.

Thus Protestantism in England became hopelessly divided; and although time has relaxed somewhat these sad differences, the two parties have never since come together. At last the day of mutual toleration dawned; but, alas! it was too late! The kindly latitudinarian, who with a light heart speaks of a possible, even of a probable, re-union between the great Nonconformist sects which have sprung out of the Puritan party, and the historic Chur of England, is strangely ignorant theology, is but scantily equipped with knowledge of the past. The final parti of the ways, the Puritan and the Anglica dates from the early years of the seve teenth century, and the wound th inflicted upon the Protestant influence England has never since been heale The Puritan and the Anglican, wi similar high aims, and with one noble pu pose, for three centuries have not be allies; if not enemies, at least hopeless at variance, the one, as has been just said, too often neutralising the influen of the other.

We may close this brief study of t Church of England of the Elizabetha divines with the words of archbisho Whitgift: "This I dare boldly affir that all points of religion necessary salvation, and touching either the myste of our redemption in Christ, or the rig use of the sacraments and true mann of worshipping God, are as purely an perfectly taught, and by public authori established, in this Church of England this day as ever they were in any churc since the apostles' time";* and with th words of the famous Laud, who enjoyed i the early days of his public career the frien ship of Andrewes: "I have lived and sha (God willing) die in the faith of Christ, it was professed in the ancient primiti church, as it is professed in the prese Church of England."†

The great Elizabethan divines bu upon the foundation-stories laid by t

* Preface to "The Defence of the Answe (Whitgift).

† Conference with Fisher (Andrewes).

irst generation of English reformers, by naster builders such as Ridley and Cranner. It is too much the practice of ome in modern times to underrate the vork of these great ones, and to speak lightingly alike of the Reformation and f its early chiefs, to whom our church wes so vast a debt of gratitude. In orming an estimate of these foundaion-stories, so well and securely laid in imes of sore stress and storm, we should onder well the weighty words penned y some of those profound scholars and ivines of our Anglican communion, hom men of all schools of thought in ur church delight to reverence and onour. These speak of the Reformaion in language very different from that hich we sometimes hear, and cannot ear without being saddened. So Hooker, ho writes of the English Reformation s "wonderfully marked by divine grace nd favour and God's miraculous workngs." "What can we conclude," he ys, "than that the thing which He God) so blesseth, defendeth, keepeth so rangely, cannot choose but be of Him? Wherefore, if any refuse to believe us sputing for the verity of religion estabshed, let them believe God Himself thus iraculously working for it, and wish e even for ever and ever unto that orious and sacred instrument whereby e worketh." A very little later dean ckson (Peterborough, 1579–1640) speaks it as "that discreet and judicious, at happy Reformation." Bishop Hall 74–1656) styles it "that blessed Reformation." "I earnestly exhort you," ote the saintly Ken (1637-1710), "to a iform zeal for the Reformation, that as, blessed be God, you are happily reformed in your faith and in your worship, you would become wholly reformed in your lives."

And as of the Reformation, their work, so these great divines spoke of the early reformers themselves. "Those illustrious men," says Andrewes, "never to be mentioned without the deepest reverence, whose services God employed in the restoration of religion." Similarly Jackson: "The sage and reverend reformers of our church." So Sanderson: "Our godly forefathers, to whom (under God) we owe the purity of our religion." So the great bishop Bull (St. David's), 1634–1719, writing of Latimer: "Martyr constantissimus . . . sanctissimus . . . beatissimus pater." So bishop Nicholson (Gloucester), 1599–1672, writing of Cranmer: "That glorious martyr of our church." So bishop Hall: "The composers of it (the liturgy), we still glory to say, were holy martyrs and confessors of the blessed reformation of religion, and if any rude hand have dared to cast a foul aspersion on any of them, he is none of the tribe I plead for; I leave him to the reward of his own merits." So bishop Morton (Chester, Lichfield, and Durham), 1564–1659: "That goodly vine, which many Pauls, the industrious bishops and pastors have planted by preaching, and many Apollos, the faithful martyrs of Christ, have watered with their blood." So dean Hickes (Worcester), 1642–1715: "The reformers were as eminent for virtue and learning as any of that age; their judgment was and is approved by millions of Christians." So archbishop Bancroft, 1544–1610: "They

were most learned men, and many of them godly martyrs, who were the chief penners and approvers of the Communion Book in king Edward's time." So bishop Taylor: "The zeal with which archbishop Grindal, bishop Ridley, Dr. Taylor, and others the holy martyrs and confessors in queen Mary's time, expressed for this excellent liturgy, before and at the time of their death, defending it by their disputations, adorning it by their practice, and sealing it with their blood, are arguments which ought to recommend it to all the sons of the Church of England for ever." Whitgift, writing of the compilers of king Edward's first Communion Book, says: "They were singular learned men, zealous in Goo religion, blameless in life, and martyrs their end." And in an interesting passag apologising for the plunder of chur property in the days of Henry VIII., bish Andrewes thus speaks of the "error of tho illustrious men," such as Ridley, Cranm and Latimer, "men never to be mention without the deepest reverence, whose se vices God employed in the restoration religion, and who, too anxious for t restoration of the doctrines, paid less atte tion to the patrimony of the church, a said almost as the king of Sodom said Abraham, 'Give us the souls, and take t goods to thyself.'"

QUEEN ELIZABETH.

(*From the portrait by Isaac Oliver.*)

EXCURSUS D.

THE STORY OF THE NUN OF KENT—COMMONLY KNOWN AS THE "HOLY MAID OF KENT," 1531–4.

In the year 1531 Elizabeth Barton, the "Holy Maid of Kent," was at the height of her fame. She was a country girl of Addington in Kent, a manor belonging to the archbishops of Canterbury. For some years she had been in a weakly state of health. Gradually strange symptoms developed themselves—she became a somnambulist; she passed now and again into deep trances, and saw visions and heard strange voices. Her case attracted considerable attention. It was a superstitious age, and men were ever watching for signs of the marvellous and supernatural. The neighbouring prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, sent two of his monks to visit the dreamy hysterical girl, and they were struck with her strange powers. Then, in 1531, commenced the impostures. Elizabeth was carefully trained by able and unscrupulous tutors. In her trances—partly, no doubt, real, partly feigned—she related how she had seen the blessed Virgin, how she had heard voices which spoke of things unseen by mortal eyes, unheard by mortal ears. She consented to become a nun, and for a considerable period (1531—1533–4) she became a recognised prophetess.

The question of the king's divorce from Katharine of Arragon was then agitating all minds in England. Some of the friends of the injured queen did not scruple to employ the now famous "Nun of Kent" as an advocate of queen Katharine. It is curious that during the earlier days of her reputation as "a seer," so many serious persons believed in the truth of her inspirations. Among them was Wolsey, shortly before his fall, archbishop Warham, queen Katharine herself, and—greatest of all—Sir Thomas More. More at first thought little of her sayings; but later, he seems to have been drawn into the circle of those who believed in her and her revelations. The king even desired Sir Thomas More to look into the matter, which had become grave enough to attract the notice of the royal cabinet. "Divers and many, as well great men of the realm as mean men, and many learned men, but specially many religious men, had great confidence in her and often resorted to her." "The saintly halo was round her head, and her most trivial words caught the reflexion of the glory and seemed divine." *

Time went on, and the visions grew more numerous. Once a fortnight she would fall into a trance, and would relate how she was taken up into heaven into the presence of God and the saints, with heavenly light, heavenly voices, heavenly melodies and delights. She was used as an instrument—alas, as a willing instrument! for the adulation she received, and the sense of importance she had acquired, were all too pleasant to the poor, weak, and vain woman—to influence men's minds in favour of queen Katharine against king Henry. Among her prophecies were solemn words addressed to king Henry, warning him that if he persisted in his resolution of marrying Anne Boleyn, God would take away his throne and life. She reiterated this, and announced that she had been bidden by God to declare this. Her seditious prophecies—for they soon passed into open sedition, into threatening the king's majesty—were secretly but extensively circulated, and she became a great danger to the state.

At length the "Holy Maid" and five of the Canterbury monks were arrested. Then the curious bubble at once burst. Alone, in captivity, subject to harsh treatment, with unknown dangers before her, probably torture threatening her, a traitor's terrible death at the end, her courage soon gave way, and she made a full and ample confession of her strange imposture.

Far and wide her pretended revelations had found more or less acceptance. Vast numbers of regular and secular clergy listened eagerly to her words of prophetic warning, which she professed to have heard spoken by heavenly voices. Many of these were of high rank, dissatisfied with the political outlook, alarmed at the prospect of ecclesiastical affairs, disturbed at the question of the divorce and all the divorce entailed; the imminent rupture with the Pope, and the consequent changes in the church. Not a few, too, among the laymen of England believed in her. We read how the bishop of Rochester, the saintly Fisher, had "wept for joy" at the utterances of the inspired prophetess; and Sir Thomas More, "who at first did little regard the said revelations, afterwards did greatly rejoice to hear of them."

The Nun of Kent was certainly in communication with queen Katharine and her daughter, the princess Mary, and their immediate adherents. And there is no doubt but that treasonable projects were mixed up with the "utterances" which kept coming from her lips. These utterances

* Froude: Hist., chap. iv.

grew more and more hostile to the king as months passed on, till the end came; the arrest and the confession of imposture, and the last dread scene at Tyburn, where the poor dreamer and her chief accomplices expiated their strange crime on the scaffold.

EXCURSUS E.

THE PARKER LIBRARY AT CAMBRIDGE.

THE library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, is known throughout the world of scholars for its magnificent collection of manuscripts accumulated by archbishop Matthew Parker, and bequeathed by him to the house which he had ruled as master for nine years. These were largely, if not entirely, gathered from the sad relics of the libraries of the monasteries suppressed by king Henry VIII., when these most precious treasures were heedlessly and selfishly plundered and scattered. The books, being in themselves of no intrinsic value, were little heeded, and to a large extent were lost or destroyed. A good example of this utter carelessness in the matter of the monastic books exists in one great folio volume containing, with other MSS., the Iliad and Odyssey of Homer. It is numbered 81 in the Corpus Collection, and contains a few lines in the hand of archbishop Parker on the first leaf. In this memorandum he expresses his belief that it once belonged to the great archbishop Theodore (experts, however, believe now the MS. is of much later date). Another memorandum in the hand of Josselyn, Parker's secretary, tells us how a baker in Canterbury picked it out from among *some waste paper* (inter laceras chartas) remaining from St. Augustine's monastery, after the expulsion of the monks, and how the archbishop welcomed it as "a monstrous treasure."

The oldest MS. in the collection (No. 304) is the "Historia Evangelica," which is a transcript of the latter part of the sixth century. The most interesting, historically, however, is No. 286, which a reasonable tradition asserts to have been one of the volumes (referred to on page 87 of Vol. I. of this History) which Pope Gregory the Great sent from Rome for the use of St. Augustine of Canterbury. No. 197, a fragment of St. John, was written, apparently, at Lindisfarne at the end of the seventh century.

The Parker library is especially rich in chronicles; two of them, Nos. 16 and 26, are supposed to have been *composed, written, and illustrated* by Matthew Paris himself in the reign of king Henry III.

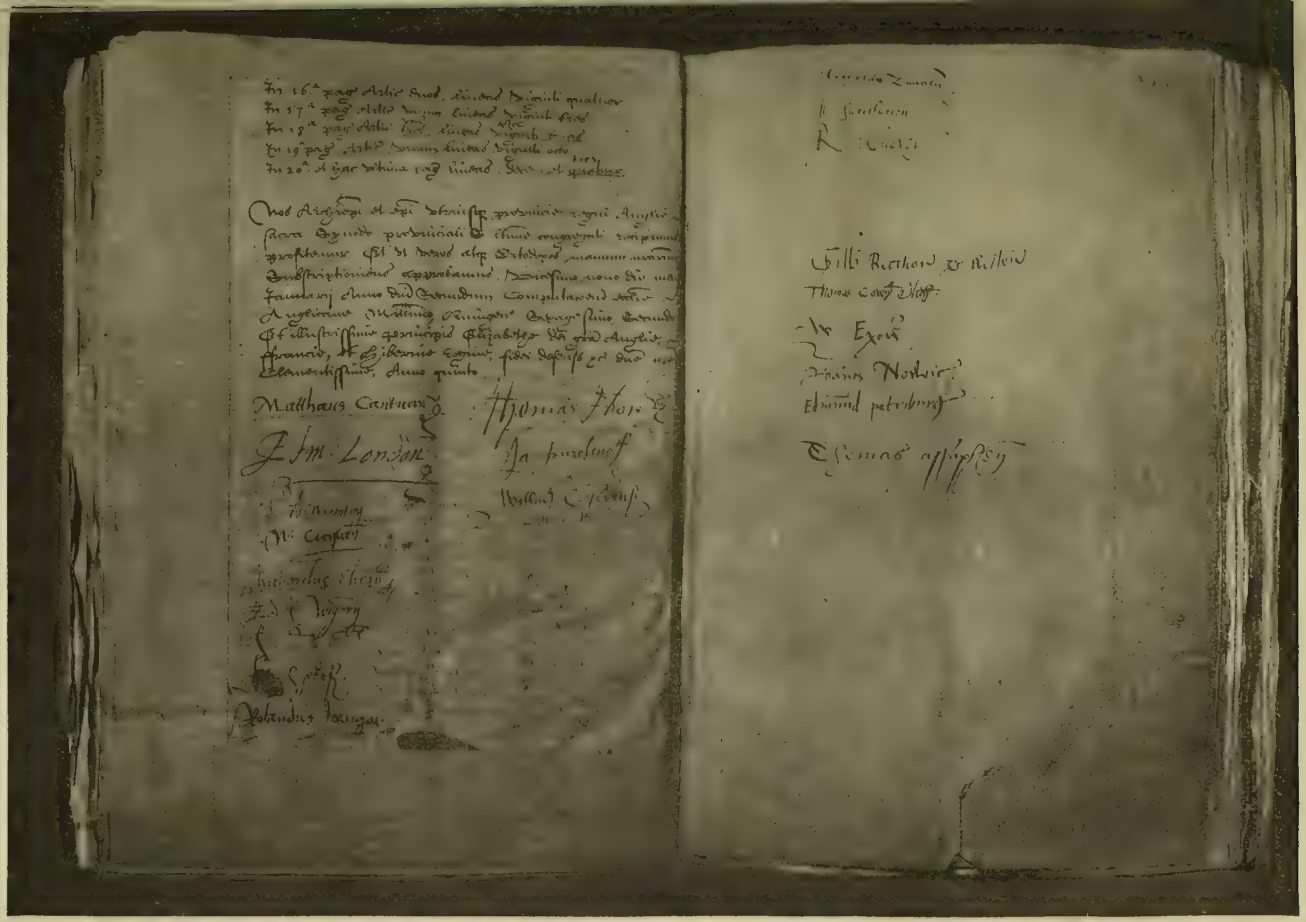
No. 322 contains two treatises by St. Anselm, written, there can be no doubt, by the hand of his dear friend and disciple Eadmer. This precious volume is enriched with autograph corrections by the saintly archbishop himself in the days of William Rufus.

There are some exceedingly valuable MSS. of liturgies. No. 270, written in the eleventh century, embodies, in all probability, a direct transcript from the "Sacramentary" which St. Augustine brought with him from Rome to England, and is the only known MS. possessing a well-established claim to exhibit the authentic text of Pope Gregory's final recension of the Roman liturgy. No. 473 is a tropary of rare interest, written at Winchester in the tenth century, probably in the time of St. Dunstan, and containing hymns and the musical notation in the use of the Anglo-Saxon church. The earliest of the Parker MSS. of this class is, however, No. 272. It is a psalter and litany dated A.D. 884, written, apparently, at Rheims in the days of our king Alfred. It contains one of the earliest known copies of the "Quicunque Vult." There are in this class, too, seven ancient MS. psalters, one of which was once the property of archbishop Thomas Becket.

Perhaps the MS. of most *general* interest, however, is the famous copy of the "Articles" issued in 1562, with *autograph signatures* of the prelates who were present, *and the marginal marks and excisions in red chalk, in Parker's own handwriting.*

In *Anglo-Saxon literature* this great library of the Elizabethan archbishop is extraordinarily rich. A very precious copy of Elfric's lives of the saints and of his celebrated "Canons," several times referred to in this History, is among these. The Anglo-Saxon collection includes MSS., of the greatest value and antiquity, of the Gospels, annals of England, glossaries, and homilies, etc.

There are some curious volumes of French literature, showing the wide range of the Protestant archbishop's literary knowledge, true pioneer as he was of the Elizabethan renaissance of letters. These include poems, Anglo-Norman fabliaux,



THE PAGE OF THE FORTY-TWO ARTICLES, REDUCED BY EXCISION TO THIRTY-NINE, IN THE LIBRARY OF CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, CONTAINING THE SIGNATURES OF THE BISHOPS (*see opposite page*). AMONG THEM MAY BE SEEN THOSE OF MATTHEW PARKER, EDMUND GRINDAL, BISHOP OF LONDON, RICHARD COX OF ELY, EDWIN SANDYS OF WORCESTER, THOMAS YOUNG, ARCHBISHOP OF YORK, AND JOHN JEWEL, BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

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proverbs, romances In one of these, "Le Miroir des Dames" (No. 324), appears the autograph signature of king Charles V. of France.

In the Parker library, too, is included a collection of *autograph* letters of his contemporaries. Among these are signed letters of king Edward VI., of the hapless queen Anne de Bouillan (*sic*), letters of Luther and Calvin, Colet and Erasmus, Melancthon and Bullinger, and indeed of almost every notable character of the Reformation age.

In Latin and Greek MSS., No. 480 contains marginal notes in the handwriting of bishop Grosseteste, the famous and admirable bishop of Lincoln referred to in this History in the time of Henry III.

These are only a few specially remarkable specimens of the treasures contained in this noble collection of Elizabeth's great archbishop, who, though worn with sickness and bodily weakness, in the midst of his crushing anxieties and his noble and enduring work of organising the Church of England, yet found time to play the part of the tireless student, the indefatigable book collector, the editor of many works, the writer himself of some. And, what was perhaps still more important, archbishop Parker, occupying the first place after Elizabeth in the realm, the powerful primate, the queen's trusted friend and adviser, the man to whom so many divergent schools of thought among the Protestants looked for guidance, by his intense love, his burning zeal for letters, set an example which was quickly followed by others who had stronger health, comparative youth, and splendid natural powers to advance the cause of literature, which so long had languished in our island. It is not too much to say that the great Elizabethan archbishop, to whom our church owes so much, was the pioneer, as we have ventured to style him, of that illustrious group of men who, in the words of Macaulay, "have made the Elizabethan age a more glorious and important era in the history of the human mind than the age of Pericles, Augustus, or Leo."

[The above little sketch of the great Parker Collection of books is from a memorandum written by the Rev. S. S. Lewis, F.S.A., formerly librarian, and given to us by Dr. E. H. Perowne, master of Corpus Christi College.

EXCURSUS F.

SPENSER'S PORTRAIT OF GRINDAL.

THE sympathetic reference to archbishop Grindal is in the seventh eclogue of Spenser's "Shepherd's Calendar," the argument of which runs as follows:—"This Æclogue is made in honour and commendation of good shepherds, and to the shame and dispraise of proud and ambitious pastors." Grindal, under the scarcely disguised name of "Old Algrind," is immortalised as the type of good shepherds in the following lines:—

"Such a one he was (as I have heard
Old Algrind often sayne),
That whileome was the first shepheard,
And lived with little gayne;
And meeke he was; as meeke mought be,
Simple as simple sheepe,
Humble, and like in eche degree
The flock which he did keepe.

* * * *

But shepheards mought be meeke and mild,
Well eyed as Argus was,
With fleshly follies undefiled,
And stout as steeds of brasse;
Sike one (sayd Algrind) Moses was,
That saw his Maker's face,
His face more clear than crystall glasse,
And spake to him in place.

* * * *

But say mee, what is Algrind hee,
That is so oft bynempt;
Hee is a shepheard great in gree,
But hath bene long ypent.
One day he sat upon a hill,
As now thou wouldest mee;
But I am taught by Algrind's ill
To love the low degree."

("Bynempt," named; "gree," for degree; "ypent," pent up.)

Then follows an account of Algrind's misfortune—how an eagle, probably signifying the queen, let fall a great shellfish on Algrind's head; and the hapless shepherd is represented as

"So now astonied at the stroke,
Hee lyes in lingring payne.
Ah good Algrind! his hap was ill,
But shall be better in time."

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DURHAM CATHEDRAL FROM THE SOUTH WEST.

Photo: Graphotone Co., Enfield.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

A HISTORY FOR THE PEOPLE

BY THE
VERY REV. H. D. M. SPENCE, D.D.
Dean of Gloucester

VOL. IV.

THE ANGLICAN CHURCH

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CONTENTS.

CHAPTER		PAGE
LXII.	The Anglican Church under James I.	1
LXIII.	The Early Stuarts, the Church, and the Struggle for Absolutism	17
LXIV.	Archbishop Laud	41
LXV.	The Puritans	87
LXVI.	Oliver Cromwell and the Suppression of the Anglican Church	126
LXVII.	Restoration of the Kingdom and of the Church	155
LXVIII.	James II. and the Revolution	183
LXIX.	Last Puritan Attempt to Revise the Prayer Book. The Non-jurors and Latitudinarians	199
LXX.	The Period of Controversy and Spiritual Decay	215
LXXI.	Wesley, Whitefield, and the Methodists	242
LXXII.	The Evangelical Revival in the Church of England	262
LXXIII.	The Church of England, 1800–1833	286
LXXIV.	The Oxford Movement and its Authors	320
LXXV.	The Anglican Revival. The Ritual and Anglo-Roman Controversies	344
LXXVI.	Evangelicalism in the Latter Part of the Nineteenth Century. The so-called "Broad Church" School	384
LXXVII.	The Anglican Church during the Victorian Period	419
	APPENDIX.	
	Roll of the Archbishops of Canterbury until the Restoration	452
	EXCURSUS G.	
	Missionary Effort in the Church of England	469
	EXCURSUS H.	
	The Orientation of the Early Christian Churches	471
	Index	473

LIST OF PLATES.

Durham Cathedral, from the South-West	*Frontis.*	
Gloucester Cathedral, from the Severn	*To face page*	59
Archbishop Laud	,,	84
Peterborough Cathedral	,,	296
Lincoln Cathedral, from the Witham	,,	329
The Cathedral (Christ Church), Oxford	,,	357
York Minster, from the Walls	,,	417
Hereford Cathedral	,,	468

The Church of England

CHAPTER LXII.

THE ANGLICAN CHURCH UNDER JAMES I.

Religious Relations of England, Scotland, and Ireland at the Accession of James I.—Hopes of the Puritans—Disappointed by the Anti-Puritan feeling of the King—The Hampton Court Conference—Rebuff to the Puritan Party—The Authorised Version of the Bible—Convocation passes Canons regulating Public Worship—Clergy required to Subscribe to Three Articles—Archbishop Bancroft enforces Conformity—Succession of Abbot to the Archbishopric—Death of King James.

WE need not dwell long on the great political changes which passed over England on the peaceful accession of James Stuart of Scotland, the son of Mary Queen of Scots and Lord Darnley, to the throne of Elizabeth. His claims to the crown were indisputable; and he was welcomed in England, if not with enthusiasm, yet with a well-nigh universal acceptance. The details of English history are too well known to call for anything more than a bare summary. Scotland and Ireland were now united with their old hereditary foe, England. In matters of religion, however, these two great divisions of the Empire were curiously divided from England.

In Ireland, ever since the far-back days of Henry II.—the Plantagenet—the Englishman had been more or less the ruling power in the island; but the Irish all along had resented, and at times had fiercely and stubbornly resisted, the authority of the invaders, and in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the power of the English in Ireland had declined rather than advanced. But during the sixteenth century, especially under the strong rule of Elizabeth, the subjugation of the island had become more and more a reality; and directly after the accession of James I. the proudest of the national Irish princes formally acknowledged the English king as the sovereign lord. But Ireland then, as now, clung fast to the old mediæval forms of Christianity, and, with the exception of certain districts, was faithful to its old allegiance to the Papacy. Peculiar circumstances led up to this marked preference for the ancient rites and

ceremonies, and to the determination of the Irish to hold fast to the Roman obedience. It was not the tyranny of Rome which the people of Ireland detested, but the domination of the English, so long the hereditary foes of their old tribal princes. And the English sovereigns, the Tudors, Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, whose lieutenants had been so active and, on the whole, so successful in bringing about the final subjugation of Ireland to England, were closely associated, in the minds of the Irish people, with Protestantism. The papal power, which England had thrown off for ever, became thus especially dear to Ireland; hence is largely due the hereditary attachment of the Irish nation to Roman Catholicism.

Scotland, on the other hand, was intensely Protestant. It has been remarked with justice that nowhere in Europe had the popular mind become generally alienated from the Roman Catholic church so rapidly as in Scotland. No doubt this was largely owing to the restless work and burning enthusiasm of one of their own nation, John Knox, who through his commanding intellect and passionate earnestness was able to inspire his countrymen with something of his own fiery spirit of indignation against the errors and tyranny of Rome. In Scotland alone, among the countries affected by the Reformation, we see the sovereign (Mary, queen of Scots), who put herself, in the matter of religion, in opposition to the will of her people, deposed and even imprisoned. The more thoughtful and conservative form which the Reformation took in England was all coloured with reverential regard for the past. Scotland, a inspired by Knox, swept away in one wid net the good and the bad, the wheat an the tares. With the Scots the Reformatio meant destruction. Upon the ruins of th old mediæval church they built up communion which looked to Calvin an his Genevan school for their masters i theology.

Such being the state of things in th realm, now united under one sovereign the accession to the English throne o James Stuart of Scotland as James I. kindled many hopes and stirred up fres aspirations among the Puritan party. Th great queen, who in her heart was know to detest Puritanism, who leaned toward mediævalism, who loved well many of th old rites and ceremonies of the church o the old learning; whose ideal primate wa Whitgift, and whose views were largel expressed by Hooker, and a little late by Andrewes, had passed away at last after a reign of unprecedented length and power and glory, and the crown of England, with its vast and undefined powers, which had been on the whole steadily exercised to crush Puritanism now rested on the brows of a Scottish king brought up in an atmosphere o exaggerated Puritanism, among a people into whose hearts the preaching and teaching of John Knox had sunk deep. In the Scotland of James Stuart, Puritanism had even assumed the form of Presbyterianism—a form of church government utterly alien to the Church of England. Well, indeed, might the English Puritans, at the accession of a Scottish king, hope for toleration, if not for encouragement.

But king James had learned, during his

years of Scottish kingship, positively to *hate* Presbyterianism. The Scottish presbyters had insulted and terrified him, and before he became king of England he had learned to detest the ecclesiastical polity so dear to Scotland, and included in his intense dislike everything embraced under the Puritan name. No sooner had he assumed the crown of the now extinct Tudor dynasty, but he at once freed himself from those hateful Presbyterian associations which had so long darkened and embittered his life in Scotland, and which he could not help connecting with the dark tragedy of the life of his mother, Mary Stuart, the ill-fated queen of Scots; adopting with ardour the Episcopal government, the doctrine and ritual of the Church of England. The zeal of James I. for Anglicanism was even intolerant—as is often the zeal of a new convert. The Puritan disappointment was very great, and, as we shall see, bore in time disastrous fruits.

James I. succeeded Elizabeth in the spring of 1603. Before his coronation, some 800 English clergymen presented to him what is termed the Millenary petition, which prayed for a reform of the stern and somewhat arbitrary church courts, for the removal of what they deemed superstitious usages from the Anglican Book of Common Prayer, and for other less important changes. The immediate result was the summoning by the king of the assembly known as the Hampton Court Conference. This conference met very early in 1604 at Hampton Court, where the king was residing. The conference was attended by a certain number of bishops and divines of the Church of England, and by certain chosen representatives of the Puritan party. The more prominent Anglicans were the aged archbishop Whitgift; Bancroft, bishop of London (of whom more anon); Lancelot Andrewes (at that time dean of Westminster), the most profound scholar and theologian of the English church, of whom we have already spoken; and the deans of St. Paul's, Chester, Worcester, and Windsor. Of these, Overall, of St. Paul's, is the best known, owing to his able expositions of the sacraments and the church catechism, so familiar to every member of the church. Dr. Field (afterwards dean of Gloucester), author of the famous treatise on the church, and others, are less known. The Puritans were represented by the most learned and moderate of their party. Dr. Reynolds and Dr. Sparkes, from Oxford, and Mr. Chatterton and Mr. Knewstubbs, from Cambridge, appeared as the spokesmen of the more moderate of the signatories of the "Millenary" petition.

But the most prominent member of the conference, and the one who throughout took with the king the leading part in the discussions, was Richard Bancroft, the bishop of London, who very shortly was to succeed archbishop Whitgift in the primacy. This eminent man was then in his sixtieth year. Born in 1544, he had spent a studious youth at Cambridge, where he became a tutor of Jesus college. Attracting the attention of the famous Elizabethan bishop, Cox of Ely, he became his chaplain, and we hear of him as a famous preacher both in his university and in London, where he became a prebendary first of St. Paul's, then of West-

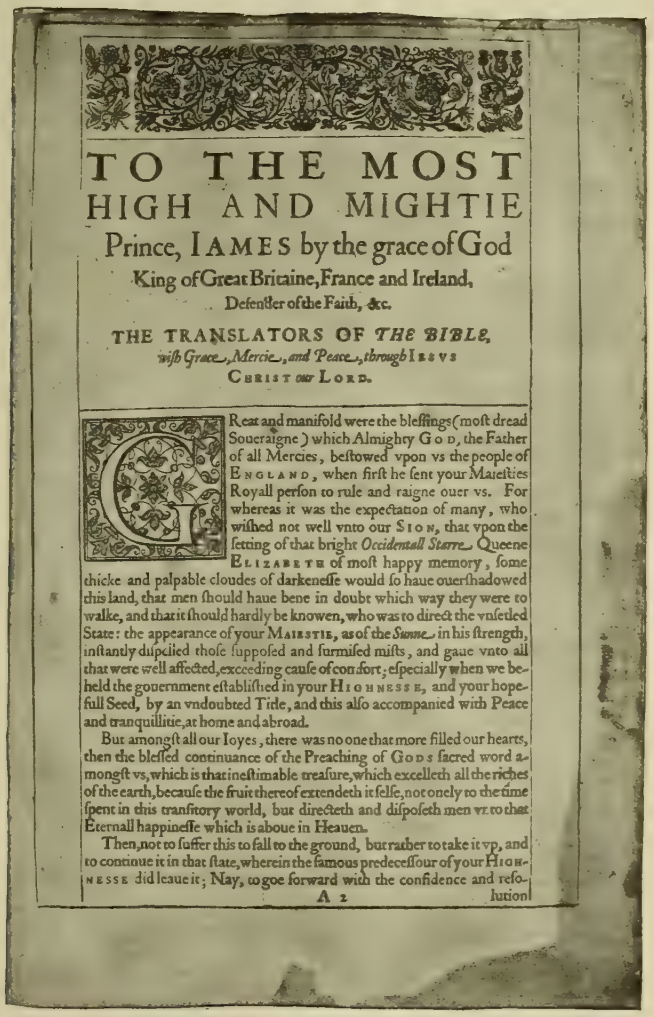
minster. In the controversies with the extreme reformers during the latter part of the reign of Elizabeth, Bancroft bore a prominent part, and was notorious for his animosity to the Puritan claims and pretensions. Of episcopacy and its divine authority he was an ardent supporter. Archbishop Whitgift used him as his most trusted supporter. It was not, however, until 1597 that he was raised to the episcopate, as bishop of the important see of London. At the Hampton Court Conference, where the rapidly failing health of Whitgift prevented his taking any active part in the proceedings, Bancroft virtually took his place. The old archbishop died a few weeks later, and in the autumn of the same year (1604) Bancroft, as was expected, succeeded him in the primacy.

In the Hampton Court Conference, the Puritan representatives were treated with only scant courtesy, the king,* who took a prominent part in the proceedings, having already determined that no concessions were to be made to the adversaries of the established church. The conference ended

RICHARD BANCROFT, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.
(*From a portrait at Jesus College, Cambridge.*)

* One of his sayings in the course of the debates is memorable: "If this be all they" (the Puritans) "have to say, I shall make them conform themselves, or I will harry them out of the land or else do worse."

with a promise on the part of the Puritan representatives to be quiet and obedient, "now they knew it to be the king's mind to have it so." Certain alterations of no great importance were, however, agreed to by the king and bishops at the conference, and a small committee of the bishops and privy council was appointed to carry them into effect. Care was taken to call these alterations by the name of "explanations," to bring them under the provisions in Elizabeth's Act of Uniformity. The alterations received the sanction of Convocation, and the amended



TO THE MOST
HIGH AND MIGHTIE
Prince, IAMES by the grace of God
King of Great Britaine, France and Ireland,
Defender of the Faith, &c.

THE TRANSLATORS OF *THE BIBLE*,
wish Grace, Mercie, and Peace, through IESVS
CHRIST *our* LORD.

GReat and manifold were the blessings (most dread Soueraigne) which Almighty GOD, the Father of all Mercies, bestowed vpon vs the people of ENGLAND, when first he sent your Maiesties Royall person to rule and raigne ouer vs. For whereas it was the expectation of many, who wished not well vnto our SION, that vpon the setting of that bright *Occidentall Starre*, Queene ELIZABETH of most happy memory, some thicke and palpable cloudes of darkenesse would so haue ouershadowed this land, that men should haue bene in doubt which way they were to walke, and that it should hardly be knowen, who was to direct the vnsetled State: the appearance of your MAIESTIE, as of the *Sunne* in his strength, instantly dispelled those supposed and surmised mists, and gaue vnto all that were well affected, exceeding cause of comfort; especially when we beheld the gouernment established in your HIGHNESSE, and your hopefull Seed, by an vndoubted Title, and this also accompanied with Peace and tranquillitie, at home and abroad.

But amongst all our Ioyes, there was no one that more filled our hearts, then the blessed continuance of the Preaching of GODS sacred word amongst vs, which is that inestimable treasure, which excelleth all the riches of the earth, because the fruit thereof extendeth it selfe, not onely to the time spent in this transitory world, but directeth and disposeth men vnto that Eternall happinesse which is aboue in Heauen.

Then, not to suffer this to fall to the ground, but rather to take it vp, and to continue it in that state, wherein the famous predecessour of your HIGHNESSE did leaue it; Nay, to goe forward with the confidence and reso-

A 2 lution

DEDICATION TO KING JAMES OF THE FIRST EDITION OF THE AUTHORISED VERSION.
(*British Museum.*)

book was provided for the use of the parish churches.

The more noteworthy changes and additions in the Prayer-Book were as follows. A prayer for the queen and other members of the royal family was placed after the prayer for the king, and a corresponding petition was inserted in the litany. Thanksgivings and prayers for particular occasions, such as for rain, for fair weather, for plenty, for peace and victory, and for deliverance from the plague, were inserted. Some alterations were made in the office of private baptism. And the important concluding portion upon the sacraments was added to the catechism. This last is generally attributed to Overall, dean of St. Paul's, the prolocutor of Convocation.

A work of the highest importance was undertaken at this juncture. This was a new English translation, or rather a revision of the existing English version, of the holy Scriptures. The translators acknowledged that the Hampton Court Conference had been the starting-point of it, and the acknowledgment gives an importance to this Conference which its more direct work would fail to bestow upon it; for unquestionably the "Authorised Version," completed by king James's translators, is one of the glories of the Church of England.

As early as 1604, when Bancroft was still bishop of London, king James I. addressed a letter to him informing him that he had selected fifty-four divines for the work of a new translation of the Bible. This was no doubt in consequence of the recent resolution of the Hampton Court Conference, but it was not before the year 1606 that the great work was really begun. Of the fifty-four translators or revisers originally named, only forty-seven appear in the king's list: seven may have died in the interval, or declined to act. The selection on the whole appears to have been a wise and equitable one. Andrewes, Saravia, Overall, Barlow dean of Chester, who wrote the account of the Hampton Court Conference, and Montague, afterwards bishop of Bath and Wells, and of Winchester, represented the "higher" party in the church; Reynolds, Chatterton, and Lively, the Hebrew professor at Cambridge for thirty years, that of the Puritans. One name of great fame as a profound student of the Scriptures, alas! is absent from the list: that of Hugh Broughton, the greatest Hebrew scholar of the age. His exclusion is attributed to the dislike with which he was regarded by Whitgift, and Whitgift's dear friend and successor Bancroft. This eminent scholar, however, seems to have been a man of ungovernable temper, and one who was unlikely to work in harmony with a large and mixed company. Still his exclusion is deeply regrettable. The idea of the work was originally his. In a letter to Cecil (as early as 1595) he had urged upon Elizabeth's minister this very plan of a joint translation. It was this Broughton, in his translation of some of the Hebrew Scripture, who alone among English translators adopted "*the Eternal*" as the equivalent for Jehovah, as in the French and other foreign versions; recognising the strange error of the adoption of "Jehovah" as the equivalent of the awful name, which, as Hebrew scholars too well know, is lost.

The primary and fundamental rule laid

down for the guidance of the company in their important work was expressed in the following terms: "The ordinary Bible read in church, commonly called the Bishops' Bible, to be followed, and as little altered, as the truth of the original will permit." * There was, however, this subsequent provision: "These translations to be used, when they agree better with the text than the Bishops' Bible: Tyndale's, Mathew's, Coverdale's, Whitchurch, and Geneva." The first of these rules, which was substantially the same as that laid down at the revision of the Great Bible in the reign of Elizabeth, was strictly observed. The other rule was but partially followed. The translators (of king James) made much use of the Genevan version, and but little of the renderings of the other versions named in the rule, when those versions differed from the Bishops' Bible. There are traces, however, of the influence of the Rheims version, made by scholars from the Latin vulgate, but by competent scholars conversant with the original. †

We possess few, if any, details respecting the progress of the great work. "Nothing," says dean Plumptre in his exhaustive article on the Authorised Version, "is more striking than the silence with which the version which was to be the inheritance of the English people for at least two centuries and a half was ushered into the world. Here and there only we get glimpses of scholars coming from their country livings to their old college haunts to work diligently at the task assigned to them." For two years and three-quarters the work went on, the task being assigned to six separate companies—two for the New Testament, and four for the Old Testament and Apocrypha. They used to meet at Oxford, Cambridge, and Westminster. A final supervision of the whole was entrusted to certain selected members, six in all. The final correction and the composition of the arguments of the several books was given to Bilson, bishop of Winchester, and to Dr. Miles Smith, the latter of whom wrote the dedication and the preface, in which occur the strange adulatory epithets showered upon king James I. which so many have read with mingled feelings of astonishment and regret. The scholar king is termed "that sanctified person, enriched with singular and extraordinary graces, that had appeared as the sun in his strength."

This version, known in succeeding ages as *the Authorised Version*, appeared in 1611. Five successive editions were published in three years, but for a long time the exceeding popularity of the Geneva version was undiminished. This is evident from the fact of there having appeared not less than thirteen reprints of the Geneva Bible, in whole or in part, between 1611 and 1617—the Puritans, as has been well observed, and many others, missing the notes which accompanied the Geneva edition. In the year 1656, in the Commonwealth, serious proposals were made for another revision, and the Grand Committee of Religion in the House of Commons addressed themselves to a consideration of the question. But the project came to naught; the Restoration put an end, perhaps happily, to the proposal; and, until the revision in our own days,

* On the history of the "Bishops' Bible," and the earlier versions, see vol. iii., pp. 154, 369.

† See preface to Revised Version of 1881.

the Authorised Version has remained untouched.

The general accuracy of the work of the revisers of king James I., and the surpassing beauty of the language and phraseology of the English Authorised Version, has been very generally acknowledged. Not a few of the great masters of English literature have in succession borne their testimony to the excellence and to the purity of its style. So, to take two or three examples, Walton, the famous editor of the Polyglot, writes of it thus: "Inter omnes eminet." Addison tells us how it ennobles the coldness of modern language with the glowing phrases of the Hebrew, and Swift acknowledges "that the translators of the Bible were masters of an English style far fitter for that work than any we see in our present writings." "The language of the Authorised Version," writes dean Plumptre, "has intertwined itself with the controversies, the devotions, and the literature of the English people. It has gone wherever they have gone, over the face of the whole earth. The more solemn and tender of individual memories are for the most part associated with it. Men leaving the Church of England for the Church of Rome, turn regretfully with a yearning look at that noble 'well of English undefiled' which they are about to exchange for the uncouth monstrosities of Rheims and Douay."

But it must be ever borne in mind that while this, the noblest of modern versions of the Book of Life, was the work of many hands and several generations, all these versions—we are speaking especially of the New Testament—were either substantially reproductions of William Tyndale's original translation in its first shape, or *revisions* of versions almost entirely based on it.*

Early in 1604 king James met his first Parliament, and the first difference of opinion between the Crown and the Commons, which ultimately had such disastrous results—as set out in the next chapter—was manifest. The king was desirous to bring about a close union between Scotland and England. The Commons saw grave difficulties in complying with James's wishes on this point, and the question was deferred for the present. Our own present interest, however, is concerned with the doings of Convocation, which met, of course, simultaneously with the first Parliament of James I. Convocation claimed the right, and its claim was not questioned, of making canons binding on the clergy, though not on the laity; and it now enforced upon the clergy that uniformity of ceremonies which the king desired. Bancroft, bishop of London—soon to be primate—was the moving spirit in this important Convocation. Various articles, injunctions, and synodical acts had been passed in the reigns of Edward VI. and queen Elizabeth. These were carefully collected by Bancroft, and in the eleventh session of this Convocation he placed them, in the shape of a "Book of Canons," in the hands of the prolocutor of the lower House.† A petition from the

* *Cf.* Hook: "Archbishops," vol. x., chap. xxviii.

† Compare generally for further details Dean Plumptre's exhaustive article on the Authorised Version in Dr. Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible"; the preface to the revised version of the New Testament (1881); Dr. Hook: "Archbishops," vol. x.; and Green: "History," chap. iii., sect. 1.

THE RETURN OF THE *MAYFLOWER* FROM AMERICA.

(From the picture by A. W. Bayes, by permission of Messrs. Henry Graves and Co., 6, Pall Mall.)

Puritans for the further reformation of the book of Common Prayer was received, but little attention was paid to it.

In these "Canons" it was declared that whosoever affirmed that the Church of England, notwithstanding the reformation it had undergone, was not a true and apostolical church, teaching and maintaining the doctrines of the apostles, should be excommunicated *ipso facto*. Likewise, *ipso facto* excommunication was pronounced to be incurred by those who disparaged the form of godly worship established in the book of Common Prayer, or who pronounced the rites and ceremonies of the English church to be superstitious. The Common Prayer was to be said and sung distinctly and reverently upon the days appointed to be kept holy ; and the ceremonies were to be observed in such place of every church as the bishop of the diocese, or the ecclesiastical ordinary of the place, thought meet for the purpose. No man was to appear in church with his head covered during divine service, unless he had some infirmity. All persons present at divine service, were reverently, at the time appointed, to kneel on their knees when the general Confession, Litany, and other prayers were read; and they were to stand up at the saying of the Creed according to the rules prescribed in the book of Common Prayer. When the name of the Lord Jesus was pronounced, due and lowly reverence was to be done by all persons present. In all cathedral and collegiate churches, the Holy Communion was to be administered upon the principal feast days, and the bishop, dean, or canon in residence, as the principal minister when he officiated was to use a decent cope,* and to be assisted by a gospeller and epistoler agreeably, according to the advertisement published in the seventh year of Elizabeth. All members of the cathedral body, including the petty canons and the singing men, were to receive the communion four times yearly at least.

As these canons never received the sanction of Parliament, it has on more than one occasion been decided by the judges that they do not bind the laity. "We are all of opinion," said Lord Hardwicke, "that the Canons of 1604 do not bind, *proprio vigore*, the laity. I say *proprio vigore*, by their own force and authority, for there are many provisions contained in these canons which are declaratory of the ancient usage and law of the Church of England received and allowed here, which, in that respect, and by virtue of such ancient allowance, will bind the laity."

The canons made on this occasion by the Convocation of Canterbury were, by the king's letters patent, made binding also on York. Before the close of that same year, 1604, Bancroft became archbishop of Canterbury in succession to Whitgift. Acting in conjunction with the king's wish, a formal subscription to three articles out of these canons was required of the clergy, no person being allowed to hold any living, to preach, or to catechise, until he had signed the three articles in question. The articles were taken from the thirty-sixth and thirty-seventh canons, and were as follows :—

* It is perhaps regrettable that this canon has been suffered to fall into disuse ; but its introduction now, in the opinion of the ordinaries generally, would be by many misunderstood. The canon, however, is perfectly definite.

(I.) The supremacy of the king in matters spiritual and temporal.

(II.) That the book of Common Prayer contained nothing contrary to the word of God, and that he (the signatory) agreed to use that book, and that book only in public prayer and administration of the sacraments.

(III.) That the Thirty-nine Articles are agreeable to the word of God.

Subscription to these canons was rigidly enforced, and after the prorogation, some three hundred clergymen of the Puritan party belonging to the Church of England, refusing to sign, were driven into open nonconformity. Some of them fled to Holland, and to other Protestant centres on the Continent. The comparative ease with which this harsh measure was carried out is strong evidence that the existing state of things in the Church of England was generally acceptable to the people; but viewed in the light of subsequent history,* its wisdom has been called in question. Many of the three hundred thus expelled from their positions were devoted, earnest men; and a broader, more loving spirit of toleration doubtless might have retained the large majority in the fold of the Anglican church. This feeling was very general in the early years of king James's reign. Many thoughtful men considered that this harsh expulsion was injurious to the cause of religion, and alas! subsequent events only too surely confirmed these views. The hostility thus evoked, of the nobler Puritans to the Anglican church, grew in intensity as the years rolled on, and the lesson of charitable toleration and wider comprehensiveness has only been learned in later times by the wiser Anglican teachers.

For six years, under Bancroft's somewhat rigid and unbending rule, the work of enforcing conformity went on. The Book of Canons, the work of the Convocation which sat until the dissolution of Parliament in 1610, ratified by the king, became the constituted canon law of the church. Before the close of that year Bancroft passed to his rest. In spite of many errors in judgment, the archbishop was an earnest and devoted man, and deserves a gentler estimate than that formed by some historians and writers. He was an intense believer in law and order; and his undoubtedly harsh measures to enforce a rigid conformity, were dictated by his earnest wish to see the church absolutely at one in all points of ritual and observance. His mistake was that he failed to distinguish between what was fundamental, and what might have been wisely left undetermined.

A letter to his suffragans, written before his death in 1610, shows us how earnest

* One of the most immediate and conspicuous results was the Puritan settlement in North America. A company of these exiles took refuge in Leyden; but preferring a country life, some years later (in 1620) they chartered the celebrated *Mayflower*, and in her sailed from England to found, after terrible hardships, the colony of Plymouth in Massachusetts. The well-known picture reproduced on page 9 represents the little colony watching with strained eyes the fading vision of the vessel which had brought them from Europe, leaving them alone in a strange land. Other small bands of similarly-minded Puritans from time to time joined them, and in 1630 about a thousand under John Winthrop found their way across the seas to the "New England" home where they might worship as they pleased, free from ceremonial which they hated, with their own simple religious exercises. Thus it came to pass through the severity of Bancroft, that Puritan Nonconformity has so dominated the religion of this vast and influential portion of the Anglo-Saxon race.

he was in endeavouring to remedy abuses which then existed. Pluralities among the higher ranks of the clergy were frequent. He inquired in this letter to his suffragans into the number of ministers in each diocese who had two benefices, kept in repair. He called, too, for a strict account of "collections" made. Some curious remarks appear, too, in this letter as to the luxury displayed by the higher clergy and their families, finding fault with the richness of dress affected by deans

GEORGE ABBOT, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.
(*From the original in the collection of the Earl of Verulam.*)

and he asked whether each one had a preaching minister to supply his absence. If he had not, the grievance was to be immediately remedied. He stated that his majesty's charge was that the bishops should require the prebendaries to be present at their benefices, and there to preach every Sunday. Orders were also given that parsonage houses were to be "nay by some archdeacons and inferior ministers." *

Bancroft was succeeded in the primacy by George Abbot, the bishop of London, who became archbishop of Canterbury in 1610. His appointment was at once a surprise and disappointment to the church

* See Dean Hook: "Archbishops," vol. x. chap. xxix.

holy ghost strengthe to the former examinations, and giue vs grace to the powder treason it selfe. Now therefore wee are to get either a newe packe of witnesses, or els remember vs, I perswade my selfe will make some more cleare the sinnes of the Amorites are full, and God will haue all out. These things so nearely touche your mta that it may not bee giuen ouer till the truth bee manifested to the world, that if men haue ill deserued, they may haue their reward, if they bee innocent, their fame may bee cleared. I humbly pray your mta till our newe witnesses come vp to take my further knowledge, vpon w[hi]ch I sente letters to the L. Treasurer to giue a touche, that your mta desires it, that the Powder matter should diligently bee looked into, and that all things from this time forward to follow, should bee caried with as much secrecy as the matter will require. Your mta shall not neede to doubt mee, but that I will keepe all on foote, being assisted as I am with your learned Counsell and I trust that by that time that your mta shall returne either things will growe to some more ripenesse. I feare there is a packe of verie rotten-harted persons, wee desire notwithstanding to seeme otherwise. But that God of truth will haue the secrete to bee revealed. I heare formerly of a wicked plot acted at Mr Tyrs Howse, and a knight informed your mta that there was no suche things. I therefore now sende the examinations of some persons, that were present at it, and wee haue many things more to strengthen it. But praying God Almighty to discouer and confounde all your mta enemies, and praying the same Lorde euermore to blesse you and yours, I most humbly remaine

Lambith: Januar:
25. 1611.

Your mta most bounden
seruant and Chaplein
G: Cant:

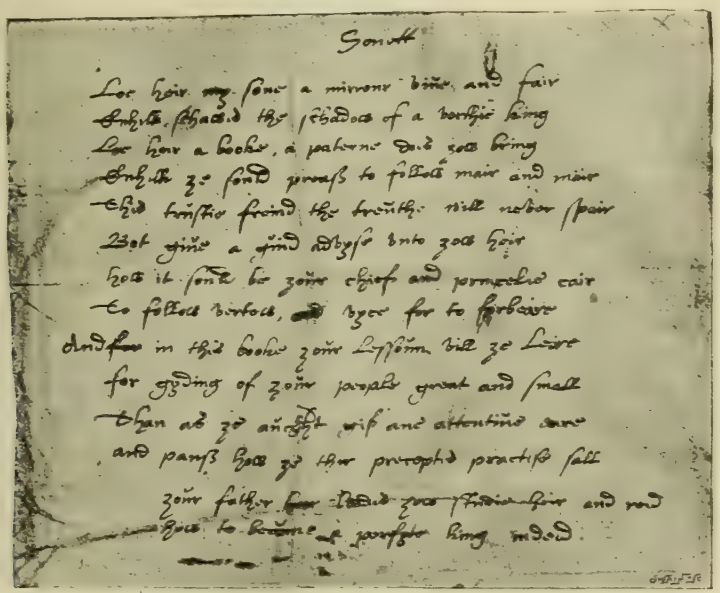
END OF A LETTER FROM ARCHBISHOP ABBOT TO KING JAMES I., REFERRING TO THE EXAMINATION OF WITNESSES IN CONNECTION WITH THE TRIAL OF THE GUNPOWDER CONSPIRATORS. (*British Museum.*)

For the six years following the Hampton Court Conference the policy of Bancroft had been quietly but firmly exercised in the direction of enforcing conformity. Many of the clergy who had declined to sign the articles of the canons of the convocation of 1604 had been ejected from their cures; others had been won over. What is generally known as the High Anglican system seemed gaining ground steadily. Under Bancroft's firm but stern and harsh rule there were, on the whole, years of general progress and advancement in the church. On his death the bishops and majority of the Church of England desired and expected that Lancelot Andrewes, at that time bishop of Ely, would have been nominated to the primacy We have dwelt at some length upon the work and character of that good and great divine. Round his person had gathered a general admiration and reverence which no other living man could attract. He lived, all men acknowledged, in an atmosphere of holiness. Learned and devout, an indefatigable scholar, and a most eloquent preacher, he was a favourite of the king, who ever listened gladly to his fervid and winning sermons. Why, on the death of archbishop Bancroft, was Andrewes passed over? Clarendon, later, deeply regrets that the choice of the king did not fall upon this beloved divine, believing that Andrewes as archbishop would have turned back the rising tide of Puritanism.

George Abbot, the new primate, was a man of a different school of thought. After a brilliant Oxford career, and attaining considerable fame as a preacher, he was elected master of University College, and for a time was the most influential of the teachers in that great seat of learning at this period. He was the steady opponent of Laud, who, although still a young man, was fast rising into notoriety and deserved fame. Abbot's sympathies were with the Puritans; his views were Calvinistic; but, like many of the nobler Puritans of his time, he accepted episcopacy as the true and primitive basis of church government, and was loyal to the Church of England. Before Elizabeth's death he had been advanced to the deanery of Winchester. King James in 1609 nominated him to the see of Coventry and Lichfield, and in 1610 he was translated to London. Some historians suppose that Abbot owed his promotion to Scottish interest. He had been previously much mixed up in Scottish matters, and had served for a time as secretary to the earl of Dunbar, the treasurer of the northern kingdom. More likely it was owing to the personal influence exercised by Henry, prince of Wales, a youth of high promise, of whom we read that "he was slow of speech, persistent in his questions, patient in listening, and strong in understanding." That prince Henry was favourably inclined to Puritanism seems undoubted; and that by the Puritans his early and premature death, owing to a typhoid fever, was deeply mourned, is acknowledged. Abbot was with him when he was dying, and apparently was much attached to the young heir to the Stuart throne.

The death of prince Henry was a fatal blow to the Puritan party and to the influence of Abbot, who, although he was an earnest and conscientious man, deeply

pious, and loyal to what he deemed the truest interests of his church, was never a favourite of the king, who treated him with respect and kindness, but never seems to have been largely influenced by him. From the year 1615 the king bestowed his confidence upon a new favourite, Villiers, afterwards duke of



KING JAMES'S DEDICATION OF HIS BASILICON DORON TO HIS SON PRINCE HENRY.

Buckingham. Buckingham became the trusted confidant of Charles, the king's second son; and Buckingham and Charles gradually passed in church matters under the sway of Abbot's life-long rival, Laud.

Whatever power Abbot possessed, virtually departed from him after a most unfortunate incident in Bramzil park, a seat of lord Zouch. In the course of a stag hunt the archbishop discharged an arrow at a buck, which, unhappily, pierced the arm of a keeper and severed an artery. The keeper bled to death; and the question immediately arose whether the prelate, by having blood on his hands, had become incapable of discharging the duties of his great office. The question was warmly disputed; and though in the end the archbishop was allowed to retain his office, his influence in the church was practically gone. He acted as primate until his death in 1633, but the real power in the Church of England belonged to another, whose life and work we must presently relate at length.

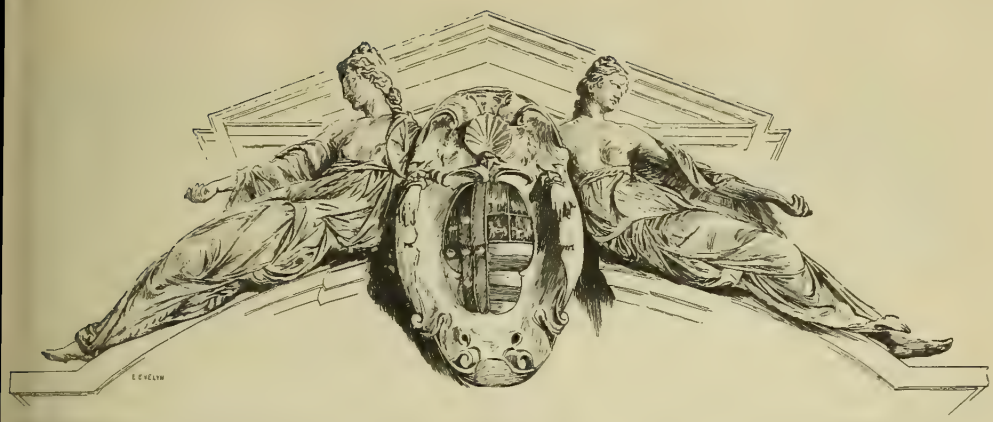
King James I. died at the comparatively early age of fifty-six, worn out with the heavy cares of a somewhat troubled life, in which he had been but indifferently successful. His flatterers had persuaded him, only too easily, that he was the wisest of sovereigns; but, as we shall presently see, all his favourite projects had ended

in failure. The influence of England on the continent of Europe, so great when Elizabeth died, was a thing of the past. At home his exaggerated views of the royal prerogative had already made a fatal breach between himself and his Parliament, that was widening every year. He left behind him no army and no fleet on which reliance could be placed. The financial position of the crown was deplorably dependent entirely upon the goodwill of the House of Commons; a goodwill which the arbitrary policy of the sovereign and his hated favourite Buckingham had turned into distrust and opposition. Yet James, although not the wise ruler he fancied himself to be, nor the British Solomon his courtiers loved to style him even after his death, had earnestly striven according to his light to do his best both at home and abroad. His failure is attributable partly to his exaggerated views as to the privileges of the kingly office, partly to his inability to understand the temper of England, partly to his unfortunate selection of friends and confidants.

When told that his end was at hand, he received the tidings with serene courage. "I am satisfied," he said, "and I pray you to assist me to make ready to go hence to Christ, whose mercies I call for, and I hope to find them." He wished to see bishop Andrewes at the last, but Andrewes was then too ill to visit the dying monarch, who passed away calmly, after making a confession of his faith in the presence of his son and his courtiers.

JAMES I.

(From the mezzotint by J. Smith, after the portrait by Van Dyck.)



PEDIMENT OF TOMB, AND ARMS OF GEORGE VILLIERS, DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM, IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

CHAPTER LXIII.

THE EARLY STUARTS, THE CHURCH, AND THE STRUGGLE FOR ABSOLUTISM.

Causes of the Gradual Increase of Royal Power in England—Courts of Star Chamber and High Commission—The All-powerful Influence of Elizabeth—James Combines Exaggerated Views of his Prerogative with Inferiority in Personal Character—Similar Ideas held by Charles I.—The Church Supports the Views of the King—Results of this Alliance—Pecuniary Troubles of James—His Foreign Policy—French Marriage of Charles I.—Open Quarrel between King and Parliament—The Petition of Rights—Discontent of the Puritan Party—Death in the Tower of Sir John Eliot—Eleven years without a Parliament under Laud and Strafford—Illegal Extortion—Oppression by the Courts of Star Chamber and High Commission—Attempts to Impose Episcopacy upon Scotland, and First and Second Bishop's Wars—The King Summons the Long Parliament—Impeachment of Strafford and Laud, and Suppression of the Despotic Courts—Anti-Episcopal Measures—Troubles in Ireland—The Grand Remonstrance—The King's Attempt to Arrest the Puritan Leaders—Flight from London before the Storm.

BEFORE entering upon what is commonly known as the Laudian period in Anglican history, a short study on the views entertained of the royal prerogative by the first two Stuart sovereigns, will throw light upon the position of the church in the years immediately succeeding the death of the first Stuart king.

We have already seen that after the close of the wars of "the Roses," the power of the crown in England was enormously increased. The numbers of the great nobles were greatly reduced in the course of these bloody, restless, seemingly purposeless campaigns. Their possessions, too, were vastly diminished owing to confiscation by one or other of the alternating dominating powers in the state. The strong government of the Yorkist Edward IV., and the far stronger rule of the Tudors who followed him, completed the work of the long Roses' wars. Edward IV., Henry VII., Henry VIII., and Elizabeth, were confronted by no powerful lawless nobility, and the Commons were, during the reigns of these mighty sovereigns, as yet too weak and ill-

organised to offer any real resistance to the will of their crowned masters. Thus the vast personal influence exercised in church matters by Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, in whose times "church matters" occupied a prominent position in politics, is largely accounted for. "The chief field in which the crown during these reigns encroached upon the nation was in matters of judicature. The struggle against the nobles and the struggle against the Papacy each left its mark on the judicial system, in a court which judged without the intervention of a jury. The first, the struggle against the nobles, produced the Court of Star Chamber; the second, the struggle against the Papacy, produced the Court of High Commission."*

Of these two famous courts, which obtained in the near future such an unenviable notoriety, the first, the Court of "Star Chamber," was erected early in Henry VII.'s reign, and consisted of certain specified members of the Privy Council and of two judges. It was empowered to punish with fine or imprisonment all who were guilty of interfering with justice by force or intrigue.† It might condemn a man to the pillory, and cut off his ears. In the early days of its existence this powerful and irresponsible court had done good service in punishing rich and powerful offenders whom juries would have been afraid to convict. But as time went on, such a court, completely under the influence of the crown, became a most dangerous instrument of oppression, and one that might be, and was, frequently used against the liberties of the people.

The second, the Court of "High Commission," has been well described as a kind of ecclesiastical Star Chamber. It was founded by queen Elizabeth, mainly in right of her claim to exercise the supreme governorship over the church. It was composed of clergy and laymen appointed solely by the queen, and it had powers to fine and imprison, and also to degrade and suspend clergymen from their functions. Created in the first instance to be used against the spread of Roman Catholic opinions, it was chiefly put in force under Elizabeth against the Puritans.

These two courts were most powerful engines of tyranny, and were among the principal causes of grievance in the troubles of the middle of the seventeenth century. Both these royal courts were abolished by Act of Parliament in 1641, immediately after the execution of Charles I.'s minister, lord Strafford.*

Henry VII. and Henry VIII. were kings in a very different sense even from their great ancestors Edward I. and Edward III. Confronted by no great power in the state, they were practically absolute sovereigns. Under the boy king Edward VI. and his sister Mary the enormous power of the crown was temporarily diminished, the extreme youth of the first, and the religion, which was *not* the religion of the nation, of the second of these sovereigns, preventing

* Gardiner: "The Puritan Revolution," chap. i., section ii.

† Its name was derived from the chamber at Westminster where the court sat, the roof of which was decorated with stars. Others have derived the name of the chamber from the Jewish bonds or "starres" which had once been kept in it.

* *Cf.* S. R. Gardiner: "History of England" (Courts of "Star Chamber" and "High Commission")

them from exercising the vast power and influence of their immediate predecessors or successors. But under Elizabeth the royal power rose to the highest point ever reached in England. Under the great Tudor queen "royalty had come to be regarded as the centre of the national life. The personal flattery with which Elizabeth was regarded, was but the extravagant echo of the wiser judgment of her contemporaries."* And this singular position of an almost absolute power was maintained during her long reign by the queen almost undisputed and unchallenged; for her consummate wisdom, guided by her wise and far-seeing ministers, taught her, with all her arbitrary acts, ever to seem to sympathise with her subjects. Although absolute, Elizabeth was intensely English, and this the people felt; so that she was ever passionately loved as well as feared.

It will be remembered that in the story of the settlement of the church, we have ever pointedly associated the queen in all the most important ecclesiastical acts and proceedings. Nothing was done, no prelate was appointed in the church, no religious formulary was put forth, without her acquiescence. Parker was *her* archbishop; Whitgift was *her* confidant and favourite friend; Jewel and Hooker, Cox and Guest, and even Andrewes, were the chosen associates of her faithful ministers and advisers. The hand of Elizabeth was indeed felt throughout that momentous period of the making of the reformed Church of England.

James I., the first Stuart sovereign, mounted the throne possessed with all the views and ideas of kingship entertained by the Tudor monarchs, Henry VIII. and his daughter Elizabeth, even in an exaggerated form. But, different from Elizabeth, James Stuart was never in real sympathy with his English subjects. In the first place he was a Scotsman—a prince, in spite of his pure, undoubted descent from the kings of England, born and bred in a country which had been ever more or less in antagonism to England. Different from Elizabeth, James I., with all his astuteness and wishfulness to do what was right and just, never gained the heart of that mighty people over whom he was called to reign. He never succeeded in evoking anything of that enthusiasm for his person which constituted Elizabeth's strength.

Then, also, king James was singularly unfortunate in his selection of friends and ministers. In the state, by his side, speaking words of advice and counsel, there never stood a great Cecil or a Walsingham; in the church, never a Parker or even a Whitgift. His greatest prelate, Lancelot Andrewes, the profound scholar and eloquent preacher whose work and influence we have already dwelt upon, he never entirely trusted; and when the moment came that he might have placed him in the chair of Augustine, he put him aside for the inferior and unpopular Abbot. The great soldiers and sailors of the Elizabethan era had passed away, or were forgotten by James. Sir Walter Raleigh, "the one great warrior of the Elizabethan time who still lingered on," had been suffered to languish in captivity for long years in the Tower under some obscure suspicion of treason, and in the end closed his brilliant and romantic career, victim of

* Gardiner: "The Puritan Revolution."

an unjust charge, on the scaffold. The foremost personages of king James's court —Robert Carr, earl of Somerset; George Villiers, duke of Buckingham; the archbishops Bancroft and Abbot—were poor representatives indeed of that splendid group of statesmen and ecclesiastics which adorned and gave strength to the magnificent court of the great Tudor queen.

The centre of this court of mediocrities, James I., was himself a curious mixture of littleness and greatness. He was a deep scholar and student, of broad reading, shrewd, and naturally possessed of considerable abilities. But, unlike his predecessor Elizabeth, he was singularly incapable of judging men, and his choice of ministers, civil and ecclesiastical, was, as a rule, unfortunate. His presence lacked majesty, and even dignity, and, in common with the other princes of the ill-fated Stuart dynasty, he ever failed to excite any popular enthusiasm or devotion. His conceit was boundless, and he deemed himself the wisest and most far-seeing of monarchs, the greatest master of kingcraft that ever lived; while the judgment of his contemporaries, a judgment endorsed by posterity, is well though cynically expressed by king Henry IV. of France, who termed him "the wisest fool in Christendom." But he cherished the most exaggerated views of the rights and prerogatives of a king, views which, when pressed still further by his son and successor Charles I., precipitated the death-struggle between the people of England and the crown.

CHARLES I.
(*From the portrait by Van Dyck.*)

This conception of the divine right of kings, this persuasion that the monarch was free from all control by law, free from all responsibility to anything but his own royal will, had grown gradually since the close of the wars of the Roses. Under Henry VIII. the conception of the monarchy was that it was absolutely independent of all foreign, and especially of papal, influence or interference. But the Tudor sovereigns Henry VIII. and his daughter Elizabeth, arbitrary though their government was, were wise enough generally in all their more important measures to see how needful it was to have with them the heart of the majority of the people. Henry VIII. throughout his long career, by the majority of his subjects was feared rather than disliked; and Elizabeth's great power consisted in her being "the representative of the people in the highest sense. With all her faults, she

sympathised with the people over whom she ruled. "My good people," she once said, "if they did not rest assured of some special love towards them, would not readily yield me such good obedience."

THE STAR CHAMBER.

Her Stuart successors utterly failed to see this. Their view of royalty comes out in the words of James I. used in 1616: "A thing regal and proper to a king is to keep every course within its true bounds. . . . As for the absolute prerogative of the crown, that is no subject for the tongue of a lawyer, nor is it lawful to be disputed. It is atheism and blasphemy to dispute what God can do; good Christians content themselves with His will revealed in His word. So it is presumption and high contempt in a subject to dispute what a king can do, or to say that a king cannot do this or that; but he should rest in that which is the king's will revealed in his law."* He even declared it to be treason to affirm that the king was under the law.

James I. was followed by his son Charles I., "a lonely, silent man," as he has been termed, "who kept at a distance all who were not of the immediate circle of his

* Gardiner: "Puritan Revolution," section ii.

privileged attendants," and who knew little of the mind of the large majority of his subjects. Charles Stuart, too, was a scholar ; but, different from his father, his manner was stately and impressive, and his moral character irreproachable. He possessed the gallantry and chivalry of his long line of royal and illustrious ancestors ; but he was obstinate, imperious, and

GEORGE VILLIERS, DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.
(*After the portrait by Van Dyck.*)

ignorant of the spirit of his age. His gravest errors, however, sprang from that strange conception of the boundless rights, privileges, and prerogatives of an absolute king, a conception which he inherited from his father. In Charles Stuart this strange idea was even exaggerated.

He, too, was unfortunate in his choice of advisers. Buckingham, his first minister, was vain, frivolous, self-seeking, self-deceiving. He considered himself at once a statesman and a soldier : in both these parts, while occupying the highest positions to which a subject can aspire, he conspicuously failed. Buckingham's successors in the king's confidence, Wentworth (Lord Strafford) and Laud, the primate, were unmistakably able men and loyal servants ; but their very ability was to Charles an additional danger, since they both believed with real earnestness in the fatal error of the Stuart house respecting the awful prerogative of the crown.

The conception of Charles I. respecting his kingly power is best exemplified in his own words. As early as 1626, addressing the Commons, whom he had summoned on the occasion of their denouncing the corruption and incompetence of his minister and favourite Buckingham, he said : "Remember that Parliaments are altogether in my power for their calling, sitting, and dissolution ; and therefore, as I find the fruits of them to be good or evil, they are to continue or not to be." Some three years later, in 1629, he repeated his haughty threat to the Commons. "If you do not your duty," said the king, "mine would then order me to use those other means which God has put into mine hand." Nor were the royal threats merely a vain menace. He dissolved the Parliament, and for eleven long years chose to reign, to levy taxes, to wage war, to execute justice through subservient and arbitrary courts, without the advice and consent of the estates of the realm ; Parliament, by the will of the autocratic king, being suspended from 1629 to 1640.

Unfortunately the hierarchy of the Church of England generally supported the king in this exaggerated estimate of his rights, and sorely that great church had to rue its grave mistake. It, too, was

submerged in the catastrophe which followed in the later years of Charles's reign, and was seemingly destroyed; but it possessed a real life which even the fatal errors and mistakes of that sad age could not effectually harm. In the darkest hours of its misfortunes it never lost its influence over the minds of the people; and we shall see how, apparently dead, with extraordinary rapidity it revived again, stronger and more influential than ever. It was too deeply rooted in the heart of the English nation for any "Puritan" or "Independent" reaction or revolution seriously and permanently to affect it.

That the Church of England allied itself with the cause of absolutism in the state in the period which preceded the great rebellion, is indisputable, and that Laud brought the great influence of the church to bear on the ruin of civil freedom cannot be denied. It was a grave error, and one bitterly expiated. But grave as was the primate's error, it should not be exaggerated. When a rash preacher like Dr. Manwaring, in 1627, on the occasion of a forced loan being levied by the crown, preached before the king on the duty of passive obedience, openly stating in his sermon that the king needed no Parliamentary warrant for taxation, and that to resist his will was to incur damnation, *Laud remonstrated*, and advised that the sermon should not be printed, urging that there were things in the discourse which he said would be very distasteful to the people. The king was, however, resolute; and the unhappy book which contained the argument of Manwaring, against Laud's wish was licensed and printed.

The real mind of Laud and the grave representation of the English clergy in the matter of the royal prerogative is fairly represented in the canon passed in the convocation of 1640 under the title of "Concerning Regal Power."* In it kings were declared to be responsible to God for the right government of the church, and to possess the sole right to summon councils. Subjects were warned, by quotations from the New Testament, not to bear arms against their lawful sovereign. The opinions of the martyrs of old and of the fathers were even adduced. It was also pronounced to be the duty of subjects to supply the king's necessities, and of kings to protect their subjects' goods. The divine character† of the office of the king, consecrated by the church, was specially insisted on.

This short sketch of the great error of the first two Stuarts in their conception of their royal rights and duties to their people, and of the share which the Church of England bore in the support of this disastrous conception, will be sufficient introduction to a very brief summary of the results. The character of James need

* The seventeen canons passed in the convocation under the influence of Laud in 1640 were published in quarto, under the authority of the Great Seal, and are entitled "Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical," and are accompanied by a royal proclamation. The one "Concerning Regal Power" is the first of these.

† Laud indubitably considered that the crown was the chosen instrument of Providence for the salvation of the country, and that the sovereigns anointed with the consecrated oil [*cf.* 33 Edward III., "reges sacro oleo uncti spiritualis jurisdictionis sunt capaces"] were endowed with divine powers, both in church and state (see Simpkinson: "Life of Laud").

not be further emphasised. Scholar and pedant, well meaning, but utterly incapable either of carrying out himself his own confused and tortuous plans, or of choosing fit and capable persons to conduct the machinery of his government; yet at the same time vain and inordinately conceited of his abilities as a ruler, and convinced, too, that his authority as a king knew no limit, it is not strange that the history of his reign is a history of successive failures in every department both of church and state.

During the earlier years of his reign the chief minister of the crown was Sir Robert Cecil, the son of the great lord Burleigh. The king on his accession found Cecil secretary of state. He gave the Elizabethan minister his confidence, and in 1605 created him earl of Salisbury, and appointed him lord treasurer. Without possessing the talents of his father, Robert Cecil to a certain extent endeavoured to maintain the traditional policy of the late reign, and laboured to prevent a serious breach between the king and the Parliament. Unfortunately for James, the earl died in 1611, and henceforth the king's advisers were his weak and foolish favourites: Robert Carr, whom he created earl of Somerset, and after Carr's well-merited disgrace, George Villiers, who was successively created earl, then marquis, and in the end duke of Buckingham, and who remained in power until James's death.

Money troubles very soon perplexed the king. Extravagance and lavish generosity to Scottish favourites exhausted the treasure, and a large deficit was the consequence. A Parliament was summoned in 1610, and the statesmanship of Salisbury arranged a device by means of which the king's difficulties might be settled. A bargain was made with Parliament called the "great contract," the king covenanting to abandon certain obnoxious privileges, and promising not to levy any impositions without a Parliamentary grant, the Parliament on their side agreeing to grant him a large annual income. But fresh disputes arose, and James, in anger, dissolved this his first Parliament in 1611. The same year Salisbury died. Another attempt was made in 1614 to enter into a fresh bargain with a new Parliament, but the negotiations fell through, and once more Parliament was dissolved. This short-lived Parliament, which granted no supplies and passed no act, was called, in consequence, the "addled Parliament."

In his foreign policy James was equally unsuccessful. He was desirous to marry his children into influential houses on the continent. In 1613 he gave his daughter Elizabeth to Frederick V., elector palatine, who was the chief of the German Calvinists. This alliance was an unfortunate one, and involved England eventually in a costly and useless foreign war. Frederick was chosen in 1618 by the Protestant nobles of Bohemia as their king; the crown, however, he was not suffered long to wear, for in 1620 he was defeated hopelessly near Prague, and the result was that he lost his new kingdom and his ancestral dominions in the Palatinate. This marriage was popular in England, for Frederick was looked upon as the champion of the Protestant cause in Germany, and the third Parliament summoned by James was willing to support the king and

war to restore the elector-king to his lost dominions.

But another royal marriage planned by James was intensely disliked in England. From the beginning of his reign James's conduct towards the English Romanists showed symptoms of favour towards the unpopular party. He evidently was kindly disposed, and would willingly lighten the burdens which pressed heavily upon them. It seems a strange feeling to have actuated a Puritan-trained prince like James; but we have seen that Puritanism was distasteful to him, and possibly some memories of his dead mother were always present with him.

QUEEN HENRIETTA MARIA.
(*From the portrait by Van Dyck.*)

Mary Stuart had ever been an earnest Romanist, and to the end the Roman Catholic party in England had been her devoted and enthusiastic friends, and not a few had died for her. The discovery of the Gunpowder Plot had for a time interfered with James's kindly views, and the Romanist was more than ever hated in England after the tragic scenes which closed the episode of the wild and wicked scheme of Catesby and his friends. Yet in 1611 the question of a Spanish alliance was entertained in the Whitehall Court.

Various reasons influenced James. A close alliance with Spain would, he thought, enormously contribute to his power on the continent of Europe. He dreamed, too, of the material advantages which he would derive from such a connection, supposing, not unnaturally, that large sums of money would be easily obtained from the boundless resources of Spain. We have already alluded to his constant and ever-increasing money difficulties. So for long years the English king clung to his idea of a Spanish marriage for his son and heir. Death, however, interfered with his project. His eldest son, prince Henry, whom he intended to marry to a Spanish Infanta, died in 1612, and his second son, Charles, was as yet too young ; but the project of wedding his son and heir to a Spanish princess was never abandoned. The negotiations continued over several years. Spain's consent was only reluctantly obtained, at the price of many important concessions. All the penal laws in force against Roman Catholics in England were to be repealed ; complete liberty of worship in their own private houses for Roman Catholics was insisted on ; the children of the prince and princess were to be educated in the old faith ; a Romish household for the Infanta was to be provided. With a strange and fatal obstinacy, James clung to this curious policy, in which Buckingham steadily supported him. At last, in 1623, Charles and Buckingham set out on their romantic journey to Madrid to woo the princess in person. In spite of all, however, the negotiations in Madrid came to nothing, and Charles returned to England without his promised bride.

It seemed as though another chance was offered to the doomed Stuarts, when the Spanish marriage project was finally broken off by Spain ; but the chance was lost, for James in the following year made proposals on behalf of his son Charles to the king of France, Louis XIII., for the hand of his sister, Henrietta Maria, a daughter of Henry IV. of Navarre, who had abjured Protestantism. The French king at once consented, and 1524 saw a Roman Catholic princess wedded to the heir of the English crown.

The marriage, as may well be conceived, was viewed in England by well-nigh all parties with the deepest dismay. Nothing in that reign of James I., which was throughout a preparation for the Great Rebellion, gave such dire offence to the nation as this strange desire of the Stuart king to ally his heir to the daughter of a Romanist sovereign. It was far more than a mere question of theology. England had become, under the magnificent Tudor queen, the centre of the Protestant powers of Europe. What was to be looked for in the future when the throne was shared by a Roman Catholic princess,

whose children would probably become, if not Roman Catholics,* at least more than friendly to that form of religion which England had abjured, and which, with its memories of the past, it thoroughly feared and disliked. Well has it been remarked that the unfortunate marriage plans of James I. for his heir "awoke again the old Protestant resistance, and gave new life to Puritanism." † Not a little of the antipathy aroused in England against the house of Stuart was stirred up in the first place by James I. deliberately setting himself in antagonism to the deep-rooted hatred and dread of the English people for Roman Catholicism and all that Roman Catholicism involved.

The accession of Charles I. caused no break in the continuity of the policy of the government. The same minister, Buckingham, perhaps with even increased power, continued to stand alone by the throne. The same views as to the irresponsibility of the king to the nation or national representatives entertained by James I., were held by his son, the second Stuart monarch, in even yet more exaggerated form. The ecclesiastical affairs connected with England gradually passed into the hands of bishop Laud, who was alike the intimate friend and adviser of both the king and the favourite.

The fierce disputes between the king and the House of Commons, which culminated in the civil war of 1642, began already in the first Parliament of Charles, in 1625. England was at war with Spain, and money was sorely needed to carry on the contest. A totally inadequate sum was voted by the "Houses," a deep distrust of the all-powerful Buckingham, the king's chief adviser, being almost universal. The king, however, resolutely refused to part with his friend, and, after an unavailing adjournment to Oxford, the first Parliament was dissolved. A second Parliament, which met the same year, was in the same mood, and Buckingham was formally impeached. The king remained unmoved, and another dissolution followed, without any supplies having been voted.

The foremost man in the Commons was Sir John Eliot, who was reputed to be the ablest orator of that time. In the struggle between the king, contending for absolutism, and the Parliament aiming at Parliamentary liberty, during the earlier years of the unhappy reign, Eliot occupied the position in the great contest afterwards filled by Hampden and Pym. He belonged to a distinguished family in the west of England, and, in addition to his great gift of oratory, and a well-deserved reputation for learning and culture, was famous as a bold and successful sailor. His character stood deservedly high, and his earnestness and acknowledged ability marked him out as a leader in the life and death contest which had begun to rage between the king and the representatives of the national will. A fair example of the temper of the Commons of England exists in the words reported to have been used by Eliot in speaking of the all-powerful Buckingham. He termed the

* Of the two sovereigns of England, the children of that marriage, Charles II. died—it is now generally believed—a Romanist, and James II., for the sake of Rome, was driven into a hopeless exile. The fears of 1511 to 1524 were amply justified.

† Gardiner.

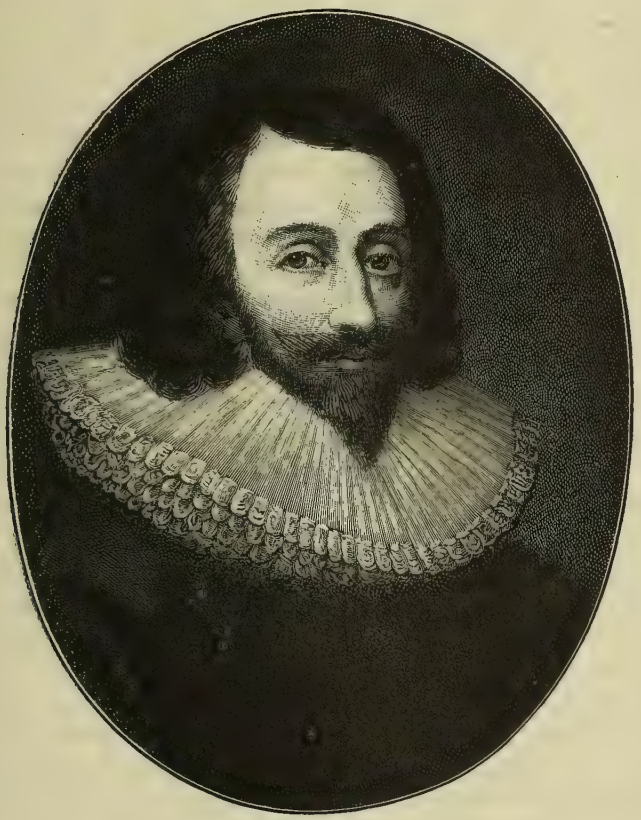
favourite "Sejanus," the well-known, detested minister of the infamous tyrant, the Roman emperor Tiberius. "If he is Sejanus," said king Charles when the words were repeated to him, "then surely I must be playing the part of Tiberius." But no remonstrances had any effect. The king was resolute in his ideas of his supreme kingly power, and he remained loyal to his unpopular though faithful minister. In the meantime the horizon grew darker. A quarrel with France, and a consequent war, made money more and more necessary. Abroad, too, the English arms were generally unsuccessful. This increased, naturally, the popular discontent. The sinews of war were imperatively needed, and, after a futile attempt to obtain a free gift from the nation in lieu of the money refused by the "Houses," a third Parliament was summoned in 1628.

Long and anxious debates followed, and the famous "Petition of Rights" was presented to the crown by the Commons. The demands embodied in the "Petition of Rights" must be conceded, before any money could be voted. Reluctantly Charles consented to the more important of these, notably a promise never again, without the will of the "Houses," to raise money by any illegal means, such as by a forced loan. In the end the king yielded, and the great "Petition" became the law of the land; a law, however, practically disregarded by Charles during his eleven years of personal or absolute government. But more was needed before any real reconciliation could be established between the king and the popular House. The ecclesiastical policy of Laud, who was fast growing into prominence as a favoured counsellor of the king, had exasperated the powerful Puritan party; and many changes, which must be dwelt on presently at greater length, were now demanded in the church as well as in the state. Above all, Buckingham must be dismissed. At this juncture a tragic event happened which for a brief season appeared to promise a healthier state of things, than that which for the past three years had existed between the king and the Commons. Buckingham, the all-powerful favourite, was assassinated by a wild fanatic named Felton, and his rule which had endured for so long during the reign of father and son, was thus rudely and abruptly brought to an end. This terrible crime was committed in the August of 1628.

Early in the following year, 1629, Parliament met again. The great obstacle to reconciliation between Charles and the popular assembly had been removed apparently, by the death of Buckingham. But deeper questions really remained behind. The Stuart view of the royal prerogative was unchanged. Buckingham or no Buckingham, Charles was determined to rule unchecked. No "Petition of Rights" should bind him. A curious question precipitated the disastrous contest. For a long period the practice of the Commons had been to vote for each sovereign during life a permanent source of income, in certain duties on exports and imports, duties known as tonnage and poundage. These had never been voted in Charles's reign, owing to the continued disputes between him and the "Houses." But Charles insisted on his right, inherited

from his ancestors, apart from any vote, to levy these dues. Upon this nice point a fresh dispute commenced.

A still graver and more heart-searching question arose. We have spoken before, and shall have occasion to speak again, of the spirit of religious fervour which lived and worked in the England of Elizabeth and the two first Stuart kings. It was due, of course, to the Reformation, and to all that the Reformation had brought along in its wake; to the awakened spirit of inquiry, to the fervid speech and the burning writings of the great men who guided the mighty movement. Partly, also, it was due to the very opposition it excited. The defenders of the old learning, who lived mostly in an ideal past, they too studied and wrote and lived and spoke, with an earnestness and a fervour which had been unknown for many a long year, years almost counted by centuries. The men of the new learning, the true children of the Reformation, had indeed need to burnish their weapons of controversy to meet these formidable foes, awakened from a torpor which too closely had resembled death. Above all, it was



SIR JOHN ELIOT.
(*From the portrait at Port Eliot.*)

due to the influence of the at last universally read Bible, the Bible purified by Erasmus and translated by Tyndale. In no country had this spirit permeated all sorts and conditions of men as it had in England. "Theology rules them," said the learned scholar and profound observer Grotius in 1605, early in James I.'s reign.

And over Protestantism, and the "New Learning" in general, a sombre cloud seemed to be gathering during the latter years of James I., and the earlier reign of Charles I. In Germany, the first home of the Reformation, matters had gone ill with Lutheran and Calvinist alike. The defeat and fall of the elector Frederick had come as a shock to Protestants of all lands. The dominant German power for a time was now the Roman Catholic house of Austria. In France, too, the Huguenot cause seemed a dying one. And in England also the zeal of Laud, too often misunderstood, excited not only among the Puritans, but among many faithful sons of the church, an ill-concealed dread, a dread largely owing to that great prelate's friendship with the hated Buckingham, and the position of intimacy and confidence which he held with king Charles. Everything Laud did, in the eyes of the advocates of Parliamentary liberty, was coloured with Laud's sympathy for Charles, and Charles's grave errors. His many and splendid efforts to raise the tone of church feeling, and to dignify and reduce to ecclesiastical order her services, in the eyes of men even like the patriotic and devoted Eliot, were regarded as part and parcel of the schemes of Buckingham and Charles to bring the English nation and her church under the uncontrolled domination of the crown and its officials.

Thus, in addition to other grievances, was raised in that Parliament of 1625 the cry that Charles and Laud were drawing nearer and ever nearer the dreaded Rome, which was indeed growing more powerful every year; that they were introducing into the Church of England at once Roman ceremonial and Roman doctrine. That such was not the case is little to the point. The religious question even overshadowed the money question, and the closing scenes of the Parliament of 1628–1629 were extraordinarily embittered by the theological points of discussion. "The Gospel," said Eliot in one of his moving and eloquent speeches, "is that truth in which the kingdom has been happy through a long and rare prosperity. This ground, therefore, let us lay for a foundation of our building, that that truth, not with words, but with actions, we will maintain." Well knew the "House" that dissolution by the royal will was close at hand; but with barred doors the Commons of England were determined to record their solemn protests. "By successive resolutions, they declared whomsoever should bring in innovations in religion (thus setting religious points in the fore-front of their grievances), or whatsoever minister endorsed the levy of subsidies not granted in Parliament, a capital enemy to the kingdom; and every subject voluntarily complying with illegal acts and demands, a betrayer of the liberty of England, and an enemy of the same."*

Thus the Parliament of 1629 broke up, and it was years before any Parliament met again in England. Upon the

* Green: "History of England," chap. viii., sect. iii.

leaders in the great struggle Charles wreaked his sad vengeance. Some were arrested. Fines and imprisonment were inflicted. Most made their submission. A few resisted to the end, and among these was the greatest of them all, Sir John Eliot. This first, and perhaps the noblest of the champions of Parliamentary independence, was thrown into the Tower. He declined to make any submission to the king. The intrepid sailor, the country gentleman, accustomed to the sea breezes of the west, to a life of freedom and manly exercises, soon pined away in the gloomy chamber of the storied prison-house of England, and died, after a close captivity of some three and a half years. Few have ever better earned the proud martyr's title, for he gave up his noble life for the liberties of his country. When the end drew near, the patriot statesman sent for a painter to preserve his likeness, all worn and changed by the long weary captivity. It was a strange thought, this wish to hand down to his descendants the outcome of his noble efforts for England. Vindictive to the last, the king refused to give up the body to his children, who would have laid the remains of the great patriot among his fathers in his loved western country. "Let him be buried," said Charles, "where he died." The Tower of London throws its grim shadow upon no more sacred spot than upon Eliot's grave.

And now for eleven long years no Parliament was summoned by king Charles. Associated with the king, who during this lengthened period ruled England according to the Stuart views, which placed absolute irresponsible power, if the Crown chose to exercise it, in the hands of the anointed sovereign, were two statesmen whose names, execrated by some, are the object of a strange adulation to others: Wentworth, better known as earl of Strafford, the title subsequently conferred upon him; and Laud, bishop of London, better known as archbishop of Canterbury. The latter was one of the purest and most earnest of men, a great ecclesiastic, a great church restorer and church organiser, one who under other circumstances would have left behind him undisputed an honoured name among the great divines and prelates who have been famous in the Church of England; but who, from his unhappy connection with the tyranny and mistakes of Charles Stuart, because he played —O the pity of it!—in an unhappy era the part of statesman as well as that of a great churchman, has fatally dimmed the lustre of a great reputation.

The story of Laud's life and work, belonging as it does to the Church of England, will have to be related with detail. Strafford belongs rather to another history than ours, and may be dismissed here with a few words. Wentworth, earl of Strafford, the famous minister of Charles I., the intimate friend of Laud, and his adviser in state matters, the minister in whose busy brain were conceived all the more important measures devised and carried out during the long period of Charles's reign when he ruled England without a Parliament, is thus described by a famous word-painter: "Wentworth, Lord Strafford, who ever names him without thinking of those harsh, dark features, ennobled by their expression into more than the majesty of an antique Jupiter; of that brow, that eye, that cheek, that lip, where-

in, as in a chronicle, are written the events of many stormy and disastrous years, high enterprise accomplished, frightful dangers braved, power unsparingly exercised, suffering unshrinkingly borne; of that fixed look, so full of anxiety, of deep thought, of dauntless resolution, which seems at once to forebode and to defy a terrible fate, as it lowers upon us from the living canvas of Vandyke?"*

In Strafford the second Stuart sovereign found a minister willing and capable of carrying out his views of royal government. He aimed at making Charles an absolute monarch, at putting the personal liberty of the whole people at the disposal of the crown; and the far-seeing minister discerned that to carry out these views one instrument was imperatively necessary —a trained standing army. In Ireland, where for several years he reigned as viceroy, he succeeded in establishing such a rule; and that he eventually failed in England was rather owing to the vacillating spirit of Charles, than to any lack of will or courage or skill on his own part.

During the first years of his government without a Parliament, Charles was fortunate in his choice of a lord treasurer. Weston was an able statesman and a skilled financier. He reduced the expenditure at home, which during the long supremacy of Buckingham had been lavish and extravagant. He promoted a policy of peace with foreign nations. Peace was made at once with France, and in the following year (1630) with Spain, and for a lengthened period England ceased to interfere with or to exercise any influence in foreign politics. By various devices, more or less illegal, he succeeded in replenishing an exhausted treasury. The policy of peace inaugurated by this wise minister largely contributed to the commercial prosperity of the kingdom. While the continent of Europe was divided and harassed by desolating wars, England, at war with no nation, played the part of the universal carrier, and English ships became almost the sole vehicles for the growing commerce of the whole world.

This curious prosperity, which affected all sorts and conditions of men, no doubt largely contributed to the long duration of the period of arbitrary rule—some eleven years. And although the gravest discontent was excited by many acts of the government, notably the illegal exactions and the judicial proceedings of the courts of the Star Chamber and the High Commission, there was no real resistance to the royal will until, owing to the grave aspect assumed by affairs in Scotland, the "Long" Parliament was summoned late in the year 1640. Then the long-smouldering indignation of the nation resulted in the formal impeachment of the two ministers, who were held mainly responsible for the long series of tyrannical and illegal acts of Charles; Wentworth, earl of Strafford, and archbishop Laud. Some brief details of especial importance respecting these eleven years of absolute government will be helpful to us, when we come to consider the position and work of the Church of England at this period.

In finance, grave complications would necessarily arise when no popular House was summoned to grant the necessary supplies for carrying on the government. Between 1629 and 1635 Weston was lord

* Macaulay's essay, "Hampden."

treasurer. His prudent and economic administration, and his policy of peace, and the commercial prosperity which was the immediate result of his policy, was enormously helpful to the king. Yet, in spite of all care and prudence, many illegal devices had to be resorted to for supplying the needs of the royal exchequer. Curious and obsolete customs were revived as a means to extort money. Knighthood was forced on landed proprietors of estates of a certain value; supposed encroachments on crown lands on the part of neighbouring proprietors were heavily fined; new houses in London were enormously taxed on pain of forfeiture; monopolies were revived on a large scale; and vast sums of money were exacted from companies. Wine,

THOMAS WENTWORTH, FIRST EARL OF STRAFFORD.
(*From the portrait by Van Dyck.*)

soap, salt, and all manner of articles of daily consumption thus fell, owing to these iniquitous arrangements, into the hands of monopolists. Customs duties were rigidly exacted at all the ports of the realm. All classes and orders were more or less harassed by these proceedings. In 1635, however, Weston died, and after this even less care was paid to the legal character of the taxes and impositions raised. With strange imprudence, archbishop Laud, who occupied the second place in the king's confidence, induced his royal master to raise Juxon, bishop of London, to the high office. "No churchman," wrote Laud, with a sad infatuation, believing such an appointment at such an anxious time would be an honour and an advantage to the church, "had it since Henry VII.'s time. I pray God bless him (Juxon) to carry it so that the church may have honour and the state service and content by it. And now if the church will not hold up themselves, under God I can do no more."

The dread experiment of absolutism in England went on, the clouds round the throne growing ever darker. During the years 1635–1638 the question of the "ship money" tax specially agitated England. "Ship money" was an ancient tax levied upon the seaboard counties only, to provide a fleet in time of war. In the urgent stress and need of resources, the ministers of Charles directed that writs should be issued of ship-money along the towns of the coast, in order that vessels of war might be equipped, although the country was in a state of profound peace. The next step went even further: the writs were sent into the inland counties. Never before had England heard of such a thing. Not even when the mighty Armada was threatening the island shores, had such a writ been sent into the inland counties. The irritation and anger at this strange and iniquitous tax was widespread.

A gentleman of Buckinghamshire named Hampden, gifted with conspicuous ability and of rare singleness of purpose, of whom we shall hear again, when the sad Civil War began, stood forth as the champion of the people in this iniquitous matter of the "ship money." In 1638 the Exchequer Chamber, but only by a bare majority of the judges, pronounced against the bold and patriotic Englishman. But the long-drawn-out and bitter dispute on this question had effectually aroused the country to see in what danger were her most cherished privileges. They "had forced into light the real character of the royal Charles."

Laud and Strafford at this time were virtually supreme at the royal council board. Strafford, although in Ireland, was the real mainspring of all the royal measures. The intimacy between Laud and Strafford was deep, and apparently based upon mutual esteem and friendship. And Juxon, bishop of London, Laud's intimate friend, was lord treasurer. These things must not be forgotten when, as our story progresses, we relate the growth of animosity among the Puritans against the Church of England. The bitter enmity was grounded on other causes, and even on graver ones, than merely a dislike to church order and ancient ceremonies. The church under Laud committed a fatal error when it meddled with these civil matters, and, as must be confessed, ranged

itself, in the persons of its leaders, on the side of illegality and wrong.

While these financial questions, and the methods of solving them adopted by Strafford and archbishop Laud, were daily widening the breach between the king and people, the doings of the arbitrary Courts of the Star Chamber and High Commission were exerting a yet more fatal influence in the same direction. The Star Chamber, being mainly composed of the Privy Council, was virtually under the influence of the Crown. The court of High Commission was likewise made up of royal nominees. Under the personal government of Charles I. the great but somewhat indefinite powers of these courts were augmented. Through the mischievous instrumentality of these formidable tribunals, the king and his council were enabled to impose enormous fines; to imprison, pillage, and mutilate persons of any rank who had set themselves in opposition to the royal will. Against their decision there was absolutely no appeal. Even Clarendon, the royalist writer, perhaps with some exaggeration, tells us later that there was hardly a man of note in the realm who had not some personal experience of the oppressive measures of these courts. Some of the sentences passed and executed upon popular favourites, notably, the cruel treatment of William Prynne, a learned lawyer, whose writings had alarmed and disturbed the king and his advisers, excited a wide and general indignation in every part of the kingdom. The Star Chamber sentenced Prynne, for no other offence than this, to stand at the pillory, to lose his ears, to be dismissed from the Bar, and to be imprisoned during the king's pleasure.

It was, however, the treatment which Scotland underwent at the hands of the arbitrary government of the king, that immediately brought about events ultimately issuing in the great rebellion. The Scots, as a people, were Puritans, and in Scotland Puritanism had generally adopted the Calvinistic doctrines and Calvinistic discipline, known as Presbyterianism. King James, as we have seen, intensely disliked Presbyterianism. In England he gave it no countenance, and in his native country he determined, as far as he could, to discredit it and to undermine its influence among the people. But it required a greater than James Stuart, hereditary king of Scotland though he was, to effect such a change among his stern and fervently religious countrymen. Among them, in 1610, he planted Episcopacy. But in the Scotland of the seventeenth century, permeated as it was with the Calvinist Knox's passionate teaching, Episcopacy was an exotic, and took no root among the people.

In the hour of the seeming triumph of absolutism in England, Charles and Laud determined to stamp out Presbyterianism in Scotland. Canons, under the authority of the king, were issued, placing the government of the Scottish church in the hands of its bishops; and, what was more obnoxious still to the Presbyterians of the northern kingdom, a new liturgy, differing only in a few particulars from the English Service Book (the Book of Common Prayer), was drawn up for Scotland. This was first used in 1637, in Edinburgh, and became the occasion of a wild

riot. The discontent with these religious innovations became general throughout Scotland. In a few weeks four committees —popularly known as "the Tables"— assumed important powers. The religious question was in the forefront of their assumptions, but they dealt with other matters as well. The "National Covenant," which had been drawn up years before, in the days when Mary Stuart was plotting with Rome, was almost universally signed. The "Covenant" pledged the signatories to resist all contrary errors and corruptions to the utmost of their power all the days of their life, the said errors and corruptions being understood now to signify the innovations introduced by Charles and Laud. It was virtually a Scottish revolution.

Charles temporised, and sent a courtly noble, the Marquis of Hamilton, to meet the leaders of the revolt. A general assembly met at Glasgow, and demanded that the Book of Common Prayer should be withdrawn, and the new canons should be at once put aside; that the Court of High Commission should be abolished, and a free Parliament summoned. The king at first yielded; then withdrew his consent, and at once prepared for war with his stubborn Northern subjects. In the year 1639 the first Bishop's War, as it has been termed broke out. Charles's army was poorly equipped, and half-hearted besides. The feeling that Scotland was really fighting the cause of liberty in England, was generally felt even among Charles's forces. The Scottish troops, on the other hand, were largely composed of veteran soldiers who had fought and bled in the foreign wars which had so long been desolating Germany and the Continent. Fighting such an army with the inferior English levies, was felt by Charles's advisers a hopeless matter, and a pacification was agreed upon, reluctantly enough, at Berwick-upon-Tweed.

Thus ignominiously for Charles, the first Bishop's War terminated. But the king determined soon to renew the contest. Wentworth (lord Strafford) was recalled from Ireland. Recognising the hopelessness of the king's position, the great minister advised the calling once more of a Parliament. Thus, after an interval of just eleven years, once again the "Houses" met at Westminster. But the temper of Parliament was bitterly opposed to Charles and his government. Imperatively they demanded an immediate consideration of the many grievances of England, and in the forefront they placed a requirement that all idea of a war with Scotland should be abandoned. Charles at once refused; and after a session of only twenty-three days, this Parliament, known as the Short Parliament, was dissolved. This was in the April of 1640.

Events now succeeded each other in startling rapidity, and the end was near. Once again Charles, now accompanied by Strafford, marched northwards, hoping for a victory over the Scotch. This expedition is known as the second Bishop's War. Much of the programme of the first Bishop's War was repeated; Strafford quickly discerning that with the English forces at his disposal, no victory could be hoped for. Agreeing to pay the expenses of the Scottish campaign, by means of what in modern phraseology is

TRIAL OF LORD STRAFFORD.

(From the picture by Wm. Fiske in the Municipal Art Gallery, Salford.)

termed a war indemnity, a temporary peace was made.

One more wild effort to rule on the old lines of absolutism was made by Charles and Strafford. The king summoned a great council of peers at York, hoping that thus he might procure supplies. But the peers declined to support their sovereign in his unconstitutional proceedings, and advised him at once to summon a Parliament. There was no other course left. Scotland and the north of England were in open armed revolt, and the heart of England was apparently hopelessly alienated. Again "the Houses" were summoned; and in November, 1640, met that famous assembly which, for good and evil, sat so many years in session—the assembly known in history as the Long Parliament.

Very stern were the early measures of that renowned assembly. In a few months the edifice of absolute government so carefully built up by Charles and his ministers, was shattered, and the master-builders humbled to the dust. Strafford, the principal adviser and instrument in the king's eleven years' personal government, was at once impeached, and committed to the Tower. Laud, who was regarded as only second in guilt to Strafford, followed his friend to the same gloomy fortress, from which so few have ever emerged again as free men. Other and less prominent ministers fled the country. Early in 1641, with little delay, measures were passed dealing summarily with the principal grievances of the country. Ship-money was declared illegal. A statute was passed which stopped the crown from ever taxing the people in any form without the consent of the Parliament. The civil and criminal jurisdiction of the Courts of Star Chamber and of the High Commission was abolished. As the result of a Committee of Religion, a bill was even framed for the removal of the bishops from the House of Lords. Before the March of 1641 had run its course, Strafford stood on his trial to answer for his many misdeeds against the liberties of England.

For fifteen days the terrible trial went on. Its scene was Westminster Hall, and the whole of the House of Commons was present, the king and queen looking on and listening to their great servant defending himself with matchless temper and skill. It was difficult, perhaps impossible, to bring home the charge of treason to the fallen minister. So the enemies of the great minister of absolutism brought in a Bill of Attainder; eventually this passed both Houses; and to his undying shame king Charles consented to his own servant's death. Was it cowardice, or a momentary overwhelming conviction that his course had been an unrighteous one, that induced him to give up his most faithful friend? No one can say; and in truth, Charles Stuart's character is, after all, a strange and sad enigma.

Strafford died as many other great ones have died—guilty and innocent—in front of the grim state Prison House of England, with extraordinary fortitude. When told of the vast crowds assembled to see him die, he replied: "I know how to look death in the face, and the people too. I thank God I am no more afraid of death; but I put off my doublet as gladly now as I ever did when I went to bed."

We may glance very rapidly through the events of the last year before the Civil War. For the present, Laud was not dealt with, but was left in close confinement in the Tower. In July, 1641, through the efforts of the Long Parliament, the war indemnity was paid to the Scottish army, and a treaty with Scotland was signed. The crying grievances had now been redressed. Strafford, the minister of absolutism, lay in his blood-stained shroud; Laud the archbishop, his coadjutor in the royal tyranny, was a close prisoner; the less prominent ministers were in exile. All power to impose taxes or to levy customs duties was for ever taken from the crown, save with the consent of the Commons. The famous courts which had been the too-faithful instruments of the personal government of Charles, had been done away with. Only the ecclesiastical innovations, as the Puritan House of Commons deemed them, remained to be inquired into. Laud had fallen, but Laud's suffragans were still the rulers of the Church of England. The majority in that stern Puritan House, in spite of vehement opposition in the Lords, brought forward a "root and branch" bill, as it was termed, for the *entire abolition of bishops* in the church.

Such a measure provoked, as may well be conceived, serious opposition. Noble and patriotic men like Lucius Carey, Lord Falkland, Hyde (afterwards Lord Clarendon), Verney, and others who thought like Falkland, while dreading absolutism, were not prepared to destroy the church, although the church seemed allied to the royal cause and all that the royal cause had signified in late years. The king entrusted offices of state to these moderate men of the Parliament which had accomplished such sweeping reforms; and for a moment it seemed as though things might be peaceably arranged, and a more constitutional government firmly established without trenching on the immemorial prerogatives of the kings of England; but, alas! no one could trust Charles Stuart.

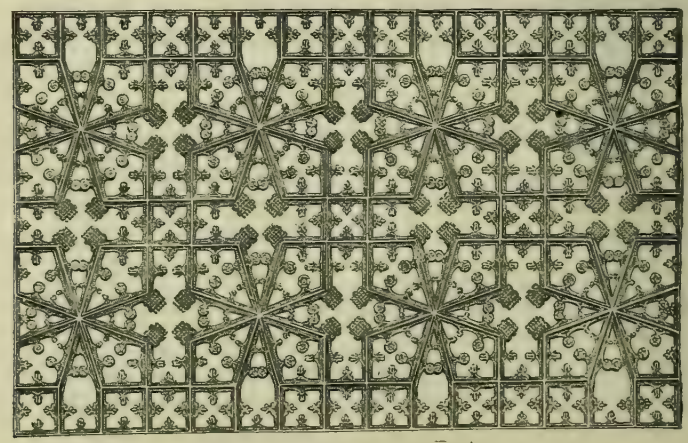
In the November of that sad year, came the news of a terrible rising in Ireland. Strafford had ruled with a strong though cruel hand; the result of his fall was a fierce rising among the Celtic inhabitants of the unhappy island. Murder, plunder, and rapine did their dread work among the English colonists. Terrible stories of awful cruelties perpetrated by the Irish insurgents appalled all England. As many as 30,000 men, women and children (the number has been probably exaggerated) were said to have fallen victims to the Irish fury. Imperatively needed was a strong army from England to put down this desolating insurrection. But the English Parliament so deeply mistrusted Charles, that they dared not raise an armed force under the authority of the crown. Would not such an armed force be too surely used against the Commons, and serve as an instrument eventually to restore the royal tyranny? There was, however, a party which shrank from this mistrust—a party composed of men like Falkland and Hyde, who longed for peace, and would still have worked with the king. These, although they were bitterly opposed to the old absolutism of Strafford, constituted what may be fairly termed a royalist party.

In the Commons there was a lengthy and impassioned debate. The Puritans, under

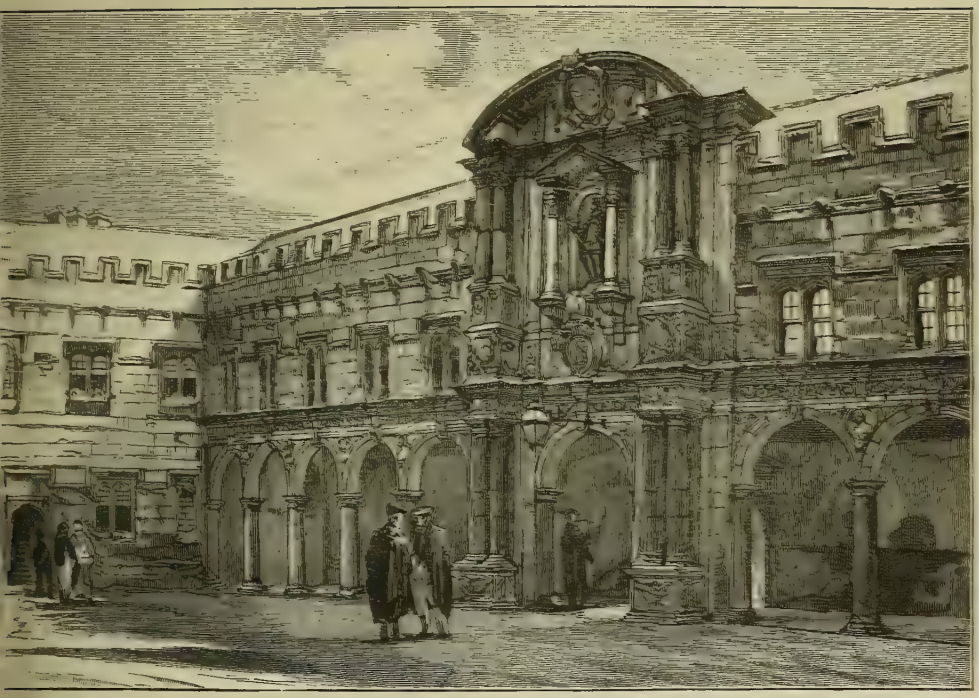
the guidance of Pym, laid before the House "the Grand Remonstrance," which has been well termed "a vote of want of confidence" in the king. It recounted from the Puritan point of view the story of the errors of the past eleven years and demanded certain grave and drastic reforms, especially the appointment of ministers responsible to Parliament, and the consideration of ecclesiastical difficulties by an assembly of divines nominated by the Parliament. The Royalists in the House protested strongly against it. But a small majority carried their point. The Grand Remonstrance was eventually printed and presented to the king, who sullenly received it.

Early in the following year, 1642, Charles determined on a fatal step. He impeached before the House of Lords, Pym, Hampden, and three others of the more prominent Puritan leaders, alleging that they had been guilty of treason, having entered into communication with the Scots during the late troubles. The Commons, however, demurred to their arrest. The king at once, in defiance of the ancient privileges of Parliament, accompanied with an armed band of followers, in person went down to the House to fetch the traitors, as he termed them; but the threatened members, fearing for their liberty if not for their lives, hearing of his intention, had taken refuge in the City of London. The senseless outrage of Charles, in thus attempting to terrify the House with armed men, excited wide and general indignation. London refused to give up the accused members, and the king, now sensible of the storm he had raised, and alarmed for his personal safety, left Whitehall; only to return to it as a prisoner after the end of the fatal war. In August of the same year, 1642, the royal standard was hoisted at Nottingham; and royalists were bidden to rally round it, and to aid the king in bringing to a sense of their duty a rebellious Parliament. The great Civil War had begun.*

* Compare Gardiner: "Puritan Revolution," chap. vi., sec. iv. v.



CEILING OF THE STAR CHAMBER.



ARCHBISHOP LAUD'S LIBRARY, EAST QUADRANGLE, ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD.

CHAPTER LXIV.

ARCHBISHOP LAUD.

Permanence of Laud's Influence—Sketch of His Early Life—Reforms as Dean of Gloucester—James I. and Laud's first Bishopric—Controversy with the Jesuit Fisher—Growing Favour with Charles I.—Zeal for the Royal Prerogative, and its Reasons in Church Policy—Absolutist Measures as Adviser of the Crown, and their Calamitous Effect on Popular Opinion—His Ecclesiastical Policy—Diversities in Practice—The Stamp of Laud's Work in producing a Uniform Standard—Succeeds to the Primacy in 1633—Irregularities found during his first Visitation—Persistent Measures for securing Greater Uniformity and Reverence in the Church Services—Church Restoration—St. Paul's—The Puritan Dislike for Stateliness in Building or Worship—Timeliness of Laud's Work—His Services to Oxford—And to the Church at large—The Convocation of 1640—The Laudian Canons—Impeachment of Laud and Strafford—Their final Farewell—Trial and Execution of the Archbishop—Reaction in his favour—Laud and the Roman Church—Breadth of his Views—Final Influence on the King.

[N the History of the Church of England during the momentous period we have been briefly sketching, the work and influence of one great man must be dwelt upon at some length. During the last nine or ten years of the reign of James I., and still more in the days of his successor Charles I., the figure of William Laud occupies the principal position in the picture. All other figures on the canvas are subordinate to his. To find a parallel to the place filled by this great

churchman, we must go back to the far-past days of Dunstan, Lanfranc, Anselm, or Becket. Nor has his surpassing influence been limited to his own day and time; much of his work has endured to ours. Bitterly opposed, often misunderstood, vilified perhaps more than any great churchman in the records of Christianity, dying in the end, after a long and weary captivity, the death of a traitor, to which his successful enemies consigned him, amidst the ruins of a fallen church, his whole life-work was apparently a disastrous failure. But the strange turn of the wheel of fortune, after a few short years, restored the church over which he had presided, and which he loved so well, to its ancient place in the hearts of the English people; and this restored Church of England bore the imprint which Laud had stamped upon it.

It has been the fashion with some of our most brilliant and popular historians to vilify Laud's memory and to belittle his doings. He stands out in the canvas of these great historical word-painters a mean and shabby figure. With Carlyle, for instance, Laud and his friend bishop Neile, of Winchester, were "a frightfully ceremonial pair of bishops, the fountain they of innumerable tendencies to papistry, and the old clothes of Babylon." Again he writes of him when with Charles I. in Edinburgh, thus: "The chapel at Holyrood House was fitted up with every equipment, textile and metallic, and little bishop Laud in person performed the service in a way to illuminate the benighted natives, as was hoped; show them how an artist could do it." Little pity showed Carlyle to the fallen archbishop: "What a Christmas of that old London, of that old year! On the 6th February following, Episcopacy will be voted down, with blaze of bonfires and ringing of all the bells, very audible to poor old Dr. Laud over in the Tower yonder." And of the end of the famous archbishop he thus writes: "The Presbyterian system is now getting fast into action. On the 20th May, 1647, the Synod of London, with one prolocutor or moderator, met in St. Paul's. . . . Poor old Laud is condemned of treason, and beheaded, years ago [Laud suffered in 1645], the Scots after Marston fight pressing heavy on him; Prynne, too, being very ungrateful. That performance of the service to the Hyperborean population in so exquisite a way [at Holyrood, referred to above] has cost the artist dear. He died very gently; his last scene much the best for himself and for us." *

Another of our famous masters in history, who in his way enjoys a wider popularity even than Carlyle, describes Laud as "by nature rash, irritable, quick to feel for his own dignity, slow to sympathise with the sufferings of others, and prone to the error common in superstitious men of mistaking his own peevish and malignant moods for emotions of pious zeal." † The same historian in another place thus pictures the great primate: "Charles I. had two counsellors, who seconded him, or went behind him, in intolerance and lawless violence; the one (Laud) a superstitious driveller, as honest as a vile temper would

* "Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches" Introduction (1629–1633), and part ii. (1641) and part iii. (1647).

† Lord Macaulay: "History of England," chap. i

suffer him to be. Never were faces more strikingly characteristic of the individuals to whom they belonged than those of Laud and Strafford, as they still remain portrayed by the most skilful hand (Vandyke's) of that age. The mean forehead, the pinched features, the peering eyes of the prelate, suit admirably with his disposition. They mark him out as a lower kind of St. Dominic, differing from the fierce and gloomy enthusiast who founded the Inquisition, as we may imagine the familiar imp of a spiteful witch to differ from an archangel of darkness. When we read his grace's judgments . . . we feel a movement of indignation. We turn to his diary, and we are at once as cool as contempt can make us. . . . Here was a man to have the superintendence of the opinions of a great nation." *

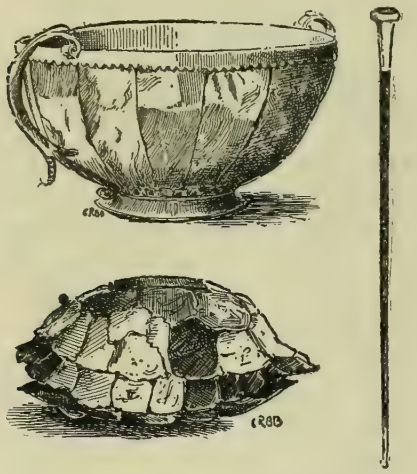
The famous archbishop of Charles I., who closed his work-filled life on the scaffold beneath the shadow of the Tower in 1645, was born in 1573, when Elizabeth was at the height of her glory. He belonged to a respectable well-to-do family of traders in the historic town of Reading. A brilliant, scholarly boy, a painstaking, industrious Oxford student, he passed through the various grades of a scholar's life, till we find him a tutor and lecturer of the college (St. John's) of which he subsequently became president, and with which his name will be for ever associated.

When Laud became a teacher at Oxford the prevailing theology of the university was Calvinistic, and the most influential of the Calvinists was Dr. George Abbot, master of University College and vice-chancellor. Abbot and his party endeavoured to trace the visible and true church through such obscure sects as the Berengarians, the Albigenses, Wicliffites, and Hussites, down to Calvin; sects which, exaggerating the original doctrines of their founders, had constantly lapsed into grave errors in doctrine and practice. Laud, on the other hand, taught that the Church of England had lived from the earliest times one consecutive life, through its succession of bishops derived from British and Roman sources. In the Calvinistic teaching current in the days when Laud startled the university with his lectures, the sacraments held a comparatively subordinate place, and the divine origin of the episcopacy, if not openly denied, was ignored. In his theses for the degree of B.D. in 1604, the young theologian of St. John's maintained two positions which awakened great attention and aroused considerable opposition: the first, that baptism was necessary to salvation; and the second, that there could be no true church without diocesan bishops. If the latter position were accepted, the churches of Calvin and Knox would be necessarily regarded as lacking what was absolutely needful for a true church. Laud's theology was supported by the great learning and intense earnestness of the teacher, and he was supplied besides with the powerful weapons lately forged by Hooker in his great work, weapons which were being used with rare force and power by Andrewes and the men of his school.

He excited naturally intense opposition, and Abbot became his life-long enemy. A grave mistake of Laud's in 1605, when

* Essay on Lord Nugent's "Memorials of Hampden."

he consented to perform the marriage ceremony between lord Mountjoy, earl of Devonshire, to whom he was chaplain, and the divorced Lady Rich, discredited him for a season; and for some five years he lived in retirement, serving country livings, away from any important centre. In this period of his life he attracted the attention of Neile, then



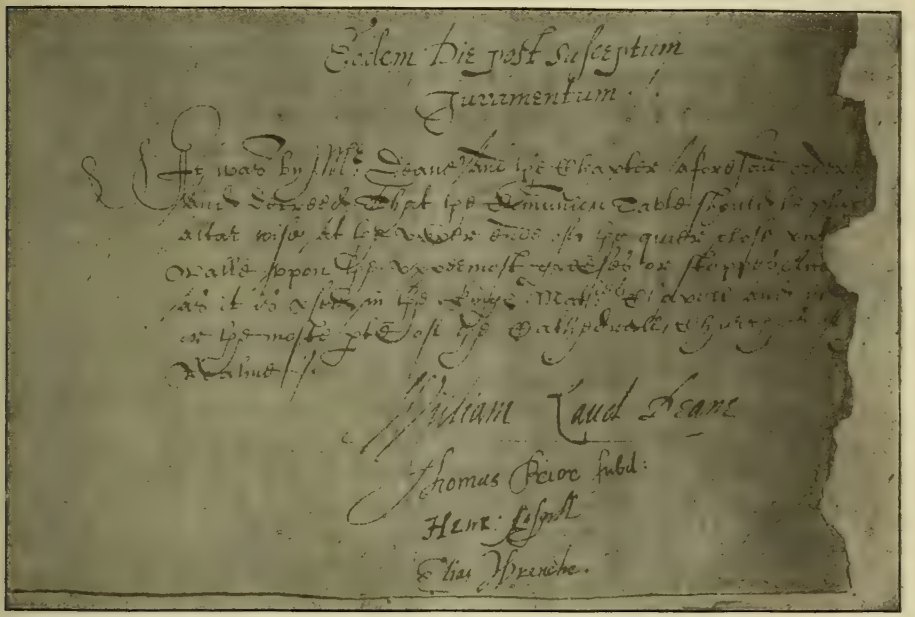
ARCHBISHOP LAUD'S CAUDLE CUP, WALKING STICK, AND THE SHELL OF HIS TORTOISE.

bishop of Rochester, who introduced him to king James I., before whom he preached, and on whom he produced a favourable impression, for the king never lost sight of him again. In 1611, not without considerable opposition, he was elected to the presidency of his college, St. John's, and returning to Oxford, he became a great power in the University. His own college, under his rule, was enlarged, the numbers of its students increased; as an administrator his reputation stood high.

In this quiet period of his life, we may reasonably conclude, were matured his theories of church government and discipline, and, above all, of ritual observance. The want of order and reverence, the absence of uniformity in ritual and ceremonies, in so many English churches, deeply impressed Laud, and to remedy this state of things became the desire of his life. Those who admire much in his earnest character, who recognise his unselfish longing to promote the glory of God, who are sensible of his single-hearted desire to make the Church of England a fitting shrine of Christian truth, to render her services beautiful and reverential, winning and comforting, will mourn indeed that circumstances, strange and unexpected, should have drawn him aside from the path he had well and wisely chosen for himself—the path of a church reformer, doing the work he was so admirably fitted to carry out—into the thorny and confused pathway of seventeenth century politics, where he found work he was eminently unfitted to carry out.

Laud's successful Oxford career, and his known views upon church order and discipline, so lacking in the days of king James I., determined the king to advance him, to place him in a more conspicuous position than the one he occupied as the head of the Oxford College, and where his energies in the work of introducing order and reverence in divine service, in ritual and in practice, would find a larger and more conspicuous field. So in 1616 James I. appointed him to the vacant deanery of Gloucester. The great cathedral over which Laud was now called upon to preside was a conspicuous instance of the slovenly, careless way in

which, owing to various influences, church worship was performed even in the most stately houses of prayer. In a letter written by him, shortly after his appointment, to Dr. Miles Smith, the bishop of Gloucester, we see what was in the king's mind when he made the appointment. and took as good order (as in so short a space I could) both for the repair of some parts of the edifice of the church, and for redress of other things amiss. Among the rest, not rashly and of myself, but by a chapter act, I removed the communion table from the middle of



CHAPTER ACT ORDERING THE COMMUNION TABLE OF GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL TO BE MOVED FROM THE MIDDLE END OF THE CHOIR TO THE UPPER END, SIGNED BY LAUD WHEN DEAN OF GLOUCESTER.
(*From Records in possession of the Dean and Chapter of Gloucester.*)

"His majesty," wrote the dean, "was graciously pleased to tell me he was informed that there was scarce ever a church in England so ill-governed and so much out of order; and withal required me in general to reform and set in order what I found amiss. Hereupon at my being at Gloucester I acquainted the chapter with that which his majesty had said to me and required at my hands; the quire to the upper end, the place appointed to it both by the injunctions of the church and by the practice of all the king's majesty's chapels, and all other cathedral churches in the kingdom which I have seen."

This act of Laud immediately upon his appointment, had gravely displeased the bishop, who, although a profound Hebrew scholar and one of the translators of the

Bible, was a strict Calvinist, and belonged to the more rigid body of the Puritan party. The bishop had said that if the dean persisted in his proceedings in the cathedral, he would never again enter the church. It is said he adhered steadily to this determination, to the day of his death in 1624.

Besides removing the communion table and placing it at the east end of the choir, against the wall, Laud urged upon the prebendaries and other officers of the church to adopt the practice of making a reverent obeisance on entering the choir. This latter was a favourite practice of Laud's, and one that gave great offence to the Puritans when he pressed it generally throughout the kingdom. There was in Gloucester a considerable party at first opposed to the Laudian innovations; but all opposition seems soon to have died away, and during his six years' tenure of the office of dean, the city and the officers of the church, with the exception of the bishop, generally acquiesced in his wishes that an orderly and reverent service might be maintained in the cathedral church.

With king James, Laud's influence grew more marked, and we find him among the king's principal advisers in his attempts to bring the Presbyterian Scottish Church to a conformity with the Church of England. Their attempts, however, were not favourably received, and late in the reign of king Charles, when they were renewed, were—as we have already seen—among the principal cause sof the Scottish troubles.

In 1621 the dean of Gloucester was consecrated bishop of St. David's. Laud relates the circumstances of his new appointment in his diary: "The king," he says, "spoke graciously concerning my long service. He was pleased to say he had given me nothing but Gloucester, which he well knew was a shell without a kernel, and on June 29 (1621) he gave me the grant of the bishopric of St. David's."

From this time Laud was much at court, and his intimacy with and influence over Buckingham, the all-powerful favourite, began. With Prince Charles (afterwards Charles I.) he also became acquainted, and laid the foundation of that future friendship with the doomed Stuart king, which ended so fatally for both sovereign and for subject. A curious and suggestive story connected with Laud's first bishopric is told by bishop Hacket, who dwells upon James's reluctance to make Laud a bishop. Dr. Williams, then lord keeper, the dean of Westminster, was advanced to the see of Lincoln. It was expected that Laud, the dean of Gloucester, would succeed him at Westminster. Williams, an ambitious and, with all his great abilities, a self-seeking man, who was no friend to Laud, urged that the dean of Gloucester might have the distant and uninfluential see of St. David's, probably desiring that he himself might be allowed to retain the Westminster deanery in addition to his other pieces of preferment. The king, fearing the impracticable nature of Laud, objected; but at length yielded to the arguments urged upon him. "Take him to you," said king James, "but on my soul you will repent it." If Hacket's story be true, James's strange words show an almost prophetic insight into the far

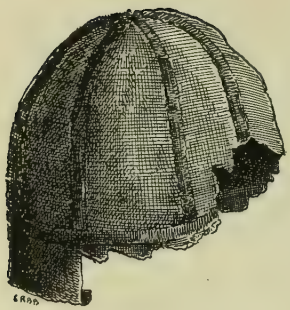
future not altogether improbable in the curiously composite character of the first Stuart monarch, a character made up of great wisdom and great folly. "It may be that James, though he saw Laud's fitness for presiding over the public services of such a church as Westminster, and appreciated to the full his learning, devotion to the throne, and his hatred of Puritanism, was yet well aware that he was singularly unfitted by nature for an office which, like that of a bishop, demanded no ordinary temper and discretion." *

Not long after his consecration to the see of St. David's, Laud was engaged in a public controversy with the Jesuit, Fisher, who was the chosen champion in England of that indefatigable society of Roman missionaries. Fisher, whose real name was Percy, had obtained considerable influence in England, notably over some very distinguished personages at court. Conferences were held between the Jesuits and certain English scholar divines, of whom Laud was the principal. The questions debated included the adoration of images, the invocation of saints, the adoration of the sacrament, the administration in one kind only, the doctrine of Purgatory, and prayer being offered in a tongue not understood by the people. The king himself was present during part of these conferences, in 1622. Later, Laud published his account of the third and most important of their disputings under the title of "A Relation of the Conference between William Lawd, the lord bishop of St, David's, now lord archbishop of Canterbury, and Mr. Fisher, the Jesuit; by the command of King James, of ever blessed memorie, 1639."

The book thus setting forth the arguments of Laud and the doctrinal questions at issue between the Churches of Rome and England, was a most learned and exhaustive compilation. It was considered at the time to be the weightiest book on the subject, and it still maintains its high reputation in controversial literature. It has been dwelt on here with some emphasis, as showing that the later formidable attacks on Laud as a Romaniser were baseless. The great churchman undoubtedly valued ritual, and forms and ceremonies in worship, which he loved to trace to a remote antiquity. He believed in their use as a powerful agent on the human mind; and some, no doubt, would view with suspicion certain of the forms and ceremonies he restored or re-introduced into the worship of the Church of England, as having a superstitious Romeward tendency. But that he was a loyal and consistent defender of the Church of England, and emphatically no Romaniser, his book against Fisher, which is still with us, is an ample proof.

In later years, when troubles crowded thickly upon the doomed archbishop, the charge so constantly and persistently made against him of sympathising with Rome, was warmly, even passionately, refuted. In his letter of 1640, resigning reluctantly and sorrowfully the chancellorship of his loved university of Oxford, it being impossible, Laud said, for one suffering a captivity with a very uncertain issue, adequately to discharge the duties of such

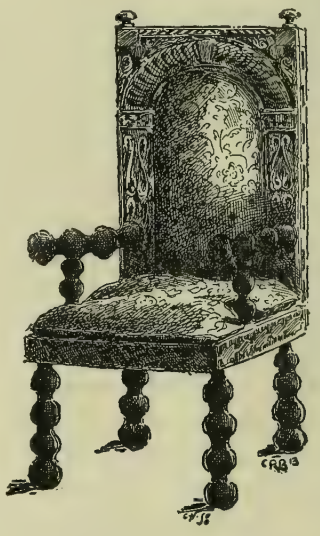
* Gardiner: "History of England," chap. xxxv. (1621). Williams and Laud eventually became bitter and irreconcilable foes. Williams was subsequently archbishop of York, and survived his great rival, dying in 1650.



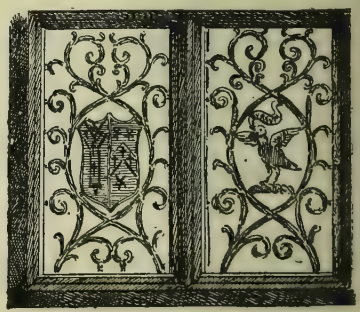
ARCHBISHOP LAUD'S SKULL-CAP.

an office; he wrote: "It is *vox populi* that I am Romishly affected. How earnest I have been in my disputation, exhortations and otherwise, to quench such sparks lest they should become coals, I hope after my death you will all acknowledge." In his speech in 1641 before the lords, when he was first impeached, before his committal to the Tower, he was especially grieved and indignant at being accused of trying to introduce Roman superstitions into the Church of England, he who had given so much of his time and thoughts to the suppression of Romanism, specially appealing to his book against the Jesuit Fisher. In the course of the long trial before the lords in 1643–4, which lasted five months, and in which he was heard for twenty days in his own defence, he again dwelt on this accusation, urging that if it had really been in his mind to blast the true religion established in the Church of England and to introduce Popery, he had surely taken a wrong method to carry out his plans. He had been, he urged, the instrument whereby many had been stayed from joining the Roman Church, and alluded again particularly to the controversy with Fisher the Jesuit.

Laud was preaching before the court at Whitehall a Lenten sermon, when the unexpected news of king James I.'s death on March 27, 1625, arrived. With the new sovereign and with his favourite, Buckingham, the bishop of St. David's was in high favour. The enthusiasm of Laud for ceremonial, for increased reverence in divine worship, for a general conformity in religion, were in perfect sympathy with Charles I.'s marked inclinations, while the strong views of the great churchman in the matter of the royal prerogative were well known and highly acceptable, and paved the way to a yet deeper intimacy between the king and the bishop. The arrangements connected with the coronation were entrusted to him, and after his fall he was taken to task for certain of the ceremonies which formed part of the splendid pageant.



ARCHBISHOP LAUD'S CHAIR.

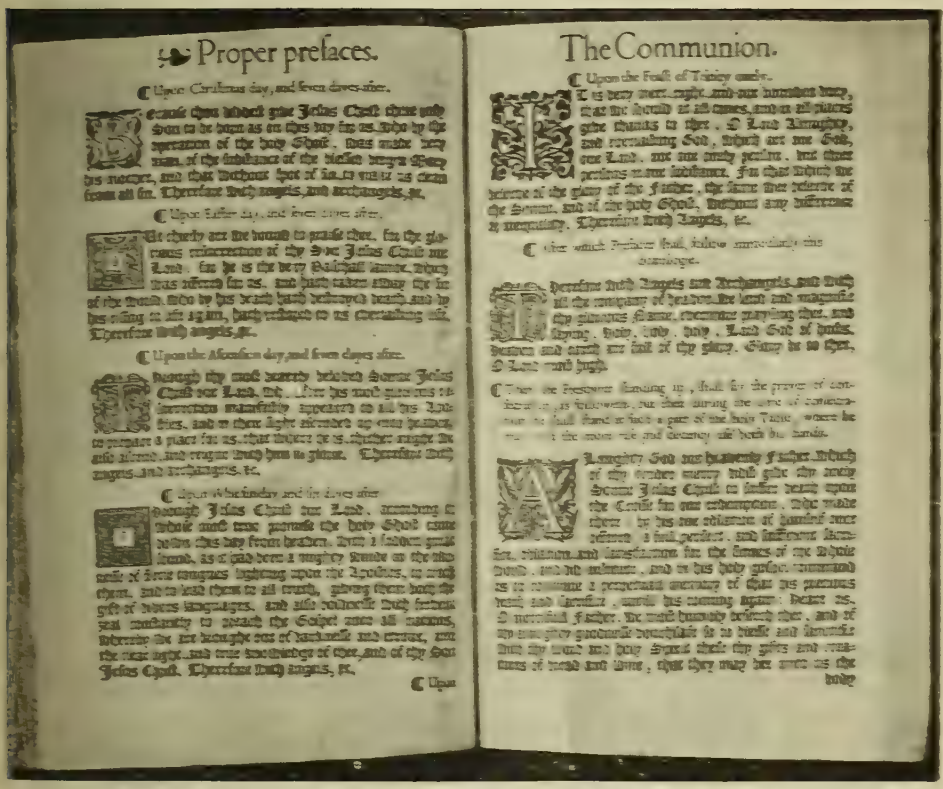


DOORS OF BOOKCASE BELONGING TO ARCHBISHOP LAUD.

n his defence he alleged that the things complained of, notably the three swords offered up on the altar of the storied Abbey of Westminster, for the constant service of the kingdom, and for the honour of the kingdom and the church, belonged to the ancient coronation ceremonies of the kings of England.

Promotion quickly followed. On the death of bishop Andrewes he was appointed dean of the chapels royal, and as dean arranged the ritual of the king's worship. As adviser of Charles, he was asked early in the reign for a list of the leading divines in the church who were eligible for preferment, and supplied Charles with a list of churchmen carefully marked with the letters P or O (Puritan and Orthodox) against each name. The following year (1626) witnessed his translation from his distant Welsh diocese to the English see of Bath and Wells.

He continued to rise in the king's favour. Laud's conception of the sovereign's prerogative was in perfect harmony with his royal master's, and it was of great importance that an able and eloquent ecclesiastic of the highest rank should act as leader of



Proper prefaces.

Upon Christmas day, and seven dayes after.

Upon Easter day, and seven dayes after.

Upon the Ascension day, and seven dayes after.

Upon Whitsunday and seven dayes after

The Communion.

Upon the Feast of Trinity onely.

Immediately before the Consecration, and both all the company of heaven, we laud and magnifie thy glorious Name, evermore praysing thee, and saying, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of hosts, heaven and earth are full of thy glory. Glory be to thee, O Lord most high.

AGES FROM THE PRAYER BOOK APPOINTED BY ARCHBISHOP LAUD TO BE READ IN SCOTLAND, 1636, CONTAINING PART OF THE COMMUNION SERVICE. (*British Museum*)

the influential and numerous church party. Sentiments like those to which Laud gave utterance in his celebrated sermon at the opening of the parliamentary session of 1626 would no doubt be soon published, conned over, and repeated in several hundred centres of more or less importance, by clergy who admired and would imitate the great churchman. "Never fear him," alluding here to king Charles I., said Laud in this much criticised discourse, "for God is with him. He (Charles) will not depart from God's service, nor from the honourable care of his people."

Laud had a very definite policy in regard to the Church of England. He was determined to crush out all diversity, and to enforce a rigid uniformity in service and ritual; and he was well aware that his views were intensely obnoxious to many still in communion with the English church. He needed, he felt, some power which should co-operate with him, and which, if necessary, would exercise even force to compel obedience; and only in the sovereign he recognised the probability of such a power being put into action. Hence his fervid zeal at this period of his career for the royal prerogative. These thoughts and aims cherished by Laud had been already expressed in a bold and somewhat obnoxious form by one who intensely sympathised with him in his aims and views—Montague, who was shortly after, no doubt through Laud's influence, appointed to the bishopric of Chichester. Montague, in his well-known and much attacked book, the "Appello Cæsarem," had in a few plain words at the end of his work given expression to the Laudian thought. Addressing the king, in th name of the church, he wrote: "Defen thou me with the sword, and I will de fend thee with the pen." The clos and intimate alliance, which he desire to cement between the crown and th church, was well expressed some yea later (1636), when Laud in his diar wrote of the appointment of bishop Juxo of London to the post of high treasurer. This was, however, an unfortunate ap pointment, and identified the Church o England yet more closely with the uncon stitutional action of Charles I., althoug bishop Juxon, during his tenure (some si years) of his high office, behaved wit the greatest moderation and wisdom, s as to earn the high encomium passed upo him by lord Falkland when he spok against the royal policy in the Lon Parliament. "He" (Juxon), said the grea parliamentarian, "in an unexpected plac and power, expressed an equal moderatio and humility, being neither ambitiou before nor proud after, either of a crosie or of the white staff."

The influence of Laud with Charle continued to grow. We find several o his friends and intimates promoted in th church. To take some examples: bisho Neile, his former patron, was translate to Winchester; Howson, one of his mos trusted supporters, became bishop of th great see of Durham; Buckridge, anothe of his friends, became bishop of Ely. Lau himself, in 1628, on the promotion of th old bishop of London, was appointed t the spiritual oversight of the great city and he virtually exercised the chie authority in the church until 1633, whe

* The passage is quoted on p. 34.

on the death of Abbot, who had long been in royal disfavour, he became primate.

Unhappily for Laud's fame, the high favour in which he stood with the king did far more for him than merely procure him that successive translation from his distant Welsh see of St. David's to the English Bath and Wells, from Bath and Wells to the great metropolis, and eventually from London to the arch-see of Canterbury. An opinion has been advanced, that too much has been ascribed to Laud's individual action in political affairs. There is, however, no doubt but that after the murder of Buckingham in 1628, Laud and Wentworth (better known as the earl of Strafford) for some years were the king's principal advisers in state matters. One of his learned biographers * does not even hesitate to use a word familiar in the history of our own times, though scarcely legitimate in the seventeenth century, to express Laud's power during a large portion of those eleven years during which Charles ruled without a Parliament. He styles him "Premier," and in relating the events of 1640, speaks of Laud's "Premiership" being at end. He was the intimate friend of Wentworth; but Wentworth's actual work, after he left the North of England until 1640, lay almost entirely in Ireland. It is certain that nothing of importance was done during these years without Wentworth being consulted; it is even probable that this great though mistaken statesman, initiated most, if not all, the acts of Charles's government, and that Laud, in state matters, was rather the representative of Wentworth's wishes than an originator himself. But Laud, it must be remembered, was ever at Whitehall, by the king's side, and a devoted friendship ever existed between the sovereign and the bishop. After Weston (who subsequently became earl of Portland) died in 1635, Laud accepted a seat on the Board of Commissioners of the Treasury, where he exercised, naturally, the chief influence. In 1636 his faithful friend and staunch supporter, Juxon, became lord treasurer. Windebank, another of his personal adherents, was, at his recommendation, appointed secretary of state. Nor was Laud's activity, during the period of Charles I.'s absolute government, confined to home matters only; he was also concerned in foreign affairs, and in the foreign policy of the country the weight of his great influence was felt.

In after years, however, when the whole of the king's policy was called into question, and his ministers were impeached or went into voluntary exile, as did secretary Windebank, no part of Laud's administration was so severely judged by the voice of popular opinion as was his share in the proceedings of the obnoxious and tyrannical Courts of Star Chamber and of High Commission. In both of these detested courts Laud was the ruling spirit; nor was his voice apparently ever raised with any view of mitigating the cruel and often utterly disproportionate punishment which was meted out to the hapless offenders against the king's policy; to men, whose crime had principally been that they had spoken or written against the arbitrary rule inaugurated by the king and his advisers, of whom, after Strafford, Laud loomed largest in the public eye. The punishments inflicted by these tribunals included, besides

* Mr. Simpkinson.

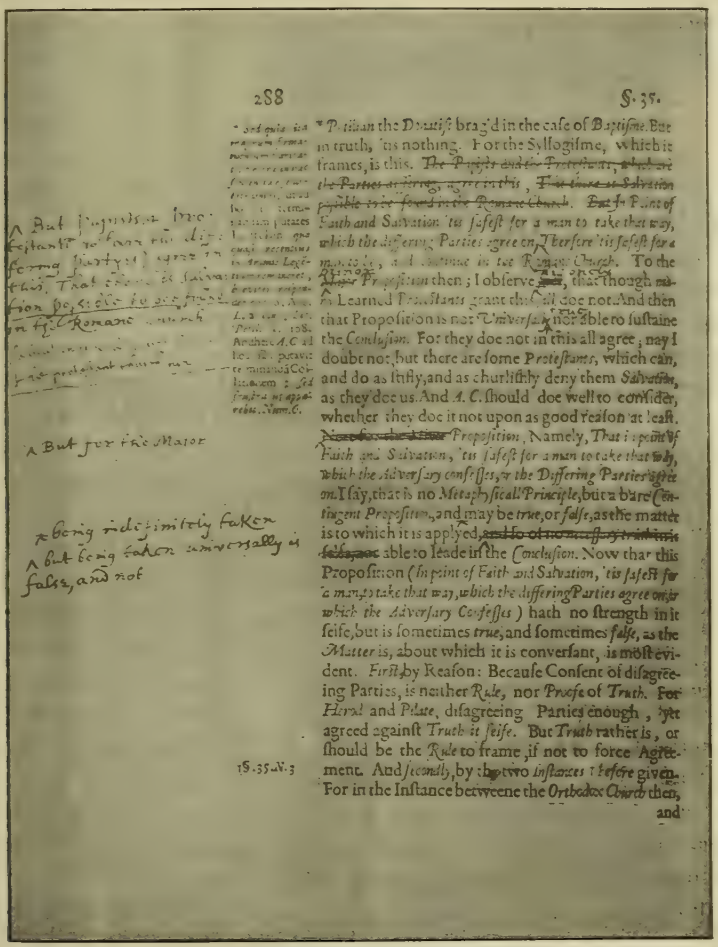
long and weary imprisonment and the imposition of crushing fines, such cruel sentences as the loss of both ears by the executioner's knife, and standing for hours in the public pillory ; in some well-known cases even popular favourites being the unfortunate victims of these acts.

It would be a mistake to suppose that the government of Charles, with Laud and Wentworth as his ministers, unconstitutional though it was, and stained also with the tyranny of the Star Chamber and High Commission, was a failure in its endeavour to increase the prosperity and happiness of England. Both of these statesmen were emphatically men of commanding genius. Wentworth, had his splendid powers been directed by an Elizabeth, would have ranked among the foremost of the long line of English statesmen ; and Laud, had not his unfortunate master called him to take a prominent share in the affairs of the state in addition to his own legitimate work in the church, would have been one of the greatest and most efficient of the Anglican or even of the pre-Reformation prelates. Even Laud's enemies, and those who find most fault with his state policy, and can find no kind word of approval for his ecclesiastical measures, are obliged to recognise that the life of the great enemy of liberty, as they style the archbishop of Charles I., was a pure and spotless one, faultlessly honest, utterly devoid of self-seeking.

The fair historian must also concede that the eleven years of absolute rule, during which no Parliament was summoned, were, on the whole, years of prosperity for the country. At the treasury economy and scrupulous honesty would have done much to redress the balanc between the royal receipts and expendi ture, if only the regular taxes usuall authorised by Parliament had flowed int the exchequer. Commerce decidedl flourished in this period, a postal syste was established, mercantile companies wer founded, and the trade of the country wa very largely increased. The royal flee was vastly strengthened, and again th flag of England, which had won suc distinction in the reign of Elizabet began to be respected and feared on th seas. But in spite of all this real prosperity a feeling of profound distrust and fear fo the future kept gaining ground. Neve even in the days of the strongest of th Plantagenet kings, had the sovereign arro gated to himself such powers as Charle and his ministers claimed for the crown.

How it all ended, the immediate caus of the great Civil War with its disastrou consequences to the king, being, as w have already seen, the uprising in Scotlan provoked by the attempt of Charles t substitute the Episcopal for the Presby terian form of church government, nee not be further recapitulated. Before th close of 1640 the famous Long Parliamen met, and almost its first act was the im peachment of Strafford (Wentworth). Thi was quickly followed by the impeachment o Laud, and the last days of the year foun him a prisoner of state. Branded as traitor, and subsequently executed, hi memory has ever since been hopelessl scarred with the too true charge, tha during his long tenure of influence an power his aim had been to subvert th English constitution, and to establish despotism. Thus the really great service

of Laud to the church have been generally forgotten, and the memory only of his long and arbitrary administration has been other and real claims to respect and admiration have been rarely remembered. Yet the great and enduring services of Laud



288 §. 35.

Pelican the Deuiſt brag'd in the caſe of Baptiſme. But in truth, 'tis nothing. For the Syllogiſme, which it frames, is this. The Papiſts and the Proteſtants, and all the Parties differing, agree that this, That there is Salvation poſſible to be found in the Romane Church. But for Point of Faith and Salvation 'tis ſafeſt for a man to take that way, which the differing Parties agree on. Therefore 'tis ſafeſt for a man to live in the Romane Church. To the Major Propoſition then; I obſerve, that though many Learned Proteſtants grant the Caſe doe not. And then that Propoſition is not Univerſally true, nor able to ſuſtaine the Concluſion. For they doe not in this all agree; nay I doubt not, but there are ſome Proteſtants, which can, and do as ſtiffly, and as churliſhly deny them Salvation, as they doe us. And A. C. ſhould doe well to conſider, whether they doe it not upon as good reaſon at leaſt. Now for the Minor Propoſition, Namely, That in point of Faith and Salvation, 'tis ſafeſt for a man to take that way, which the Adverſary confeſſes, or the Differing Parties agree on. I ſay, that is no Metaphyſicall Principle, but a bare Contingent Propoſition, and may be true, or falſe, as the matter is to which it is applyed, and ſo of no uſe at all to him to ſolace able to leade in the Concluſion. Now that this Propoſition (In point of Faith and Salvation, 'tis ſafeſt for a man to take that way, which the differing Parties agree on, or which the Adverſary Confeſſes) hath no ſtrength in it ſelfe, but is ſometimes true, and ſometimes falſe, as the Matter is, about which it is converſant, is moſt evident. First, by Reaſon: Becauſe Conſent of diſagreeing Parties, is neither Rule, nor Proofe of Truth. For Herod and Pilate, diſagreeing Parties enough, yet agreed againſt Truth it ſelfe. But Truth rather is, or ſhould be the Rule to frame, if not to force Agreement. And ſecondly, by the two Inſtances before given. For in the Inſtance betweene the Orthodox Church then, and

PAGE OF LAUD'S CONFERENCE WITH THE JESUIT FISHER, CORRECTED IN HIS OWN HANDWRITING.
(By special permission, from the original in the Royal Library, Windsor Castle.)

kept green in the eyes of the majority of his fellow-countrymen. The image of Laud, the too faithful servant of king Charles I., the minister of an absolutism so hateful to Englishmen, was stamped indelibly on the hearts of his countrymen, while his to the church, of which he was a most distinguished leader, demand something far more than a mere passing notice.

In the epistle dedicatory prefixed by archbishop Laud to the relation of the

"conference with the Jesuit Fisher," addressed to Charles I., and published in 1639, we have Laud's own clear and luminous statement of the object and purpose of his life's work in the Church of England. Briefly he sketches what in his eyes was sadly amiss there; and then he tells us how he proposed to amend what was wrong. It is, in fact, a very short though comprehensive *apologia* for what he had done. Already, when he wrote the "epistle dedicatory," mutterings of the terrible storm which very shortly was to sweep away him and his fellows were being heard. Thus the words were published in the last few months of his career of power and influence. But although Laud lost his life in the great tempest which broke over England almost directly after he had penned the words we are about to quote; although the church, too, was overwhelmed and seemingly destroyed by the same storm in which he himself perished; that church arose again in a very few years, and, what is remarkable, purged almost completely of the withering errors of which Laud complained, and the removal of which had been the great work of his life. That they may fairly be said never to have reappeared, is a strong testimony to the wisdom and devotion of the great churchman, who emphatically, with all his errors and mistakes, must be regarded as one of the makers of the Church of England, and as such must be placed in the same gallery of noble church builders of the second or Reformation period wherein are enshrined the portraits of Parker and Jewel the apologist, of Whitgift and the statesman Cecil, of the judicious Hooker and Lancelot Andrewes.

This published declaration of the gre bishop, though somewhat stiff and a tiquated, and studiously compressed, is especially interesting that we quote here, in Laud's own words, as giving an accurate view of the devoted prelate mind on the state of the church ov which he presided. "And this I ha observed farther, that no one thing ha made conscientious men more wavering their own minds, or more apt and eag to be drawn aside from the sincerity religion professed in the Church of Englan than the want of uniform and decent ord in the churches of the kingdom; and t Romanists have been apt to say, 'T Houses of God could not be suffered to so nastily, as in some places they ha done, were the true worship of God o served in them, or did the people thin that such it were.' It is true the inwar worship of the heart is the great service God, and no service acceptable witho it; but the external worship of God in H church is the great witness to the worl that our heart stands right in that servi of God. Take this away, or bring it in contempt, and what light is then left shine before men, that they may see o devotion, and glorify our Father which in heaven?

"And to deal clearly with your majes (Charles I.), these thoughts are they, an no other, which made me labour as muc as I have done for decency and an orderl settlement of the external worship of Go in the Church; for of that which is inwar there can be no witness among men, n no example for men. Now, no extern action in the world can be uniform witho some ceremonies; and these in religion, th

ancienter the better, so they may fit time and places. Too many overburden the service of God, and too few leave it naked. And scarce anything hath hurt religion more in these broken times, than an opinion in too many men, that because Rome had thrust some unnecessary and many superstitious ceremonies upon the church, therefore the Reformation must have none at all; not considering therewhile that ceremonies are the hedge that fence the substance of religion from all the indignities which profaneness and sacrilege too commonly put upon it. And a great weakness it is, not to see the strength which ceremonies—things weak enough in themselves, God knows—add even to religion itself; but a far greater to see it and yet to cry them down all and without choice."

The disorder here referred to, the want of conformity in worship, the shrinking from ceremonies not superstitious in themselves because some saw in them a Romanising tendency, the dread of external beauty in divine service, the fear in many minds of over-exalting the sacraments ordained by our blessed Lord, the neglect of the sacred fabrics—all these things which so vexed and distressed the spirit of Laud and his school, were the inevitable outcome of the circumstances which accompanied the Anglican settlement. Briefly to recapitulate those circumstances. The first Reformation begun by Cranmer and his coadjutors under king Henry VIII., developed and systematised under Edward VI., under strong Puritan influences, was swept away temporarily in the Marian reaction. The wise Elizabethan compromise, under Parker and Cecil, always a great deal interrupted and marred by Puritan influences, was somewhat compromised under Parker's successor, the Puritan archbishop, Grindal. Whitgift, when he succeeded to the primacy after Grindal's death, aided by the wishes and strong friendship of Elizabeth, largely succeeded in restoring the state of things mapped out by Parker. Bancroft, under James I., was something of an opportunist, and Abbot, who followed Bancroft, was a Puritan at heart. These different schools of thought, which rapidly succeeded each other in the chief direction of the church, produced considerable disorder, and even seemed to encourage considerable latitude among the clergy. The result was that in the reign of James I., while in some centres order and decency were maintained in the ritual and practices of the churches, in others a lamentable want of order, and even uniformity, was too apparent.

To restore a uniform practice and a generally more reverential way of performing divine service was the great aim of Laud's life. To establish a beautiful and winning ritual, possessing ceremonies based upon primitive antiquity, was his earnest, passionate desire. That in great measure he succeeded in doing this is, and ever will be, his chief title to honour. We trace this aim throughout the various positions he occupied during his long, stirring life, first at Oxford, then during his few years of comparative retirement as a country parish priest; then again in the university, afterwards in the more public position of dean of Gloucester; later as a bishop, first in remote St. David's, of which, however, he saw but little when he became a court favourite; later as bishop of Bath and

Wells, and then in the more conspicuous and influential bishopric of London; and finally as archbishop of Canterbury, and almost absolute ruler of the whole Church of England. The same spirit, the same aim and passion actuated Laud all through his long and varied career as a churchman.

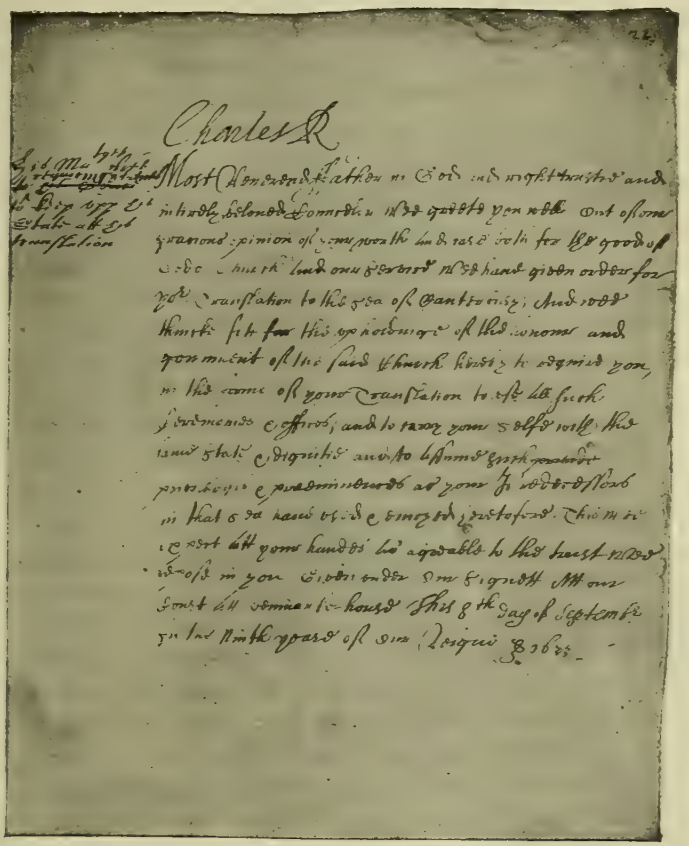
The subject of our present study cared comparatively little for disputed doctrinal questions; speculative thought possessed for him but slight interest. Generally, he may be said to sympathise with what was termed High Anglican opinion. He was the friend and associate of Andrewes, and may be said to have been in general agreement with that eminent master in theology on the doctrinal questions which principally occupied men's minds in his age. It was, however, the *outward* framework of religion that especially interested him. Believing intensely in the educational power over men's minds of what he loved to term the "beauty of holiness," the stately buildings, the rich and varied beauty of stained and jewelled windows, the solemn organ, the sweet-voiced choir, an impressive ritual, the exquisite and touching liturgy of the Church of England well and reverently rendered, were precious to Laud; while everything that savoured of carelessness and irreverence in sacred things connected with the divine service offered to the King of Kings was especially hateful to him. "There was in his mind no deep sense of the spiritual depths of life, no reaching forward to ineffable mysteries veiled from the eye of flesh; it was incomprehensible to him why men should trouble themselves about matters which they could not understand . . . . to him a church was not so much the temple of a living spirit, as the palace of an invisible being."* In the present quiet beauty and exquisite decorum of the churches and services of the Church of England, we see the fruits of the persistent zeal and care of Laud.

This ceaseless care of his extended throughout the whole church. It was as marked in the stately university of Oxford as in a crowded commercial and fashionable centre like London. It was pressed and urged in the remote and secluded village churches, and in a proud and historic cathedral like Gloucester. Early in his career, owing to his ill-advised action in the case of the marriage of his early patron, Lord Mountjoy, and the divorced Lady Rich, his Oxford career was interrupted, and for some five years he lived in retirement in a country parish. During this period he formed his ideal of the life of a country parish priest, and was persuaded of the effect upon peasants of a dignified and reverent ritual. On his return to Oxford as head of his old college as we have already seen, he made the services of his college chapel a model for the university, and the stately musical services of St. John's college had much to do with the increased popularity and fame of a college which had hitherto been but a comparatively unimportant centre of Oxford learning.

After some years of an ever-growing Oxford influence, he was especially commissioned by king James I. to restore dignity of worship at Gloucester, in which great cathedral a careless ritual and want of reverence and order was well known to exist. Nor was this careless state of things

* Gardiner: "History of England," vol. vii. chap. lxix.

by any means in those days confined to the beautiful cathedral of the west. How deeply Laud felt the careless and slovenly way in which so often and in so many places the worship of God was so lost in the church (as they conceived it); and the churches themselves and all things in them suffered to lie in such a bare and



LETTER FROM KING CHARLES TO LAUD ACQUAINTING HIM WITH HIS TRANSLATION TO THE ARCHBISHOPRIC OF CANTERBURY, 1633.

(*From the original in the Library of Lambeth Palace, by kind permission of the Archbishop of Canterbury.*)

religious services of the Church of England were performed, he expressed at a later period of his life, thus: "I could speak with no conscientious persons, but the great notion which wrought upon them to disaffect or think meanly of the Church of England, was that the external slovenly fashion in most places in the kingdom."

As master of an Oxford college, as dean of Gloucester, as bishop in succession of St. David's, Bath and Wells, and London, Laud had been able to do much by his own authority, still more by example and

the influence of a powerful mind acting upon others, to restore a more uniform practice in the way of performing divine service, to inspire a more reverential spirit in the church. His views and ideas on the importance of maintaining many of the primitive rites and ceremonies were largely shared, and even carried out, by many, if not by all, the clergy; but it was not until archbishop Abbot's death in 1633, when he succeeded to the primacy, that the full weight of his influence was felt in the church. Abbot, as primate, had been negligent, in the matters which seemed to Laud and his school of such primary importance. Indeed, at heart Abbot was ever a Puritan, and the weight of his influence, such as it was, was ever used to counteract rather than to advance the views of the Laudian school. But when Abbot passed away and Laud became archbishop, all the weight of church authority became Laud's to carry out in the church the reforms he so intensely longed to see become general; added to which the inclinations of the king were with the new primate, who was his trusted adviser in other matters besides ecclesiastical affairs. From 1633 to 1640 the power of Laud in the church was enormous, and it was in those years that he was enabled to introduce into the Church of England a new spirit, which, with the brief interregnum of desolation which followed his fall, to greater or less extent has lived in the Anglican communion ever since his day. At times it has seemingly faded, and apparently well-nigh disappeared, but the Laudian spirit only slumbered for awhile, and presently awoke again to become more influential than ever.

In the year after he became archbishop he held a general metropolitical visitation. Many and searching questions were asked, and a general conformity in certain important matters was insisted upon. He was well aware of numberless cases of irreverence and disorder in not a few of the churches of his great province. "He heard of men slouching into church with their hats on, lolling on the benches till they fell asleep, of churchyards left unfenced, of pigs rooting on the graves, and of churches themselves left untended. These things he determined to remedy by the infliction of excessive penalties."* In many churches the words of administration in the Holy Communion were used but once for a great number of communicants. The holy table was often used for profane purposes. In some churches it was the usual receptacle for hats and cloaks; occasionally it was cleared that the children of the parish might learn their writing lessons upon it. It was even made use of as a convenient seat for members of the congregation.

"At Taplow, to give an instance of the profanity with which this most sacred spot was treated," wrote Laud to the king, "there happened a very ill accident by reason of not having the communion table railed in, that it might be kept from profanation. In the sermon time a dog came to the table and took the loaf of bread prepared for the sacrament in his mouth, and ran away with it. Some of the parishioners, took the same from the dog and set it again on the table. After sermon the minister could not think fit to consecrate

* Gardiner: "History of England," vol. viii., chap. lxxviii.

Photo: Chester Vaughan, Acton, W.

GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL FROM THE SEVERN.

is bread, and other fit for the sacrament as not to be had in that town, so there as no communion." To remedy such state of things, churchwardens were rected to place the communion table nder the eastern wall of the chancel, here formerly the altar stood, to set a ecent rail before it to avoid profaneness, nd at the rails (so placed) the communi-nts were instructed to receive the blessed crament.*

When the days of trouble came on, the llen archbishop was angrily taken to sk for these and other acts carried out the hour of his supremacy in the church. e replied thus to his accusers, who harged him with desiring to advance opery: "It is surely no Popery to set rail to keep profanation from the holy ble, nor is it any innovation to place at the upper end of the church, as the ar stood. It was no point of doctrine," added, "which was involved in these rections which he had issued, but it is necessary that there should be order d uniformity." On the ground of cency, he urged with great force, he d good reason to desire that the holy ble should be removed to a place in the urch where it would not be desecrated. e referred also to an injunction of queen izabeth, which, he said, had too often ne to be disregarded.

Among the articles for this visitation ced in the hands of the archbishop's vicar-general, Sir Nathaniel Brent, were many notes written by Laud for his instruction. Among them we find various "instructions" which, when carried into effect, would ensure greater order and reverence in the divine service, and would secure in great measure the sacred buildings from needless profanation. For instance, schools were no longer to be kept in the chancel of a church; fonts were to be restored to their ancient places; chancels severed from the church or otherwise profaned were to be altered. There is no doubt at all that the grossest acts of irreverence in sacred buildings were then too common. To take one instance, perhaps an extreme one, but still a fair example of many acts of profanity: it was charged against the churchwardens of Knotting, in Bedfordshire, that in 1634–36 (Laud was then primate) fighting cocks were brought into the chancel, and a fight held before the altar, in the presence of many persons assembled as spectators of the sport, who betted and laid wagers and performed the other offices ordinarily used by cock-fighters. At this strange exhibition the minister of the parish appears to have been present.

Among the answers supplied to the archbishop's visitation inquiries, let us take a few instances, chosen partly from great cathedrals, partly from humble parish churches. The members of the Salisbury chapter confessed that they had often neglected to preach in the cathedral, although their rules bound them to do so; that their choristers had not been well instructed in singing (and hence that the cathedral services were slovenly performed);

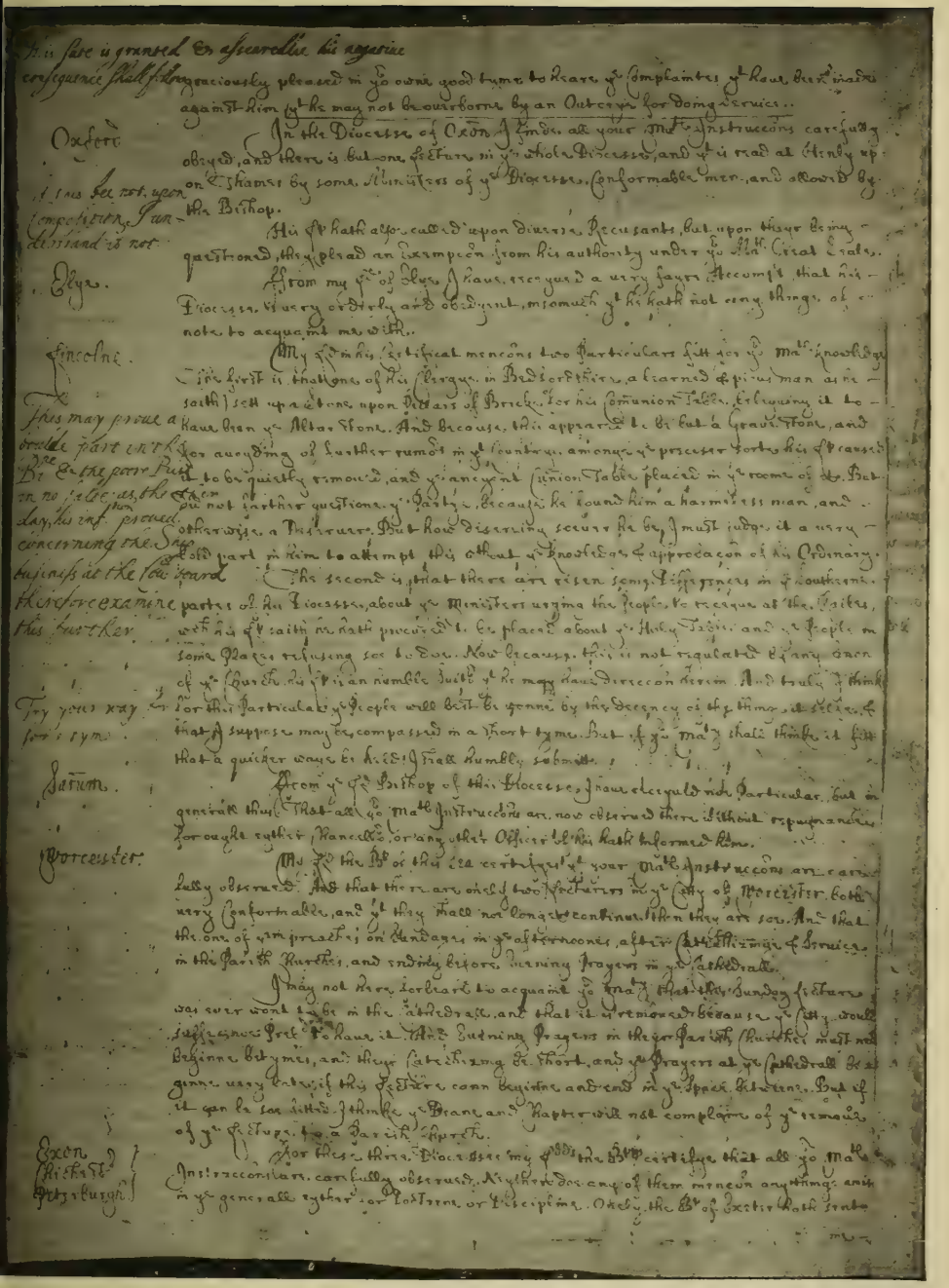
* The rails now preserved in front of the communion table in the Lady Chapel at Gloucester, believed to be the identical rails placed by d there when he was dean. Although not y ornamental, they are preserved in the now ovated chapel as an interesting historical relic Laud's work and care. (See page 73.)

that their own private gardens had recently been extended at the expense of the churchyard ; that the ornaments of the cathedral altar were deficient ; and, worse than all, that they usually presented themselves to such benefices as were in their gift as they fell vacant ; and even in a later instance one of their benefices had been actually sold by one of their body. The Norwich chapter was specially reported by the vicar-general to the archbishop, as having allowed the lordly cathedral to get much out of order. The hangings of the choir, wrote this official, are naught, the pavement is not good, the spire of the steeple is quite down, the churchyard is ill-kept, etc. ; the copes in use needed mending. The arrangements for divine service were sadly irreverent ; the mayor and his brethren were in the habit of walking indecently in the church during prayer time before the sermon. In the parish churches, in the same report of the Norwich diocese, there was much that was gravely deficient. At Bungay, one of the churches was ruinous. The material fabrics of many churches needed care ; the parsonage houses in not a few cases were in a ruinous state ; much glebe land had been embezzled.

Everywhere the hand of Laud made itself felt throughout his broad province. The neglectful services were commented upon, the want of care and attention on the part of the clergy and their officials was reproved, and reformation was generally insisted upon. The fabrics of the churches and the parsonage houses were examined, the careless way in which divine service was frequently performed was sharply reproved, and a uniformity in the prayers was insisted upon. In som places it was found that the litany an the commandments were usually omitte Infants were not unfrequently left u baptised, all kinds of liberties were take with the liturgy, the very psalms an lessons being at times left out by som It is evident, too, that the want of churc order and discipline had in very man cases seriously lowered the standard of th clergy, many of them being ignorant an avaricious, and even guilty of grosser sin Laud set himself in good earnest to co rect these grave irregularities, arrangin that for the future men should be carefull examined and tested before they wer admitted into holy orders, and, as far a possible, all clergy should pass through course of university training. A highe ideal of self-sacrifice was also set befor them. This was apparently needed a that time, for in a debate held at Oxford was deliberately questioned whether o not the parish clergy were required b their office to administer the sacramen to persons dying of the plague.*

The removal of the communion table the fencing them in with rails, the mor reverent way of administering the sacra ment, appears to have been carried ou generally without much opposition ; ther were, naturally, a few energetic protest Men, for instance, deeply imbued with th Puritan spirit, saw in all these chang a move Romewards ; but generally th Laudian reforms were acceptable to th more serious members of the Anglica communion. Very little that was reall novel was introduced ; simply uniformit

* See Simpkinson : " Life and Times of Laud chap. vi.



CERTIFICATE COMPILED BY LAUD OF THE DIOCESES IN HIS PROVINCE, WITH AUTOGRAPHIC NOTES IN THE MARGIN BY CHARLES I.

(From the original in Lambeth Palace Library, by kind permission of the Archbishop of Canterbury.)

in liturgical matters, a uniformity settled already by law, was insisted upon, and a deeper reverence in divine service was generally introduced. Above all, in the administration of the sacraments, a return to the more primitive manner was gradually brought about; but nothing beyond what Parker and the better-instructed of the Elizabethan divines had intended.

One ancient custom which Laud revived will be ever connected with his name—that of reverently bowing towards the east both at coming in and going out of the choir. This practice he earnestly recommended, but never, apparently, insisted upon. It gave great offence in many quarters, and afterwards formed the special subject matter of a portion of the most bitter charges brought against him after his fall. It is to be regretted that he so insisted upon and made so much of this ceremonial observance, harmless and even beautiful in itself, but in those times of bitter controversy on all points connected with the holy Eucharist, so liable to misinterpretation. It is true that Laud carefully explained the meaning of the ceremony, to which he seems to have been singularly attracted. "Shall I bow," he touchingly asks, "to men in each House of Parliament, and shall I not bow to God in His House, whither I do, or ought to come to worship Him? Surely I must worship God, and bow to Him, though neither altar nor communion table be in the church." But it was in vain that he explained the meaning of the observance. The less well-informed Puritans connected the act of reverence, and not unnaturally, with the Eucharist. The more cultured among them, accepting Laud's own explanation, that obeisance was made to the Almighty Master of the House, whose throne was the "altar" or communion table, were equally distressed at the idea of God having any throne in His House save in the hearts of men who worshipped Him in spirit and in truth.* In the canons of 1640 the archbishop was careful to add that the practice, as a general rule, was left to the conscience of the worshipper, neither its observance nor non-observance was to form matter for criticism.

Not only were the services rendered in all parts of the kingdom more reverential and the tone of the ministers of the church elevated, under the Laudian movement, but a great effort was made, as we have seen, to restore the fabrics of the churches which in so many cases had been suffered to decay, and even to fall into a ruinous condition. One of the chief characteristics, certainly one of the glories of mediæval Christianity, had been the magnificence of architecture of the sacred buildings, the beautiful decorations, the sublime symbolism introduced into well-nigh every detail of a mediæval church of those great building ages, the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In every department the highest art had been associated with

* It is in the highest degree improbable that this much-disputed practice was in any way whatever associated in Laud's mind with any relic of superstition. The words, indeed, of the Canterbury Statutes, which were of his own drawing up, are curious, and would tend to show this absolutely. "Singuli vero cujuscunque fuerint gradûs ac ordinis in ingressu chori divinam majestatem devotâ mente adorantes humiliter se inclinabunt versus altare (prout antiquis quarundam ecclesiarum statutis cautum novimus) et deinde convertendo decano quoque debitam reverentiam exhibebant."

religion. As time went on, many of the glories of art and beauty became marred and disfigured with superstition. After the Reformation the reaction against this was very marked. The Elizabethan age, with all its glorious developments, was emphatically not a church-building period. We read of few new houses of God being built; church restoration and renovation was almost unheard of. The noble churches, the stately abbeys and cathedrals, those triumphs of art and skill pressed into the service of the Most High, in many cases the outcome of centuries of thought and patient labour, were suffered to fall into decay. Few cared for them; some positively disliked them, and would fain have assisted, rather than hindered, the slow destruction which the sap of time would assuredly work in wall and arch, in pinnacle and tower.

One of Laud's first works at Gloucester was to set on foot a restoration of the fabric of the magnificent cathedral, which since the Reformation period had been sadly neglected. To a greater or less degree similar work was undertaken and largely carried out throughout the country. But the most conspicuous instance of these Laudian restoration works was in the case of the great cathedral of the metropolis, St. Paul's. Whilst he held the bishopric of London, Laud devoted himself to the completion and beautifying of the vast edifice which then, as now, towered over the busy, wealthy city. A famous architect, Inigo Jones, superintended the work, and vast sums, partly derived from public sources, partly from private generosity, were expended upon St. Paul's Cathedral. Laud intended the great London house of prayer to be a model and an example to the rest of England. King Charles I. was one of the foremost among Laud's helpers here. Among those who assisted in the work, very notable was Sir Paul Pindar, once ambassador at Constantinople. We read of this generous donor adorning the splendid screen at the west end of the choir with fair pillars of black marble, and statues of the Saxon kings who in old days had been founders and benefactors of the church, and beautifying the inward part thereof with figures of angels, and all the wainscot work with figures and carving of cherubim and other images well gilded, and adding various kinds of hangings for the upper end, and finally bestowing the sum of £400, a large amount in those days, for other necessary work. Houses which surrounded and shut in the magnificent pile were pulled down, and a restored cathedral arose, worthy of the great metropolis of which it was the centre.

The Puritan spirit, strangely and sadly, was bitterly opposed to this and such-like efforts. They considered such work as the restoration of the magnificent mediæval churches and cathedrals, the "repairing and adorning of rotten relics." To these earnest, but in many respects mistaken men, there was no need of beauty and grace in God's house. "I want the chapel cheap," said the Puritan Lord Bedford to the architect, Inigo Jones, when he purposed erecting a new church for Covent Garden, "I would not have it much better than a barn." Milton well and somewhat nobly, even if mistakenly, gives utterance to this stern, uncompromising spirit, which influenced so many earnest souls in that day to look with mistrust upon beautiful

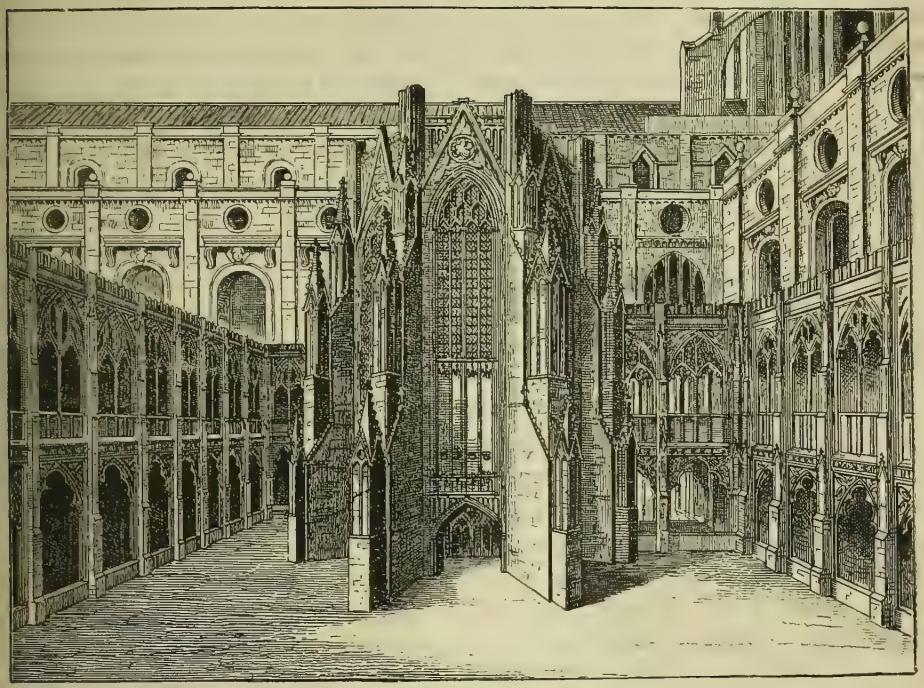
services and elaborately decorated churches, when he wrote: "Tell me, ye priests, wherefore this gold, wherefore these robes and surplices over the Gospel? Is our religion guilty of the first trespass, and hath need of clothing to cover her nakedness? . . . Ye think by these gaudy glistenings to stir up the devotion of the rude multitude: ye think so because ye forsake the heavenly teachings of St. Paul for the hellish sophistry of Papism. If the multitude be rude, the lips of the preacher must give knowledge and not ceremonies."* Intensely did that austere school hate the teaching and system of the Laudian school. Their bitter feeling against magnificence of worship and stateliness of sacred buildings was well exemplified a few years later, when in their day of power the Puritans actually erected scaffolding to take down portions of the historic pile of Gloucester cathedral, and were only hindered in their fatal work of destruction by the love of a few influential Gloucester citizens for their splendid house of prayer, which had been the glory and charm of their ancient city for many centuries.

Much, indeed, had the Reformation done for religion. England possessed, when a Stuart ascended the throne of the Plantagenet and the Tudors, an open Bible, at once dearly loved and highly prized by the people. They read and pondered over, as no nation, perhaps, had ever read and pondered over before, the words of the Redeemer and His apostles, and the teaching of the ancient Hebrew prophets and seers. The peculiar treasure of the English church was a body of doctrine, pure and less alloyed with human addition and human interpretation than any church had owned for centuries. But its ritual was in many centres neglected, bare and cold, careless, and even at times irreverent. Its sacred buildings were left uncared for, were allowed not unfrequently to fall into a state of ruin and decay. There was a real danger that in the Church of England of the future, all care for what is termed "the beauty of holiness" would soon be wanting; and, it must be remembered that "the beauty of holiness," as expressed in religious architecture, painting, sculpture, music, appeals with tremendous force to the minds and hearts of many men whom the passionate earnestness, the lofty spirituality, the unadorned simplicity, loved by and aimed at by the Puritans, would never touch or affect.

At this juncture, in the providence of God a new reformer, totally different from any seen before in the churches of the new and nobler learning, was raised up; one who saw for the first time clearly and distinctly the weakness of the church in that particular, and with splendid zeal and tireless energy, determined to sweep away what he looked upon as a grave danger to the church of the future. Such was William Laud, the hated and admired archbishop of Charles I. No fair and impartial church historian would now think of speaking of this great churchman in any terms save of unstinted praise, would dream of painting him otherwise than as one of the chief makers of the Church of England, than as one who saw and recognised, and set himself to remedy, a great and cardinal defect which undoubtedly existed

* "The Reason for Church Government," book ii., chap. ii.

in the new framework. Without the work of Laud, our church might have, probably would have, become the church of a strong, earnest, and God-fearing section of the people of England, but it would never have been, as it is now, the church of the nation, loved and on the whole admired, with a living love and an ever-increasing admiration, by the vast majority of thoughtful Englishmen of all ranks and orders.



CHAPTER HOUSE, OLD ST. PAUL'S.
(After the engraving by Hollar.)

Yet while laying the tribute of an ungrudging gratitude upon the memory of the great churchman, to whom belongs the merit of first discerning what was lacking in the church of Elizabeth and the first Stuart king, and the yet higher honour of showing men the way to remedy the grave defects he pointed out, the impartial chronicler cannot fail to lament the great error of Laud's life, the unhappy share he bore in the fatal policy of the ill-fated Stuart monarch. No excuse can be offered for this great mistake; it was one of those errors which, affecting the welfare of a people, almost rank as crimes. The student of history reads with unfeigned amazement the pages of some of the archbishop's apologists here. Laud's work as a statesman may be wondered at, grieved over, but never can be excused. The only pleas that can be advanced for his acts, as minister and adviser of Charles I. at the treasury, at the admiralty office, at the foreign office, in the Star Chamber,

in the Court of High Commission, during those fateful eleven years whilst Charles I. was playing at absolutism without a Parliament, are that throughout his conduct was at all events absolutely free from self-seeking, purely unselfish, fearless of the opinion of high-born and low-born, rich and poor alike; and that for his great mistake, or crime, or treason—for that is what it was—against the rights, customs, and cherished privileges of England, he paid the supreme forfeit. Even his truest admirers, those who reverence his high character and pure life, who regard his undying work for their church with a gratitude unfeigned as it is profound, dare not find fault with the stern though certainly cruel justice meted out to him on Tower Hill.

Some plead as an excuse for Laud's high-handed policy as a minister, that he worked for absolutism, believing that in the unchecked power of the sovereign lay the surest promise of the future security of the church; believing that the best friend of the church would ever be a powerful, irresponsible monarch. These forget that such a friendship on the part of an absolute king was, after all, a formidable two-edged weapon of defence; for the time might come, probably would at no distant date, when some irresponsible king would sit on the throne of England, actuated with feelings towards the church very different from those which influenced Laud's friend, Charles I. But, be this as it may, such a view can never be pleaded with any force as an excuse for a long-continued policy opposed to all the best and truest traditions of the English people.

Laud as a politician, as a powerful minister of state, however, should not b confounded in the judgment of posterit with Laud, the wise and far-seeing church man. For his terribly mistaken work as minister he paid, as we shall see, the tremen dous forfeit of his life. For his other an truer work in the church and for th church, his true title to honour in thi our day, when men can look back on th results of his labours in the seventeent century from the vantage-ground of th nineteenth, he receives, he must receiv from serious members of the great Anglica communion the deepest, truest thanks, th most profound gratitude. In spite of th grave and even fatal errors he committe as presently touched upon, in so utterl under-rating the influence of Puritanis both in England and Scotland, withou the work that he did in the Church o England, it could hardly have become, a it now is, the church of the might English nation.

In painting this little sketch of Laud work in the Church of England, what h accomplished at Oxford must also b briefly added to the picture. In the mids of his work-filled life, he never forgot th scene of his earliest labours, and one o his favourite projects in the days of h influence and power was to make his love and famous university a real seat of learn ing and usefulness. In 1630 lord Pembrok the chancellor, died, and, after some oppo sition, Laud was elected in his room During his eleven years of chancellorshi he accomplished great things in the time honoured university. He laboured espe cially, and not without success, to calm th spirit of fierce religious controversy betwee

Puritans and Anglicans, by forbidding acrimonious public discussions; treating both parties with gentle forbearance. Under his watchful care Oxford gradually became the chief home of learning in England, and was most famous as a university far beyond the limits of our island. Discipline, which had become sadly lax, was restored. The three hundred ale-houses for which Oxford had become notorious, were reduced to a hundred; drinking, a vice too common in the colleges, was checked and discouraged. Once more the university dress, which under the lax system prevailing had dropped out of use, was insisted upon. The officials of the colleges were treated with a respect to which for a long time they had been unaccustomed. The examinations were made more strict, and to win a degree became again a real distinction. High birth was no longer regarded as an excuse for disregard of discipline, and young men of noble and distinguished families were subjected to the same laws and regulations as were their less fortunate fellow-students.

Not only was Laud's care devoted to the restoration of discipline and order, but his hand was visible, too, in many other directions. The study of Hebrew and Oriental letters, with a view of encouraging biblical criticism, was assisted, the Hebrew professorship being endowed with a canonry at Christchurch. An Arabic lectureship was provided at the archbishop's own charges, and the first lecturer, the illustrious Pocock, was sent for public study to the East, with a special commission to search out and to purchase manuscripts. A large store of manuscripts in every tongue were procured and presented to the university by Laud's continued exertions.

Another of Laud's works, carried out in his loved university of Oxford, claims a few lines of special mention. The University Press, which has since become so deservedly famous through Europe, was virtually the outcome of Laud's far-sighted care. In 1631, when he was still bishop of London, and already high in favour with Charles I., he obtained from the king a patent for the university to print books. Types in Greek and Oriental alphabets were prepared, and printers were brought over from Holland.*

On the church life of Oxford, the influence long exerted by Laud was very marked. We have already related the change in the services of his own college of St. John's, which took place after he became president of the society, 1621–1631 —how the St. John's services, before his holding office so bald and unattractive, became reverent and even stately; how music was introduced and an organ erected; and how gradually this care for the reverent rendering of morning and evening prayer extended throughout the university. Other college chapels were beautified and adorned, and served as an example for sacred buildings in the kingdom. Many an undergraduate would preserve a loving memory of his Oxford college chapel; and in after years, when a minister of the church, would aim at reproducing such a service in his own town or village house of prayer, would endeavour to make the church he served in some way like the fair and reverently adorned building in

* Simpkinson: "Life and Times of Laud," chap. viii.

which he had worshipped in his old Oxford days.

What these college chapels had become during the quarter of a century which had

ENGLISH CHALICE VEIL OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.
(*Embroidered White Silk.*)

elapsed since Laud's influence had come to be felt in the old university, is well pictured in a letter written about the year 1636, the date of king Charles's visit to Oxford: "The churches and chapels of *all* the colleges," so runs this graphic contemporary description, "are much beautified, extraordinary cost bestowed on them. Scarce any cathedral church, not Windsor or Canterbury, nay, not St. Paul's choir, exceeds them. Most of them newly glazed; richer glass for figures and painting I have not seen, which they had most from beyond the seas; excellently paved their choir with black and white stone. Where the east end admits not glass, excellent pictures, large and great; church work of the best kind they could get from the other side of the birth, passion, resurrection and ascension of our blessed Lord; all their communion tables fairly covered with rich carpets hung, some of them with good hangings." *

Between Laud and Wentworth (Strafford), during their long official connection in the state service, lasting roughly some ten or eleven years, existed the deepest friendship. Both were firmly persuaded that an absolutism, unfettered by any expression of popular will through the voice of the Parliament, was the form of government best calculated to advance the truest interests of the people. But while Wentworth thought mainly of the state, its principles of taxation, its courts of law, its foreign and domestic policy, Laud's mind was turned especially upon the church and its work and influence among the people. Both Laud and Wentworth, to carry out their objects, were advocates of that policy, for which they invented the term "thorough"; in other words, they were bent at all hazards and risks upon going "through" with it, the words *thorough* and *through* being synonymous terms. †

To this steady determination not to swerve to the right hand or to the left, were owing, no doubt, many of the mistakes of

* Quoted by Gardiner: "History of England," vol. viii., chap. lxxix.

† Gardiner (chap. lxxvii.) in his history points this out, and further alludes to the two words in the 17th century being spelt alike.

Laud even in his church policy. While we cannot fail to recognise that throughout the work-filled life there was ever in Laud, at Oxford, in Gloucester, at Lambeth, an earnest desire to guide his church along the "old paths" traced out in the earlier and purer days of Christianity, still his policy of "thorough"—to use his own expression—led him to be unconciliatory, and too often ruthlessly disregarding of that deeply-rooted spirit of Puritanism which inspired not a few of the nobler Englishmen. All this must not be lost sight of when we are forming an estimate of Laud's life and work.

The story of the ruin and disaster which fell on the Church of England when he disappeared from the scene, however, must not be by any means taken as the last word that has to be spoken of the effect of his work upon the Church of England. The church was, in fact, apparently swept away by the wild torrent of revolution which arose in 1641 and the years which immediately followed. But it was only submerged for a season; and when it reappeared, it was seen that the spirit of the dead Laud was still active in its midst. Mistaken at times in his ways of working, he had taught the church a great lesson, and the lesson has never been forgotten. The present aspect of the church, as it appears to both its foes and its friends, its strength crowned with beauty, is not a little owing to the labours of the loved and hated Laud. Slowly but surely, under his government, his spirit permeated the English church. What he longed for was increased order, more uniformity in worship, augmented reverence in the services of the sanctuary; a revival of interest in the beautiful works of art, as true handmaids of religion—works cultivated with such conspicuous success in the Middle Ages, including architecture, painting, sculpture, music; a correcter and more exalted view of the sacraments. All these things, in greater or less degree owing to his zeal and that of the school we have called "the Laudian," of which he was emphatically the founder, became characteristic features of the Anglican Church.

One more important event, which throws much light on what was ever in Laud's mind, remains to be chronicled here—the doings of the Convocation of 1640, just before the end came. We have seen how in the spring of 1640, acting upon the

COMMUNION CUP GIVEN BY LAUD TO HOLY TRINITY CHURCH, KNIGHTSBRIDGE.

advice of Strafford, the king summoned a Parliament, after an interval of eleven years. Simultaneously with this session of Parliament met, as was usual, the Convocation of Canterbury. After a brief sitting came a dissolution ; but the king signified his wish that in spite of the premature ending of what was known as the Short Parliament, Convocation should continue its sitting, and complete the important work it had in hand. Some grave doubts as to the legality of this continued sitting of a Convocation after the dissolution of Parliament were expressed ; but a committee of eminent lawyers decided that such a session was legal, and Convocation, on the theory that it was dependent on the king and not on Parliament, pursued its deliberations after the dissolution.

It renewed a former grant of £20,000 a year to the king, under the name of a benevolence or free contribution. But what was more important from an ecclesiastical point of view, were the new canons it passed, and which were published under the authority of the Great Seal. These were seventeen in number, and were entitled "Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical," etc., and were accompanied by a royal proclamation. They are to us specially interesting, as expressing in studiedly moderate language the opinions of the Laudian school of thought on the more important of the debatable questions of the day.

Of these Laudian canons, one canon especially dealt with doctrinal matters. Of this fourth canon, "Against Socinianism," which was termed "a damnable and cursed heresy—wicked and blasphemous," lord Clarendon observes that it bears more against Socinianism than the acts of any other Christian assembly. It is not very easy to see the reason of such vehement pronouncement against a heresy which has never made any firm lodgment among the English people, all sects—Anglican, Puritan, Roman Catholic—equally repudiating its cheerless and un-catholic tenets. The third canon was entitled, "For suppressing the growth of Popery." In spite of the allegations of his enemies, Laud and his school never had any sympathies in the direction of Rome.

The sixth canon, entitled "An oath enjoined for the preventing of all innovations in doctrine and governments," excited more indignation than it deserved. It was to be imposed not only on the clergy, but masters of arts, schoolmasters, actuaries, and others, and was known as the "*et cetera*" oath, from the "&c." which followed the words "that they, the subscribers to the oath, would never consent to any alteration in the government of the church by archbishops, bishops, deans, archdeacons, *&c.*, as it stands now established, and by right it ought to stand." The "et cetera" was introduced hastily, for the purpose of avoiding a needless repetition of officers ; but a bitter outcry was raised against it. The whole oath was subsequently condemned by the Commons as "wicked and ungodly, as devised by the archbishop for the purpose of confirming the unlawful and exorbitant power which had been usurped over his majesty's subjects."

But the first and seventh canons are by far the most important, the first as clearly and moderately setting forth the Laudian conception of monarchical power ; the

venth as giving the reasons of the great urchman for certain of the various forms in matters of ritual and ceremony hich are connected with his life-work, id which had been especially selected objects of attack by the Puritan party. Ve give both at length in the original ords—no doubt Laud's own. The venth canon, "A declaration concerning me rites and ceremonies," is an able id lucid apology for the introduction or e-introduction of a simple ceremonial tual. All schools of thought in our urch will study with respectful interest ie reasons which induced this great urchman to urge the adoption of customs id practices which are still largely the se of Anglican churchmen. In the case of ie obeisance to be made coming in and oing out of church, it will be observed ie canon enjoined nothing, but simply ft it optional for each individual wor-ipper.

The first canon, "Concerning the regal ower," passed just before the outbreak f the Civil War, reads as follows :—

"We do further ordain and decree that very parson, vicar, curate, or preacher, pon some one Sunday in every quarter f the year at morning prayer, shall in ie place where he serves, treatably and udibly read these explanations of the regal ower here inserted :

"The most high and sacred order of ings is of divine right, being the ordi-ance of God Himself, founded in the rime laws of nature, and clearly estab-shed by express texts of the Old and New Testaments. A supreme power is given to his most excellent order by God Himself n the Scriptures, which is, that kings should rule and command in their several dominions all persons of what rank or estate soever, whether ecclesiastical or civil, and that they should restrain and punish with the temporal sword all stubborn and wicked doers.

* * * * *

"For any person or persons to set up, maintain, or avow in any their said realms or territories respectively, under any pretence whatsoever, any independent co-active power either papal or popular, whether directly or indirectly, is to undermine their great royal office and cunningly to overthrow that most sacred ordinance which God Himself hath established; and so is treasonable against God as well as against the king.

"For subjects to bear arms against their kings, offensive or defensive, upon any pretence whatsoever, is at the least to resist the powers which are ordained of God; and though they do not invade, but only resist, St. Paul tells them plainly, they shall receive to themselves damnation."

The seventh canon was entitled "A declaration concerning some rites and ceremonies," and declares as follows :—

"That the standing of the communion table sideway under the east window of every chancel or chapel is in its own nature indifferent, neither commanded nor condemned by the word of God, either expressly or by immediate deduction, and therefore that no religion is to be placed therein, or scruple to be made thereon. And albeit at the time of the reforming of this church from that gross superstition of popery, it was carefully provided that all means should be used to root out of the minds of the people both the inclination

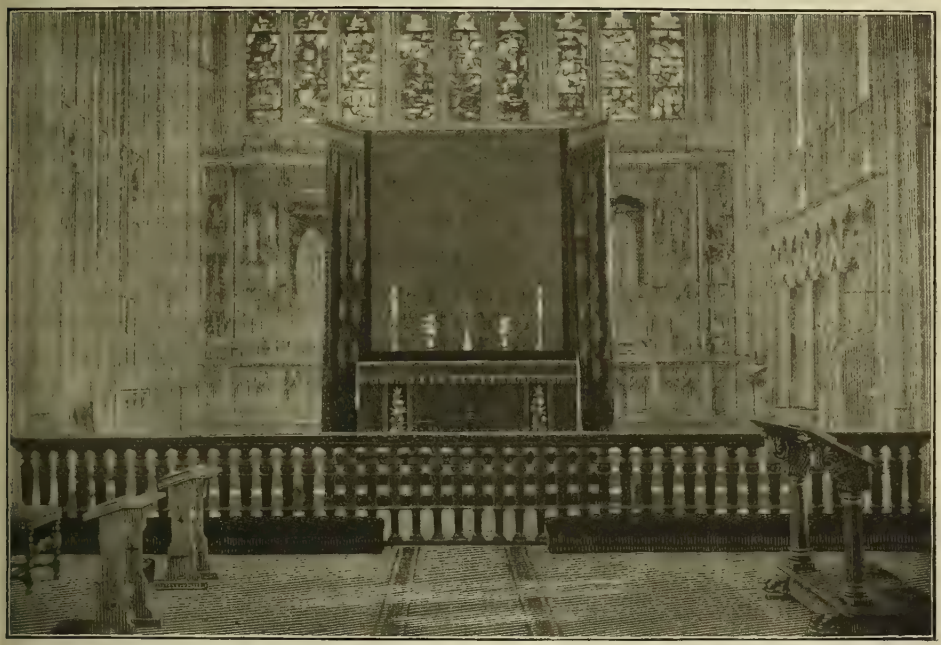
thereunto and memory thereof; especially of the idolatry committed in the mass, for which cause all popish altars were demolished: yet notwithstanding it was then ordered by the instructions and advertisements of queen Elizabeth of blessed memory, that the holy tables should stand in the place where the altars stood, and accordingly have been continued in the royal chapels of three famous and pious princes, and in most cathedral and some parochial churches, which doth sufficiently acquit the manner of placing the said tables from any illegality or just suspicion of popish superstition or innovation. And therefore we judge it fit and convenient that all churches and chapels do conform themselves in this particular to the example of the cathedral or mother churches, saving always the general liberty left to the bishop by law, during the time of administration of the holy communion. And we declare that this situation of the holy table doth not imply that it is or ought to be esteemed a true and proper altar, wherein Christ is again really sacrificed; but it is and may be called an altar by us in that sense in which the primitive church called it an altar, and in no other.

"And because experience hath showed us how irreverent the behaviour of many people is in many places, some leaning, others casting their hats, and some sitting upon, some standing, and others sitting under the communion table in time of divine service: for the avoiding of these and the like abuses, it is thought meet and convenient by this present synod that the said communion tables in all chancels or chapels be decently severed with rails to preserve them from such or worse profanations.

"And because the administration of hol things is to be performed with all possibl decency and reverence, therefore we judg it fit and convenient, according to the wor of the service book established by act parliament, *draw near*, etc., that all com municants with all humble reverence sha draw near and approach to the holy tabl there to receive the divine mysteries whic have heretofore in some places been unfitl carried up and down by the ministe unless it shall be otherwise appointed respect of the incapacity of the place other inconvenience, by the bishop himse in his jurisdiction, and other ordinari respectively in theirs.

"And, lastly, whereas the church is th house of God, dedicated to His hol worship, and therefore ought to mind both of the greatness and goodness of H divine majesty: certain it is that th acknowledgment thereof, not only inwardl in our hearts, but also outwardly with ou bodies, must needs be pious in itself, profi able unto us, and edifying unto other We therefore think it very meet an behoveful, and heartily recommend it t all good and well-affected people, member of this church, that they be ready to tende unto the Lord the said acknowledgment b doing reverence and obeisance both at thei coming in and going out of the sai churches, chancels, or chapels, according t the most ancient custom of the primitiv church in the purest times, and of thi church also for many years of the reign queen Elizabeth. The reviving, therefore of this ancient and laudable custom w heartily commend to the serious considera tion of all good people, not with an intention to exhibit any religious worshi

to the communion table, the east, or church, or anything therein contained in so doing, or to perform the said gesture in the celebration of the Holy Eucharist, upon any opinion of a corporal presence of the body of Jesus Christ on the holy table, or in mystical elements, but only for the



ALTAR RAILS IN FRONT OF THE COMMUNION TABLE IN THE LADY CHAPEL, GLOUCESTER.
(*These are believed to be the identical rails placed there by Laud. See page* 59)

advancement of God's majesty, and to give Him alone that honour and glory that is due unto Him, and no otherwise: and in the practice or omission of this rite, we desire that the rule of charity prescribed by the apostle may be observed, which is, that they which use this rite, despise not them who use it not, and they who use it not, condemn not those that use it."

We have referred to these two canons at some length, because they constitute as it were, an epitome of the opinions which generally guided Laud's life and work. The seventh, "On some rites and ceremonies," is, as might have been expected, the most exhaustive. The first, "Concerning regal power," scarcely covers the ground of the Laudian theory of the king's prerogative; but it is perfectly clear on the doctrine of non-resistance. It was drawn up, it must be borne in mind, on the eve of the great Civil War, this important Convocation being closed on the 29th May, 1640; and five months later the "Long Parliament," under whose shadow the many deeds were carried out which have made that age memorable, had assembled.

The "Houses" met on the 3rd November, and on the 11th Strafford was impeached.

On the 18th of the next month (December), as might have been expected, Laud was formally attacked in the House of Commons. In the course of the debate, the following words were used of the fallen ecclesiastical minister of Charles I. by Sir Harbottle Grimston. They give us some index to the feelings which the now dominant Puritan party entertained respecting him :—

"We are now," said the speaker, "fallen on that great man : look upon him as he is in his highness, and he is the sty of all the pestilential filth that hath affected the state and government of this commonwealth . . . . He is the man, the only man that hath raised and advanced all those that, together with himself, have been the authors and causes of all our ruins, miseries, and calamities we now groan under. Who else but he only that hath brought the earl of Strafford to all his great places and employments ?—a fit spirit and instrument to act and execute his wicked and bloody designs in these kingdoms. Who is it but he only that brought secretary Windebanke into this place of trust and service, the very broker and pander of the whore of Babylon ? Who is it, Mr. Speaker, but he only, that hath advanced all our papist bishops ? I shall name but some of them . . . Bishop Wren, the last of all those birds, but one of the most unclean ones. These are the men that should have fed Christ's flock ; but they are the wolves that hath devoured them." The House decided that the archbishop was a traitor, and he was committed shortly after to the Tower (February, 1641).

A great change had indeed passed over England. We have already slightly sketched the events which had been lea ling up to it : the details do not belong to our history. A Scotch army in the north was ready to march southwards against the king, whom they hated : there was no army to oppose them. If Parliament were dissolved, Charles would be at the mercy of the Scots. Strangely enough, the Parliament of Puritans, made up of men who detested his theory of government and the ministers who had helped him to carry his theory into execution, was his only resource for it represented England, and could at its pleasure vote or withhold supplies and furnish troops to resist the imminent Scotch invasion. It was indeed a strange, sad position for king Charles I. Strafford, his friend and minister, arraigned for high treason ; Laud, his archbishop and confidant—lately his minister, too—a close prisoner in the Tower, also accused of treason ; and the king himself compelled to look on, and for awhile to let things take their course.

There was but little delay. The trial of Strafford began before the end of the following March, 1641. Every day we read how the king and queen came down to Westminster Hall, to listen to the trial of their too-faithful friend and minister, and sitting in a side box veiled with trelliswork listened to the Puritan version of the story of the last eleven years, and to the part which Strafford had borne in that reign of absolutism. In spite of all the skill and ability brought to bear on the case, however, it was found impossible to bring home to the great royalist minister the charge of high treason. But the now dominant party were determined Strafford should die. He had sinned too deeply against all the

cherished Parliamentary traditions. The mpeachment, as it failed in its pur- ose, was dropped, and a bill of attainder vas substituted. After some hesitation he lords concurred, and at last the king, errified into submission, signed the death entence of his truest and ablest friend. It vas the darkest act which stains Charles Stuart's life ; for though Strafford was the nost dangerous living foe to the liberties f England, he had ever been the devoted nd loyal friend of Charles.

With all serenity and high courage, Straf- ord prepared to die. Only for a moment e spoke with bitterness, when he said, fter hearing king Charles had abandoned im to his fate and signed the warrant for is execution : " Put not your trust in rinces." He wished to see and speak to aud once more before his death, but was ot permitted. The story of Strafford's ad march to the block is told by Laud imself in his pathetic history " of his trials nd troubles," composed in the course of is long captivity in the Tower. " His ordship " (Strafford), wrote Laud, " being o suffer on the Wednesday morning, did pon Tuesday in the afternoon desire the ord primate of Armagh, then with him, to ome to me, and desire me that I would not ail to be at my chamber window, at the pen casement, the next morning, when he vas to pass by it as he went to execution ; hat though he might not speak with me, et he might see me and take his last leave f me. I sent him word I would, and did o. And the next morning, as he passed y, he turned towards me, and took the olemnest leave that I think was ever at istance taken one of another ; and this in he sight of the earl of Newport, then lord constable of the Tower . . . and divers other gentlemen of worth. . . . During the time of our restraints we held no intercourse each with other ; yet Sir W. Balfore, then lieutenant of the Tower, told me often what frequent and great expressions of love the earl made to me . . . But I leave that honourable person in his grave, and while I live shall honour his memory."

It must have been a strangely moving scene, this silent last farewell of the fallen royalist ministers, only a few months before, after the king, the foremost men in England. Laud was approaching old age, and was worn out by a life filled with anxious work ; and, as he blessed his friend, swooned away. Recovering, he said to the bystanders, " that he hoped by God's assistance and his own innocency, that when he came to his own execution the world should perceive that he had been more sensible of the lord Strafford's loss than of his own ; and good reason it should be so, for he (Strafford) was more serviceable to the church than either himself or any of all the churchmen had ever been." Heylin, Laud's chaplain and biographer, thus comments : " It was indeed a gallant farewell to so eminent and beloved a friend."

Weeks passed into months, two or three years went by, and the old man who had played so great a part on the broad stage of English politics, who had wrought also so many and, on the whole, beneficial changes in the church of which he had been so long the ruler, still languished in his grim Tower prison. His many enemies longed for his death, and indeed were determined he should die, as Strafford had died, on the scaffold ; but, as it had been seen in Strafford's case, it was no easy

matter to bring home to him the charge of high treason. In many instances, on the part of the nobler of the Puritan party, the hate changed into pity at the sight of the uncomplaining archbishop waiting for death. It was felt he was a dangerous prisoner, and at one period of his long waiting, they say he might, had he pleased, have escaped. He thought so himself; and we read in his pathetic memoir: "Every day an opportunity is presented to me, a passage being left free, in all likelihood, for this purpose, that I should take advantage of it . . . I am almost seventy years old, and shall I now go about to prolong a miserable life, by the trouble and shame of flying? . . . . No; I am resolved not to think of flight, but continuing where I am patiently, expect and bear what a good and wise Providence has appointed for me, of what kind soever it may be." Laud's courage never failed him; to the last he was absolutely fearless. His most envenomed foes confess this.

In the meantime, the great Civil War dragged its slow length along with various alternations of victory and defeat. Now the king, now the Parliament, seemed for a time to be in the ascendant. But the alternation of success and failure grew less and less frequent; and it became gradually manifest that the royalist party would in the end be crushed under the ever increasing weight and power of the Parliamentary forces. It was not until the early spring of 1644 that the trial of Laud was seriously taken in hand. There is little doubt that the final pressure for his condemnation came from Scotland, where Laud, owing to his ill-judged efforts to bring about the uniformity of religion in that country, was especially an object of detestation. Th examination of the accused lasted sever months. Prynne,* his old enemy, ha ransacked the country for evidences treason, especially for unjust sentenc passed by the Courts of High Commissio and the Star Chamber. The archbisho was charged also with introducing Pope into the church. He had striven, too, sa his accusers, to suppress religious libert But although religious questions we mainly the groundwork of the charges, th real guilt of Laud in the eyes of the Co mons lay in his having been, with Stra ford, for so long a time the princip minister of absolutism. For this the was and could not be forgiveness.

The old archbishop defended himse throughout with extraordinary courage an skill. The tribunal of the House of Lord by which he was tried, was a singular careless and incompetent court. Th House of Lords, as constituted in 1644, w only made up of twelve or thirteen peer the small contingent who had sided wit the Parliamentary party; and it is sa even of this small band, no one, except th speaker, lord Grey of Wark, paid the di tinguished accused the compliment listening to the weary pieces of accusatio and defence. Some were present in th morning, some in the afternoon, comin in and going out as they pleased. "T give him his due," said his relentle enemy Prynne, "he made as full an gallant and pithy a defence of so bad a caus and spake so much for himself, as it w

* This able and fanatical Puritan had been o of the chief sufferers at the hands of the arbitra and tyrannical Court of Star Chamber, where La had sat as one of the principal members.

LORD STRAFFORD ON THE WAY TO EXECUTION.

(*From the picture by Delaroche.*)

possible for the wit of man to invent, and that with so much art, sophistry, vivacity, oratory, audacity, and confidence, without the least blush of acknowledgment of guilt in anything, as argued him rather obstinate than innocent, impudent rather than penitent, a far better orator and sophister than Protestant or Christian, yet a truer son of the church of Rome than of the church of England."

In the end, the Lords hesitating to find him guilty of treason, the Commons followed the precedent in Strafford's case, and decided the matter by an ordinance of attainder. This was sent up to the Lords towards the end of the November of the "trial" year. The action of the Commons was supported by a widely-signed petition from the City of London praying for his execution. Still the little company of lords hesitated, and when they at last gave way, only six are said to have voted for Laud's death sentence. The ordinance of attainder was finally ratified on the 4th January, 1645, but a brief delay before the final scene of the tragedy was allowed, the execution being fixed for the 10th of the same month.

More than a year and a half before, in the April of 1643, king Charles I., conscious of the danger of his old friend and minister, had sent him secretly a full pardon, signed and sealed with the Great Seal of England, to be handed in if necessary. After the death sentence, Laud produced this; but, as might have been expected, the royal pardon was contemptuously disregarded. One more request was made by the illustrious prisoner, that the usual treason penalty of the gibbet, with its awful accompaniments, might be exchanged for the less degrading and more merciful death by beheading. Though the Lords supported the archbishop's request, it was at first refused by the Commons; in fact, the hatred and bitterness shown by the Puritan House of Commons to the great churchman was extreme. On fuller consideration, however, this pitiful boon was granted, and Laud was allowed to die by the axe.

A last and cruel affront, however, was shown to him. Laud had requested that three of his chaplains might attend him in his last moments; but his enemies insisted that only one of these Anglican divines should be present, appointing two violent Presbyterians in the place of the other two selected by the archbishop. Did his enemies dream that the courage and faith of the great Anglican master would for an instant waver before the wordy though earnest exhortation of the Puritan teachers, or was this last and useless insult merely a senseless cruelty? Little recked Laud, conscious that he was writing a page in the island story the deathless interest of which no lapse of time was likely to dim. He would show friend and foe how a Christian prelate ought to die.

On the evening of the 9th January the sheriff brought the warrant for the execution to take place on the day following. We are told that after Laud was apprised of it, he supped as usual, and then retiring to rest, slept calmly and soundly. He had already carefully prepared and written down the solemn words he hoped to be allowed to speak on the scaffold; and from this paper, as well as from notes taken on the spot, the published report which soon appeared was carefully corrected.

On Tower Hill, as might have been expected, an immense throng was gathered to see the awful pageant of the public execution of an archbishop—an archbishop, too, who for years had played the part of first minister of the crown. The very scaffold was so thronged that the archbishop with difficulty approached the block. One simple incident connected with the vast crowd must be told. Through the chinks between the boards of the roughly put together scaffold, the sufferer saw people standing immediately beneath the fatal block. He would have these removed, he said, "lest his innocent blood should fall on the heads of the people." Very cheerful, and even ruddy, in spite of the long captivity, was Laud's countenance during these last moments of his life; so ruddy that some thought he had painted it, lest men should fancy his cheeks were blanched with fear. But when the headsman lifted it up after the fatal blow, the well-known features were noticed by the bystanders to have turned pale as ashes.

When he first mounted the scaffold, a zealous Puritan—the name of the rude speaker has been preserved—Sir John Clotworthy, watching the serene courage of the archbishop, asked him, "What is the comfortablest saying which a dying man would have in his mouth?" "I desire to depart and be with Christ,"* replied Laud. "That is a good desire," said the Puritan; "but there must be a foundation for that divine assurance." "No man can express it," answered Laud; "it is to be found within." He then proceeded to speak to the people. The paper in his hands, which he had written previously, was after his death given to king Charles I. at Oxford. He told them that long had he been in his race; how he looked unto Jesus, his Master would best know: and at the end of the race, he told them, he had found the cross, a death of shame . . . he was going apace, as they could see, towards the Red Sea [probably punning, as was much the custom in religious addresses at that time, upon the bloody end just before him], and his feet were on the very brink of it . . . he was not in love with this passage through the Red Sea, for he had the weakness and infirmity of flesh and blood plentifully in him. . . He had prayed that the cup of *red* wine might pass from him; but if not, God's will, not his, be done. He dwelt for a minute on the martyr's death through which some of his predecessors had passed, though none by such a death as his. He instanced Elphege, who perished at the hands of the Danes, and Simon Sudbury, under the fury of a mob. St. Cyprian, too, had fallen by the sword of persecutors. Many similar examples could he have cited of the great and good—they were teaching him patience—only he hoped his cause, in heaven, would look of another dye than the colour put upon it here on earth. He mourned over the condition of the Church of England, which had become like a cloak cleft into shivers . . . and at every cleft profaneness or irreligion was rushing in. He dwelt shortly upon the charge brought against him of high treason. Against these accusations he protested, solemnly denying, in the presence of God and His holy angels, that it had any foundation whatever. In his concluding words

*The words of the archbishop were in the Latin version, "Cupio dissolvi et esse cum Christo."

he strikingly said, he had been baptised and born in the bosom of the Church of England established by law; in that profession he had lived, and in that he had come to die. What clamours and slanders he had endured for labouring to keep uniformity in the *external* service of God, according to the doctrine and discipline of the church, all men knew, and he had abundantly felt. Then he added, "I have done. I forgive all the world, all and every of those bitter enemies which have persecuted me, and humbly desire to be forgiven of God first, and then of every man." After praying aloud, he went to the executioner, and giving him a present of money, said, "Here, honest friend, God forgive thee, as I do, and do thine office upon me in mercy." Giving him the sign when to strike, he kneeled by the block, and again prayed aloud, using these striking and singular words: "Lord, I am coming as fast as I can. I know I must pass through the shadow of death before I can come to see Thee. But it is but *umbra mortis*—a mere shadow of death, a little darkness upon nature. But Thou by Thy merits and passion hast broken through the jaws of death." With a few more words, praying God to bless England, after a short silence, he cried aloud the words of the sign agreed upon, "Lord, receive my soul," the axe immediately fell, and all was over.

No sooner was Laud dead, than a certain reaction in his favour at once set in. His dying speech or sermon was published, and had considerable effect. It was deemed important enough to be formally contradicted and refuted, before the month which witnessed his death was run out. The very ballad-mongers who had sung his crimes and his disgrace, now sang his merits and his martyrdom.* His remains on the day following his execution, were reverently laid in the Church of All Hallows, Barking, followed by great multitudes of people. After the Restoration, the coffin, containing what was mortal of Laud was brought to Oxford, and placed in a vault under the altar of the chapel of his own college of St. John's, between the founder and his friend and successor in the primacy, Juxon, who attended king Charles on the scaffold at Whitehall. "There it still rests; and the college which he loved so dearly and endowed so generously, counts it her highest honour to guard the bones of the greatest of her sons." The coffin had on it a small brass plate with the archbishop's arms and the following graphic inscription:—"In hac cistulâ conduntur exuviæ Gulielmi Laud, Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis, qui securi percussus, immortalitem adiit die x Januarii, ætatis suæ LXXII. Archiepiscopatûs xii."†

How intensely king Charles I. felt the execution of his dearest friend, Laud; with what feelings he regarded the shedding of his blood, is well shown in a letter to the queen, dated January 14, 1645, four days after the tragedy on Tower Hill. "Nothing can be more evident than that Strafford's innocent blood hath been one of the great causes of God's judgement upon the nation by a furious civil war, both sides hitherto being almost equally guilty" [Charles here recognises his share of guilt in having consented to Strafford's

* W. H. Hutton: "William Laud," chap. vii.
† Simpkin on "Life and Times of Laud."

TRIAL OF ARCHBISHOP LAUD.

(From the picture by Alexander Johnstone, by permission of Messrs. Henry Graves & Co., 6, Pall Mall.)

death] ; "but now this last crying blood [Laud's] being totally theirs, I believe it is no presumption hereafter to hope that the hand of justice must be heavier upon them and lighter upon us, looking now upon our cause, having passed through our faults."*

In the loyal reaction of the Restoration, which did partial justice to the memory of Laud, Henry Wharton, who in 1695 published the "Diary," and the "History of the Archbishop's Troubles and Trial," both written by Laud himself, in his preface, giving utterance to what was generally felt by the more thoughtful among the Anglican churchmen of his time, well says: "I regard it the most fortunate transaction of my whole life to have contributed herein (by the publication of the archbishop's own writings and recital of the troublous times) to the vindication of the memory and cause of that most excellent prelate and blessed martyr, to whom I have always paid a more especial veneration, as firmly believing him to have taken up and prosecuted the best and most effectual method . . . and to have had the noblest, the most zealous and most sincere intentions therein, towards re-establishing the beauty, the honour and the force of religion in that part of the Catholic Church (the Church of England)."

In the course of Laud's trial, his efforts to restore images, pictures, and stained glass windows in churches were represented as high treason, as being contrary to the statutes of Edward VI., and the injunctions of Elizabeth. He refuted these charges easily, affirming that historical representations were allowed in the "Homilies," and showed with great force, by referring to early church history, that images were not of necessity abused to the purposes of superstition ; and very nobly and clearly in the course of his defence, spoken before his bitter enemies, thus set forth his reasons for being so earnest in his endeavours to restore beauty and grace to the worship of Almighty God and to the sacred buildings provided by the Church of England for holy worship. "Of all diseases," said Laud, "I have ever hated a palsy in religion, well knowing that too often a dead palsy ends the disease, in the fearful forgetfulness of God and His judgment. Ever since I came in place I laboured nothing more than that the external public worship of God, too much slighted in most parts of the kingdom, might be preserved, and that with as much decency and uniformity as might be; being still of opinion that unity cannot long continue in the church were uniformity shut out of the church door. And I evidently saw that the public neglect of God's service in the outward face of it, and the nasty lying of many places dedicated to that service, had almost cast a damp upon the true and inward worship of God, which, while we live in the body, needs external help . . . . to keep it in any vigour."

That Laud was right in his conception of what was sorely needed in the Church of England, that he brought conviction of their needs home to the hearts of the majority of Anglican churchmen, not only of his own day and time, but to generations yet unborn, when he perished in the tragedy on Tower Hill that January morning of 1645, the words of the scholarly historian of the Civil War tell us quietly,

* "The King to the Queen." Quoted in Gardiner: "History of Great Civil War," chap. xxiv.

without rhetoric, without any attempt at praise or admiration: — "Every parish church in the land still—two centuries and a half after the years in which he was at the height of his power—presents a spectacle which realises his hopes . . . Little as those who sent Laud to the block imagined it, there was a fruitful seed in his teaching, which was not to be smothered in blood." *

To charge Laud with a desire to "Romanise" the Church of England was ever a favourite and often-repeated accusation on the part of his Puritan and Presbyterian foes. We have already, at some little length, referred to his weighty and most able treatise against the Jesuit, Fisher, as the best refutation of this charge. At his trial he said, with considerable force: "I have converted several"—(alluding especially to some distinguished converts made during the disputations in the reign of James I.)—"I have taken an oath against it, I have written a book against it, I have held a controversy against it, I have been twice offered a cardinal's hat and refused it, I have been twice in danger of my life from a popish plot, I have endeavoured to reconcile the Lutherans and the Calvinists; and, therefore, I have endeavoured to introduce popery!"

Very nobly, and not a few in our own day and time, with their broader and more far-reaching comprehensive views respecting religion, will think very righteously, Laud thus wrote of the Church of Rome as being a true church, in spite of her grievous errors and aberrations. "She never," wrote the wise prelate, "erred in fundamentals, for fundamentals are in the creed, and she denies it not. Were she not a true church it were hard with the Church of England, since from her* the English bishops derive their apostolical succession. She is therefore a true but not an orthodox church. Salvation may be found in her communion, and her religion and ours are one in the great essentials. . . . As to the charge of unchurching foreign Protestants, I certainly said generally, according to St. Jerome, *no Bishop no church*, and the preface to the Book of Ordination sets forth that the three orders came from the Apostles."

Laud has been considered, erroneously enough, to have been a divine of narrow and exclusive views. In his striving after a uniformity of worship for all who owed allegiance to the English crown, he no doubt made grave and unhappy mistakes; notably in his interference with Scotland. He underrated the zeal and earnestness of Puritanism even in England, and was strangely ignorant of the overwhelming feeling in favour of Presbyterianism in Scotland. He was a better scholar in the history of the church wherein a Jerome taught or an Athanasius wrote, than in the story of Scotland, where John Knox fired the imaginations and stirred the hearts of the indomitable people who dwelt among the mountains and valleys north of the Tweed. The uniformity of worship throughout the island, the cherished ideal of Laud, was an ideal beautiful indeed,

* Gardiner: "The Great Civil War," chap. xxiv. (1893).

* Laud was not quite accurate here. The apostolical succession of the bishops of the Church of England is only in part derived from Rome. The Celtic Church has a share in it.

though, as things were, utterly impossible. But it is a curious mistake to accuse him of narrowness or intolerance. Indeed, Laud may be considered the precursor of the broad Catholic school of religious thought, rigidly orthodox thought, which among earnest cultivated religious men is ever making slow but sure progress among us ; that school which, while firmly holding on to the great fundamental truths taught in the New Testament, the precious treasure of the church in the first days of Christianity, is very sparing in its condemnation of other men, forgetting to use the language of condemnation where Christ has not uttered it. In his "Conference with Fisher," we find Laud asserting boldly that it was unnecessary to require assent to more than the fundamental articles of the Christian faith. The following words are remarkable, and, as a specimen of the breadth of Laudian teaching, should be ever carefully remembered :—"The Church of England never declared that every one of her articles are fundamental in the faith ; for it is one thing to say, No one of them is superstitious or erroneous ; and quite another to say, Every one of them is fundamental, and that in every part of it, to all men's belief." In another place Laud wrote :—"It was impossible to set bounds to the divine compassion, nor will I ever take upon me to express that tenet or opinion, the denial of the foundation only excepted, which may shut any Christian, even the meanest, out of heaven." *

Chillingworth, the great latitudinarian, as he is often termed, was a godson of Laud, through whose persuasion Chillingworth returned to the Anglican communion after his perversion by the Jesuit Fisher.* He was much under Laud's influence, and it has been supposed, not without reason, that Chillingworth's famous work, "The Religion of Protestants," a masterly protest against the boundless dogmatism of Rome, was undertaken at Laud's instigation. Certainly, many of the latter's thoughts contained in the "Conference with Fisher," reappear in "The Religion of Protestants." It was in Chillingworth's book that the notable passage occurs :—"Take away those walls of separation, and all will be quickly over. . . . Take away this persecuting, burning, cursing, damning of men for not subscribing to the words of men, for the words of God require of Christians only to believe Christ, and to call no man master, but Him only ; let those leave claiming infallibility that have no title to it. . . . Christians," he writes, "must be taught to set a higher value upon those high points of faith and obedience wherein they agree, than upon those matters of less

* Laud's Works, ii., page 60.

* Dying in the midst of the Civil War at Chichester, in 1644, this eminent writer was buried in the cathedral cloisters. Chichester was then in the hands of the Parliamentarians. During the progress of the last rites, a minister of the assembly, Francis Cheynell, a bitter Puritan and controversialist, but who had showed no little kindness to Chillingworth during his last illness, tossed the dead man's famous work, "The Religion of Protestants," into the open grave, crying out—"Get thee gone, thou accursed book which hath seduced so many precious souls! get thee gone, thou corrupt, rotten book ; earth to earth, dust to dust. Get thee gone into the place of rottenness, that thou mayest rot with the author and see corruption." Cheynell's name is preserved from the oblivion to which he consigned Chillingworth's great book, through this strange, violent action at his friend's graveside.

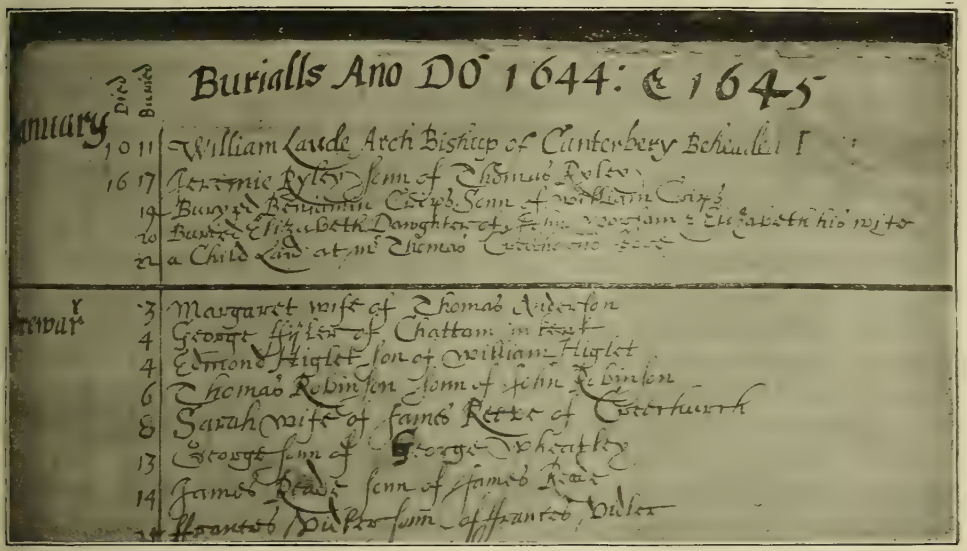
ARCHBISHOP LAUD.

(From the picture by Van Dyck at Lambeth Palace. Reproduced by special permission of His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury.)

moment wherein they differ, and understand that agreement in those ought to be more effectual to join them in one communion, than their differences in other things of less moment to divide them."

Without by any means asserting that Laud subscribed to and was in agreement with all the conclusions arrived at by the "latitudinarian," there is no doubt but that

One service of priceless moment was performed by Laud, in the long and intimate friendship between Charles I. and the great Anglican prelate. The king had learned a lesson of measureless importance from his friend and religious guide, which he never forgot. In the midst of all the vacillations which have so perplexed and disturbed even his warmest apologists


Burialls Ano Do 1644: & 1645
William Laude Arch Bishop of Canterbery
Jeremie Ryley Sonn of Thomas Ryley
Elizabeth Daughter of
a Child
Margaret wife of Thomas
George Sonn of
Edmond Higlet Son of William Higlet
Thomas Robinson Sonn of John Robinson
Sarah wife of
George
James Sonn of James
Sonn of

ENTRY OF LAUD'S BURIAL IN THE REGISTER OF ALL HALLOWS' CHURCH, BARKING.

Laud's teaching largely harmonised with Chillingworth's, and was emphatically broad and tolerant. That he loved the Church of England with a great, even with a passionate love, is indisputable: that he thought it the purest and best of communions is clear; that he endeavoured to amend its defects, and to make it beautiful and winning as it was strong and pure, his life-work shows us; but at the same time Laud never denied that salvation might be won by earnest Christian souls living and worshipping outside her charmed pale.

Charles clung to the Church of England and its immemorial traditions, "and when the last struggle came, he still refused to save his life, as there can be but little doubt he might have done, by surrendering and deserting the church of his fathers."* In the main, the somewhat startling conclusion arrived at in the above quoted words is accurate; though the vacillation, the sad prevarication, the general lack of truth and

* See Hutton: "William Laud," chap. viii.; who quotes Von Ranke: "History of England," ii., page 466.

unswerving rectitude of purpose so transparent in all the later dealings of Charles I. with the Parliamentarians and Scottish leaders, have partially obscured the king's changeless determination on this point. The teachings of Laud, pressed home in the many hours of an intimate friendship lasting many years, had sunk deep into the heart of Charles Stuart, who, with all his errors and grave faults, was a religious man; and sooner than act deliberately contrary to the will of God, he preferred to lose his crown and even his life. The death of Laud on the scaffold made Charles more determined than ever not to abandon the Church of England and episcopacy, although he must have seen in the years 1645–1646 that unless he chose to abandon the church, his cause was a hopelessly lost one.

In this steadfast adherence to the great church of his forefathers; in rejecting Presbyterianism, the acceptance of which, while it would have broken up and dissolved the church, would most probably have saved his crown and life, Charles I. was acting in open opposition, not only to the advice of most, if not all, of the friends and counsellors about him, but even contrary to the repeated and urgent advice of his queen, whom he tenderly loved, and to whose words he ever loved to listen. About a year and a half after the death of Laud, when things were growing month by month more gloomy for the royalists, the queen, who had already taken refuge in her native France, sent her trusted ministers, Jermyn, Culpepper, and Ashburnham, to plead with Charles to come to an understanding with the Scots and to accept Presbyterianism. Charles's words in reply are memorable. "If Presbyterianism were granted," he wrote, "the dependency of the church from the crown would be taken away, which, let me tell you, I hold to be of equal consequence to that of the military, for people are governed by pulpits more than the sword in times of peace. . . . Now for the theological part, I assure you that the change would be no less and worse than if popery were brought in; for we should have neither lawful priests, nor sacraments duly administered, nor God publicly served, but according to the foolish fancy of every idle parson; but we should have the doctrine against kings fiercelier set up than amongst the Jesuits."* This important and decisive communication to his queen's ministers in France is dated July 1646.

In the March previously, in a letter to Henrietta Maria of a more private nature he had even more clearly and positively written to the same effect. "For the Scots, I promise thee to employ all possible pains and industry to agree with them, so that the price be not giving up the Church of England, with which I will not part on any condition whatever. . . . yielding to the Scots in this particular, I should both go against my conscience and ruin my crown." † It is scarcely too much to affirm that through his long influence upon Charles I.'s mind, an influence which survived the archbishop's death, "Laud saved the English Church."

* Letter of king Charles I. to Queen Henrietta Maria's ministers, quoted by Gardiner, "History of the Great Civil War, chap. xliii.

† The King to the Queen, March 3, 1646. *Ibid.* chap. xl.

CHAPTER LXV.

THE PURITANS.

Spirit of the Laudian Church—George Herbert—Antagonistic Puritan Feeling—The Puritan Spirit and its Power—Causes of its Unpopularity—Examples—John Hampden—John Milton—Character of the Earlier Type of Puritanism as seen in Him—His Earlier Poems—Gradual Change under the Absolute Government of Charles and Laud—Last Years, after the Restoration—"Paradise Lost and Regained," and "Samson Agonistes"—John Bunyan, as a Puritan of the People—The "Pilgrim's Progress"—Its Typical Character—Oliver Cromwell—His Family Life—The Puritan Consciousness of God—Cromwell's Soldiery—His Ferocity—Pictures of the Man—His Public Work—Death—The Rise and Fall of Puritanism—Its Abiding Influence in the Church.

LAUD has been charged with introducing a spirit into the Church of England, which in its reverence for the outward, in its devotion to forms and ceremonies, in its deep longing to join the religion of the present with the religion of the past, Anglicanism with mediævalism, went far beyond the thoughts and aims of the school of Ridley and of Cranmer; beyond even the wide comprehensiveness of Elizabeth, Cecil and Parker, and the first group of the reformers of the great queen's reign. To a certain extent this is true, and the same spirit in a greater or less degree was observable in Whitgift, in Hooker, and especially in Andrewes. This difference was owing in great measure to the natural dread which lived in the earlier English reformers, of anything which might seem to approve, or even to condone, the superstitions which marred and defaced the pre-Reformation Church of England. As time went on, however, such dread among the makers of the reformed church grew less and less, and the passionate desire for continuity between the present and the past, ever on the increase, enormously influenced men like Whitgift and Hooker, Andrewes and Laud.

This strong feeling, this passionate desire among the rank and file of pious churchmen not to lose hold of association with sacred things—rites, ceremonies, places—which had been the solace and charm of religious men and women for ages, is well exemplified in such men as George Herbert, the beloved parson of Bemerton; so loved that men say when his church bell tolled for daily prayers, the wearied toiler in the field, like the pathetic figures in the picture of the "Angelus" by Millet, would rest a moment from labour and would mutter a short prayer before again grasping the spade or the plough. To George Herbert —and Herbert was a representative of a vast crowd of holy and humble religious men in England—the awful mystery of the sacraments, the symbolism of Catholic ceremony and rites, were the true nourishment for devotion. The enormous popularity of the great ceremonialist, as Herbert had been somewhat unkindly termed, is evinced in the almost incredible sale of his devotional poem, "The Temple": twenty-thousand copies are said to have been

disposed of in a few years after publication —a strange number indeed in those days!

To Herbert every part of a church had its teachings, each detail to him possessed its divine symbolism. He was the faithful pupil of the mediæval monk-architect, who wrote so deftly his story on the pages of his book of stone. There was no little danger, men like Herbert thought, of this

"Mark you the floore? That square and speckled stone,
Which looks so firm and strong,
Is Patience;
And the other, black and grave, wherewith each one
Is chequered all along,
Humilitie.

"The gentle rising, which on either hand
Leads to the Quire above,
Is Confidence;

GEORGE HERBERT'S MEDLAR TREE AT BEMERTON.

chapter and other similar chapters of church teaching, being for ever wiped out by the force of the reaction of the Reformation against superstition. A grave and irreparable loss it would indeed have been, if the church had ceased altogether to appeal to outer associations, such as architecture, music, symbolism, as an important form of nourishment for devotion—a form that indisputably appeals to many hearts whom a bare spiritualism, however real, fails to find. To Herbert, for instance, the very pavement of a church was symbolic. He wrote the lines, well known to some—

But the sweet cement, which in one sure band
Ties the whole frame, is Love
And Charitie."

"The Church Floore."

The parson of Bemerton ardently loved sacred music. Twice a week he would indulge himself with a visit to the neighbouring cathedral of Salisbury, and he thus exquisitely describes the effect of the choir on his mind and body:

"Sweetest of sweets, I thank you; when displeasure
Did through my bodie wound my minde,
You took me thence, and in your house of pleasure
A daintie lodging me assigned."

"Church Musick."

GEORGE HERBERT AT BEMERTON.

(From the picture by William Dyce, R.A. By permission of Charles Gassiot, Esq.)

From the serene height of devotion, quickened by such sights and sounds in his cherished cathedral, Herbert, who in early days was credited with some ambition, could afford to look with sorrowful pity upon the most exalted of human beings:

"Now I in you without a bodie move,
Rising and falling with your wings,
We both together sweetly live and love,
Yet say sometimes, 'God help poore Kings!'"

BEMERTON CHURCH.

And Herbert of Bemerton was a type of many a devout and earnest parish priest of the first half of the seventeenth century, an example of those quiet thoughtful churchmen who, while loyal to the Reformation, were pained and grieved at the havoc brought about in the course of the great storm, and who longed with a gre longing to see the quiet restoration much that was lovely and beautiful, of muc that was really helpful to true devotio To not a few minds in England, religio was ever being presented under a som what cold and bare aspect. Laud wa without doubt strongly supported by a important school of thought, which sinc the early days of the Elizabethan settle ment had been slowly but surely growin up in England.

But while what is called "high Angli canism" found a ready response in man English hearts; while confessedly muc that is beautiful and true and real wa expressed in what Hooker so wisely an

temperately formulated in his undying treatise, in the life preached by Andrewes and sung by George Herbert, in the stately service insisted upon by Laud; the historian of that eventful age would be one-sided and unjust if he did not dwell with unfeigned admiration, an admiration often coloured with sorrow, on another aspect of religion equally as earnest, equally real, presented to the men who lived in the seventeenth century. Thoughtful religious Englishmen in that century were not *all* "high Anglicans." Indeed, one famous historian* does not hesitate to say—he was writing of the famous group of men who ranged themselves in opposition to Charles I.'s unhappy dream of absolutism—"Either in conscious act, or in clear tendency, the far greater part of the serious thought and manhood of England had declared itself *Puritan*." Such a sweeping assertion is certainly exaggerated, but it has a basis of truth in it; for there is no doubt that in the reign of the first two Stuarts the Puritan ranks included many of the noblest and most serious souls in England.

A wave of intense religious feeling had passed over the country. We have already alluded to it, and ascribed it largely to the overwhelming influence which the English Bible, read so eagerly and with such intense interest after it became, through the medium of the noble translation of Tyndale and his companions, *understanded* of the people, and through the medium of the printing press multiplying its thousands and tens of thousands of cheap copies, procurable by the people. The English Bible had permeated the entire nation, and had affected the people as no book in the world had ever affected a nation before. We have seen how, in this religious England, all through the Reformation period, there was ever a considerable and influential party, specially influential because of their earnestness, who were discontented with the middle course, the *via media Anglicana*, traced out by the English thought-leaders. These longed for a more pronounced Protestantism than that which satisfied Cranmer and Ridley, and even Latimer; more pronounced than the Protestantism which was the outcome of the Elizabethan compromise and settlement. Cranmer and Parker, Elizabeth and Cecil, still more Whitgift and Hooker, still more Andrewes and Laud, in the eyes of these Puritans, were too favourable to mediævalism. Rites, ceremonies, usages, which these extreme Protestants looked on as superstitious, even in some cases as idolatrous, were allowed to linger on in the "use" of the Church of England, were even regarded with ever-increased favour.

This section of Englishmen, although not as a rule, until political circumstances stirred up the great Rebellion, openly disloyal to the Established Church, were nevertheless discontented with it, and lived somewhat apart from its life. They became known as Puritans. Some were, of course, what we should term moderate Puritans; others intensely, perhaps fanatically in earnest. As examples of the more moderate we will presently paint the portraits of Hampden and Milton in his earlier years; of the extremer section we will sketch John Bunyan and Oliver Cromwell.

* Thomas Carlyle.

As a whole, the Puritan party, in the years preceding the great Rebellion, regarded religion—*their form of religion*—as the one paramount object of life. They felt what only a few enthusiasts had ever felt before, that "God was with them in every incident of life; they heard the authentic voice of God in every hour of existence. They saw Satan in everything evil, and heard the voices of devils in all that was harmful, vicious, or unjust. If they took counsel of each other of their own judgment, they literally believed that God and His angels prompted every thought. If one seemed to them just and useful, he was beloved of God; if one seemed to do harm, he was hated of God. If they were undecided, they sought God. If they felt confidence, they had found God; if they felt hopeless, they had lost God. . . . . Now that which in our day devout men and women come to feel in their earnest moments of prayer, the devout Puritan felt as a second nature, in his rising up and his lying down, in the market-place and in the home, in society and business, in Parliament, in council, and on the field of battle. He felt in the full tide of daily life what pious men now feel on their knees and on their death-bed." *

On first thoughts it would seem strange that these men did not carry all before them. In the earlier years of the great Rebellion, as a matter of fact they did. Pitted against the men of the religious compromise, of course they would prevail, with their terrible earnestness and immutable confidence. But the historian who chronicles their rapid rise in the following pages, has to tell the story of their still more sudden fall. The causes of the fall of Puritanism are easy to discover. In their brief day of power they suddenly split into two opposing factions; the one adopting "Presbyterianism" as their form of religious government, a spiritual tyranny unbearable and generally hateful to the public mind; the other choosing in preference to Presbyterianism a religious freedom under the name of "Independents," which encouraged and developed in many cases a wild licence of practice and teaching. The Puritan party, thus hopelessly divided, the one section bitterly hating the other, of course could not endure, and its consequent disruption was more rapid than its rise.

Another reason for the fall of Puritanism was its complete failure to suit itself to the manners and customs, to the tastes and inclinations of the people at large. The Puritan teaching was too strict, too austere, too contemptuous of human weakness, to permanently rule a great nation. "Men missed the cakes and ale, the dance round the May-pole, the open theatre, and all the various modes of enjoyment which they had loved well, if not always wisely; that was a seriousness in the Puritan mind which deepened in lesser men into congenial sourness."* One grievance was especially felt among the people—viz. the stern elimination on the Sunday of everything which might make the holy-day bright and cheerful. The Puritans identified the Christian Sunday with the Jewish Sabbath, transferring to the one the stern laws of observance peculiar to

* Frederic Harrison: "Oliver Cromwell," chapter ii.

* Gardiner: "Puritan Revolution," chap. ix. section iv.

THE SEAT OF REPENTANCE.

the other, and enforced, too, by very stern and practical disciplinary measures.*

There is no doubt that considerable laxity in the observance of the Sunday existed both in the pre-Reformation and reformed Church of England, as we see it still in continental countries; and the minds of many of the earnest religious men of the seventeenth century were bent upon enforcing a more solemn keeping of the Lord's day. Considerable offence was given to the Puritans by the issue of the "Book of Sports" by king James I., in which certain games were recommended as lawful and even desirable. The Sunday, indeed, had come to be regarded as little more than one among the holy days of the church. The popularity of the Bible opened the eyes of many to see how that one sacred day of the seven had been esteemed by the ancient people of the Lord; but it was among the errors of the Puritans that they ever wished to bind too heavy burdens upon the necks of the rank and file of men, and amongst these burdens an exaggeratedly austere view of the sanctity of the Sunday must be reckoned. With its many virtues, its nobleness, its striving after purity and goodness, Puritanism can never be said to have been really popular or loved among the people. It was too hard, too cheerless, too rigid and unbending. It was not adapted for the religious life of the majority of the people, whose sympathies it never gained, and so it perished apparently from among us; but not until it had done its work.

Yet the Puritanism, which was so great a power in the first half of the seventeenth century, speaks as with a dead language to us now. One of its ablest admirers* thus writes of it—he is speaking of the great Parliament in the days of Charles I. listening to the Puritan divines preaching before them with "rapt earnestness, as to an indisputable message from Heaven itself." These sermons, "in spite of printers, are all grown dumb! In long rows of little dumpy quartos, gathered from the bookstalls, they indeed stand here bodily before us; by human volition they can be read, but not by any human memory remembered; they have become a weariness to the soul of men. They are dead and gone, they and what they shadowed; the human soul, got into other latitudes, cannot now give harbour to them. . . . Behold, they are become inarticulate quartos; spectral; and instead of speaking do but screech and gibber; all Puritanism has grown inarticulate; its fervent preachings, prayings, pamphleteerings are sunk into one indiscriminate moaning hum, mournful as the voice of subterranean winds. . . . The age of the Puritans is not extinct only and gone away from us, but it is as if fallen beyond the capabilities of Memory herself; it is grown unintelligible, what we may call incredible. Its earnest Purport awakens now no resonance in our frivolous hearts. We understand not even in imagination,

* The illustration on p. 93 represents two golfers found in play on the Sabbath, and made to do public penance in the "seat of repentance," with balls and (broken) implements on the ground before them. Of such discipline there are various records in the literature of the game. This "seat of repentance" is carefully preserved at the town kirk of St. Andrew's. The illustration also shows the sack-cloth gown or coat worn by such delinquents, which is likewise preserved at the above-mentioned kirk.

* Carlyle: "Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches," Introduction.

not one in a thousand of us, what it ever could have meant. It seems delirious, delusive." The memory of Puritanism which remains among us is the cant, the vulgarity, the hypocrisy, the cunning of its professors, as mirrored in the press and stage plays of the years which followed the restoration of the monarchy and the church. Every child student of English history is familiar with the ridiculous phraseology of the Puritan conversation, with the curious adaptation among themselves of Scripture names, which to us would seem blasphemous if they were not absurd. The nasal twang, the stiff and hideous dress, the studied contempt not only for all popular amusements and diversions, but even for all accomplishments and ordinary learning, are habitually associated with Puritanism.

Too often teacher and scholar alike forget what these now despised religionists effected in their day of power; how they not only rescued England at home from a form of government which, had it been established among us, would have surely paralysed all real national progress, while abroad they made the name and flag of England formidable among the nations of the earth; but that it was the Puritans who secured to England that wonderful system of parliamentary government, which has ever since been the wonder and admiration of all Continental peoples. It was verily these stern, grave, uncompromising religionists who first taught England her surpassing greatness as a maritime power. In the hour of her great peril, this thought first dimly occurred to Elizabeth and her sea heroes; Strafford, in his often mistaken, but far-reaching policy, aimed at the same goal; but it was the Puritan, Oliver Cromwell, who first in good earnest saw in what the future strength of the great island power consisted. The Puritan of the seventeenth century was no mere fanatic; he was a great power, a mighty living influence in English history.

In sketching the portraiture of three or four typical men of these children of the Reformation, we will take first, examples of the more moderate and thoughtful of them. We have an admirable instance of this moderate school of Puritanism in John Hampden, country gentleman, statesman, and soldier. In his earlier years this typical Puritan was only known to his county as a high-principled, honourable squire, careful in the discharge of the few public duties which fell to his lot. A keen sportsman, fond of society and manly exercises, on a sudden, Clarendon tells us, a change passed over the popular Buckinghamshire gentleman: the great wave of Puritanism reached him. "From a life of great pleasure and licence, he retired to extraordinary sobriety and strictness, to a more reserved and melancholy society." After the great change in his life the same keen observer goes on to say, "he preserved his own natural cheerfulness and vivacity, and above all a flowing courtesy to all men."

His known uprightness, his reputation for learning, his urbanity and kindness of heart, and perhaps above all, his character as an earnest religious man, gave him a great and ever-increasing influence in his own county; and when the unpopular and illegal tax of ship-money was levied in the inland counties, Hampden's formal resistance aroused the country generally,

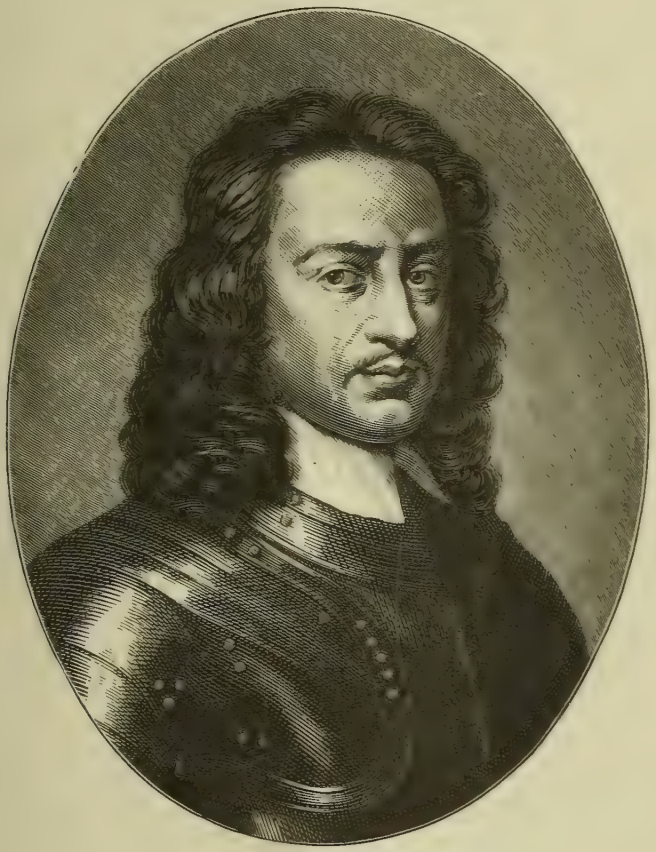
and men began to see clearly the nature of the government policy. The cause, it is true, was decided by a majority of the judges against Hampden, but Wentworth's bitter comment upon Hampden's action — "I wish Mr. Hampden and others to his likeness were well whipt into their right senses"—showed how well the great royalist minister gauged the dangerous character of the resistance of such a man.

From this time forward the events of the great Puritan's life belong to the history of England. The estimate formed of him by the far-sighted minister was an accurate one. Clarendon tells us how the adverse judgment in the famous ship-money case "proved of more advantage and credit to the gentleman condemned than to the king's service." He became the most popular of the opposition leaders, and his "rare temper and modesty" gained him respect and admiration even in the ranks of his enemies. In the discussions of the Parliament which immediately preceded the outbreak of hostilities between Charles I. and the legislature, he was distinguished as one of the most formidable debaters. Again to quote Clarendon's estimate of the famous Puritan chieftain: "He was of an industry and vigilance not to be tired out or wearied by the most laborious, and of parts not to be imposed upon by the most subtle and sharp. . . . the eyes of all men were fixed upon him as their *patriæ pater* (father of the country), and the pilot that must steer the vessel through the tempests and rocks which threatened it. And I am persuaded his power and interest at that time were greater to do good or hurt than any man's in the kingdom, or that any man of his rank hath had at any time; for his reputation for honesty was universal, and his affections seemed so publicly guided that no corrupt or private ends could bias them. . . . He was indeed a very wise man and of great faith, and possessed with the most absolute spirit of popularity, and the most absolute faculties to govern the people, than any man I ever knew."

When the terrible Civil War began in real earnest, the Puritan statesman, whose wise conduct during the first struggles between the king and the Parliament, that preceded the stern arbitrament of the sword, had been marked with sobriety and earnestness, with a fervent desire to arrange such terms between the king and the House as both parties could accept with honour, no longer hesitated; and seeing with the deepest concern that the life and death struggle for popular liberty could no longer be avoided, took up his sword, and accepting a colonel's commission in the Parliamentary army, raised a regiment in his own county of Buckingham. His regiment of infantry, distinguished by their green uniform, was noted as one of the most efficient in the early days of the Civil War, and its colonel as one of the bravest and most distinguished of the parliamentary officers.

Alas for both sides! that beautiful life was too soon cut off. In a fierce but comparatively unimportant skirmish with prince Rupert at Chalgrove Field, Hampden's force was victorious, but their leader was mortally wounded. Half-fainting, with his head bowed, and his hands resting on his horse's neck, he slowly rode out of

ne *mêlée;* his life-work was done, and Hampden knew it. In great agony, but ill with his spirit undaunted, he rode om the field to Thame. His deadly ounds were dressed, but from the first with almost his last breath he declared, that though he disliked the government of the church, yet he agreed with the church in all essential matters of doctrine. His mind continued clear to the last.



JOHN HAMPDEN.
(*From Houbraken's "Illustrious Heads,"* 1740.)

ere was no hope. He wrote several ters to the central government in Lon- n on public matters, and then with a gh and serene courage, the Puritan pre- red for death. He received the sacra- nt, we read, from the hands of a nister of the Church of England; and and the bystanders could hear him in his sufferings praying for the cause for which he was dying. "Lord Jesus," he said, "receive my soul; O, Lord, save my country; be merciful to——" but the object of the final prayer was never known. Was it not, probably, Charles

Stuart? the king against whom he was in arms, but whom he would have tried to save had his life, so precious to both sides, been prolonged.*

John Milton—in whom his own age curiously failed to see what they possessed —gives us another and striking instance of the highest type of Puritanism. His career is admirably suited for our purpose, for it stretched over the entire period of what may be termed the Puritan ascendancy. He was born in 1608, and he lived some years after the Restoration. His boyhood and early manhood were passed in a time when Puritanism was becoming a mighty power and a far-reaching influence in the land. His middle age was contemporaneous with the period of its exercising supreme power amongst us. His old age was passed in those years when Puritanism had fallen into the deepest disrepute, and was seemingly, though not really, extinct.

His life may be divided into three periods. In the first he played the part of a typical Puritan scholar, thinker, and writer, of one who had attained some considerable fame and reputation—a fa and reputation, however, utterly inco mensurate with his surpassing merits. the second, as Latin secretary to Cromwe he was ever at the centre of public affai nothing passed, nothing was done, witho Milton seeing it, watching it, being pri to it, as the friend, though apparen never the confidant or adviser of t absolute master of the destinies of En land, Oliver Cromwell, the Lord Protect In the third period of that marvellous li blind, poor, neglected, in the deepest d grace, he wrote that for which his life h been one long and careful preparati which has been well termed the gr epic of Puritanism, "Paradise Lost" a "Paradise Regained," now as then t chief glory of the splendid series of Engli religious "songs"—a series stretchi over a period, roughly, of some thirte hundred years, from the days of Caedm and Cynewulf in the seventh century, the days of Browning and Tennyson the nineteenth.

We spoke of him as the typical Purit scholar, between the years 1620 (when was about twelve years old) and 164 the date of the commencement of t civil wars. Everything connected wi his training was Puritan, but in t noblest, truest sense, before the bittern of conflict had robbed Puritanism of loftier features; before it became t exaggerated, austere, sour, and somew repulsive form of religion with which are best acquainted. Brought up in t home atmosphere of the love of thi honourable and of good repute, of det tation of all that was low and base mean; in that serious, thoughtful, thou

* So Macaulay, in his well-known essay on "Hampden." Mr. Gardiner, however—"History of the Great Civil War," chap. viii. (note on page 153)—does not accept the tradition of the "Last prayer" of the great Puritan given above He believes it to have been put into Hampden's mouth by a later writer. Be this how it may, the question does not affect the estimate formed above of the rare nobility of the man. Mr. Gardiner's summary of his character is one of ungrudging admiration. He dwells on "the impression which Hampden made on his contemporaries. Friend and foe," he says, "are of one mind in recognising his power. A thoroughly loyal man, without even the infirmity of ambition, his first and last thought was his duty to his country."

uncheerful Puritan house of his father, young Milton early gave fair promise his future greatness. From the age twelve, he tells us himself, he became ply interested in study, and even at t early age would sit up over his books il midnight. His course of reading wide and various, and he gradually uired a large acquaintance with foreign gues; Greek and Latin and Hebrew e supplemented with French and Italian. n Spenser, who only preceded him a y few years, and in Shakespeare, almost contemporary, he took the keenest asure and delight. Spenser, in his y days, was his model; he longed to tate the great Elizabethan master of glish song. But in common with all o received their training in the Puritan ool, the Bible was his constant com- ion, and he became thoroughly familiar h its expressions, its pictures, its ughts, its hopes and lofty aspira- ns. Our great poet was steeped, so speak, in the imagery of the Hebrew phets and poets, and in the lore the later Talmudic schools. Thus efully trained and educated, the future nd and secretary of the mighty Pro- or, Oliver Cromwell, the great song- n of the Puritan age, has been vividly rayed as growing up "in his father's se in Bread Street, and amongst the ghtless, scoffing academic youth of bridge, breathing the highest life of itanism, its serious thoughtfulness, its of all things good and honourable, its e morality and aversion to low and rading vice, yet with nothing exclusive arrow-minded in him."

like Hampden, and indeed the majority of the earlier and best school of Puritans, he was, in the days of his youth and early manhood, a loyal son of the Church of England. Disliking perhaps, as did most of his fellows reared amidst the ranks of the more rigid Protestants, some of her uses and ways, he was yet faithful and true to the great church of his country, and at one time aimed at becoming one of her ministers. The early Puritans—we are never wearied in repeating this—never dreamed of sweeping away Episcopacy, and substituting the formless chaos of Presbyterianism or the yet wilder and more anarchic "Independent" rule in its place. To Puritans like Milton—and he was, be it ever remembered, a noble and faithful representative of his party—the solemn beauty of architecture, the teaching power of music over the devout soul, things so dear to the Laudian school, were equally precious and venerable: we have taken prominent examples of things subsequently condemned with extraordinary bitterness by the party. It was only in later days, when cruel strife, bitter political passions, envenomed party spirit, deplorable errors on both sides, clouded the atmosphere in distracted England, that Milton and the Puritans came to hate the things they once had loved and ever supported, with hand and brain, with voice and pen alike. When we speak of Puritanism, and only remember the deplorable iconoclasm, the fierce devastation wrought by the Ironsides; the stern scene at Ely, when Oliver Cromwell interrupted the solemn cathedral service; the meditated wanton destruction of such stately houses of prayer as the cathedral of Gloucester; the "root and branch" sweeping away of Episcopacy, we should

turn to the early poems of Milton as to a truer expression of a grander, holier Puritanism, before the fierce passions let loose by the Civil War had marred and distorted it almost out of recognition. It was Milton who, in strains which will never die while the world-wide Anglo-Saxon is spoken on earth, wrote thus in early days of the sacred music which Oliver Cromwell and his fellows scorned and loathed :

"O may we soon again renew that song,
And keep in tune with Heaven, till God ere long
To His celestial consort us unite
To live with him, and sing in endless morn of light." *

It was Milton, again, who thus wrote of our ancient cathedrals and mediæval churches, and their storied surroundings :

"But let my due feet never fail,
To walk the studious cloisters pale,
And love the high embowed roof,
With antic pillars massy proof
And storied windows richly dight,
Casting a dim religious light.
Then let the pealing organ blow
To the full voiced choir below,
In service high, and anthems clear,
As may with sweetness through mine ear
Dissolve me into ecstacies,
And bring all Heaven before my eyes." †

The music of Milton here is perhaps more melodious, but the thought and spirit might well belong to the songs of the Anglican follower of Laud, George Herbert.

Somewhat earlier, our famous Puritan poet hymned Laud's ideal prelate Lancelot Andrewes, and pictured the great Anglican bishop entering heaven positively arrayed in the vestments of his order.‡ In his "Lycidas," put out about 1638, or a l earlier, he describes St. Peter, "the p of the Galilean lake," with his massy keys of gold and iron, as positi bearing the *mitre*, symbol of the su quently detested episcopal order, when writes how the apostle, the friend of Ch "shook his mitred locks and stern bespa

Nor did the spirit of Puritanism voiced by its great poet in his earlier d even shrink from using in its imag that long-dead monasticism so hatefu the extreme reformers. We read in Penseroso" such lines as—

"Come, pensive nun, devout and pure,
Sober, steadfast and demure
All in a robe of darkest grain,
Flowing with majestic train
And sable stole of cypress lawn,
Over thy decent shoulders drawn.
Come, but keep thy wonted state,
With even step and musing gait,
And looks commercing with the skies,
Thy rapt soul sitting in thine eyes;
There held in holy passion still,
Forget thyself to marble, till
With a sad leaden downward cast,
Thou fix them on the earth as fast;
And join with thee calm Peace and Qui
Spare Fast, that oft with Gods doth die

thus in his picture ascribing to "religious" of a past age, virtues w the extreme Protestants were too read deny the very existence of in the cloi Again, in the concluding lines of the s "Il Penseroso," the last prayer is—

"And may at last my weary age
Find out the peaceful hermitage,
The hairy gown, the mossy cell,
Where I may sit."

Such a picture of a haven of rest w be utterly hateful to the school of P tanism with which Milton in the day his friendship with Oliver Cromwell

* "At a Solemn Music," *circa* A.D. 1630.
† "Il Penseroso," *circa* 1633–4.
‡ Ecce mihi subito præsul Wintonius astat
* * * * *
Vestis ad auratos defluxit candida talos
Infula divinum cinxerat alba caput.

MR. OLIVER CROMWELL VISITS MR. JOHN MILTON.
(*From the picture by David Neal.*)

closely associated. But besides this clear witness to the sympathy with which the earlier and nobler Puritans viewed the beautiful church fabrics, the ancient uses and reverent ceremonies dear to the historic Church of England, what is more important to us in forming our estimate of Puritanism in its higher and better aspects, we gather from the great contemporary poet again and again testimonies to the still, calm beauty of the lofty Puritan ideal. The austerity and severity of the Puritan morals are constantly depicted in the earlier poems of Milton. For instance, in the exquisite rhythm of his "Comus" (played in 1634), he paints his picture of the fair and innocent lady of his dreams, the example held up in a thousand Puritan homes to be copied by English maidens, in these lines:

"So dear to heaven is saintly chastity,
That when a soul is found sincerely so,
A thousand liveried angels lackey her,
Driving far off each thing of sin and guilt;
And in clear dream and solemn vision,
Tell her of things that no gross ear can hear;
Till oft converse with heav'nly habitants,
Begin to cast a beam on the outward shape,
The unpolluted temple of the mind,
And turns it, by degrees, to the soul's essence,
Till all be made immortal."

He illustrates the anxious care shown in these Puritan homes for the younger scions of the house, the longing on the part of the elders that their sons and daughters should grow up into true and noble men and women. So at the close of the "Comus" we read:

"Noble lord and lady bright,
I have brought ye new delight;
Here, behold, so goodly grown
Three fair branches of your own;
Heaven hath timely tried their youth,
Their faith, their patience, and their truth,
And sent them here through hard assay
With a crown of deathless praise;
To triumph in victorious dance,
O'er sensual folly and intemperance."

The quaint but rarely beautiful "Mask Comus," written for the festivities at L low Castle, when the Earl of Bridgew was appointed president of Wales and Marches in 1634, so rich in its refere to the Puritan life and its high aims, cl with the following lofty thoughts:

"Mortals that would follow me,
Love Virtue, she alone is free;
She can teach ye how to climb,
Higher than the sphery chime.
Or, if Virtue feeble were,
Heaven itself would stoop to her."

Time passed on; in the seven or ei years which went before that sad when king Charles set up his r standard at Nottingham, thus decla war with the House of the people's ch representatives, much had happe They had been years of unveiled abs tism; for weal or woe the Stuart king his ministers had claimed and exercised right of ruling, judging, levying ta without any Parliamentary consent approval. The policy of Laud and church towards the Puritans had b unconciliatory, at times even harsh—in particular his warmest apologists confess had been unwise; and still worse, ow to the high position Laud occupied w the king's inner circle of counsellors, church had associated itself closely w the unworthy and disastrous policy absolutism, so contrary to the spirit wh actuated even the strongest wearers the English crown, whether Plantag or Tudor. In these years the mind Puritanism had undergone a change

he worse. Harassed, exposed, if not to ruel, certainly to irritating persecution hich threatened in the future to become nore severe and desolating, the more noderate and nobler members of the party, ho were loyal to, if not enthusiastic for he church, passed into open opposition.

A great change is plainly observable beween Milton's writings of 1634 and 1641; nd here again Milton must be the type of he nobler of his sect. In what we believe o be his first pamphlet, which appeared in 641, when the flames of the deadly Civil Var had already been kindled, a very ifferent tone is observable. The Puritan o longer confines himself to the aimng after a higher, stricter, purer life nan that too commonly lived by the orld around him; no longer gently, if ot ardently, sympathises with the ancient ites and ceremonies of mediævalism, with ne storied church, the jewelled window, ne sweet-voiced choir, the solemn organ, reserved in the Anglican church, as we ave seen in the "Penseroso" lines, and in ther of the earlier Miltonic poems; but ppears now as the stern opponent of piscopacy, the fanatical foe of the historical tual ever preserved in the church ruled ver by Cranmer and Parker, but perhaps specially prominent in the Laudian school.

"Sad it is," wrote Milton in 1641, as the xponent of the more moderate Puritans, be remembered, "that the doctrine of the ospel . . through the blindness of her rofessors, and the fraud of deceivable traitions, drag so downwards as to backslide ne way into the Jewish beggary of old st rudiments, and stumble forward nother way into the newly-vomited aganism of sensual idolatry . . . they began to draw down all the divine intercourse betwixt God and the soul; yea, the very shape of God Himself, into an exterior and bodily form, urgently pretending a necessity and obligement of joining the body in a formal reverence and worship circumscribed; they hallowed it, they fumed it, they sprinkled it, they bedecked it, not in robes of pure innocency, but of pure linen, with other deformed and fantastic dresses, in palls and mitres, gold and gewgaws fetched from Aaron's old wardrobe or the flamen's vestry; there was the priest set to con his motions and his postures, his liturgies, and his lurries, till the soul . . . shifted off from herself the labour of high-soaring any more, forgot her heavenly flight, and left the dull and droiling carcase to plod on in the old road and drudging trade of outward conformity." *

From this time (1641) onward Puritanism changed its character. Its nobler and grander spirits became bitter partisans, under the names of Presbyterians, Independents, Fifth Monarchy men, Anabaptists, and the like. The terrible civil dissensions of the realm and the utter defeat of the royalist party gave them a temporary ascendency, which they used with rare unwisdom. With the death of the Protector and the reaction of the Restoration, they passed seemingly out of sight—at least, out of power—though their greater and grander work in the English nation endured.

As Milton during the age of the quiet influence of Puritanism was a conspicuous

* *Cf.* Gardiner: "History of England," vol. ix., chap. xcix., who at greater length quotes this striking passage.

example of his sect; as during their brief time of supreme power in England he was equally a type of his changed and embittered co-religionists; so in his old age we may again fairly use him as an individual instance of a great but discredited party, but of a party to which England will ever owe a mighty debt of gratitude. When the defeated and once discredited son of the ill-fated Charles I. was reigning in the palace of the kings of England, in that same Whitehall which had been the scene of the cruel death of his father and of the glories of his supplanter, the Protector Oliver Cromwell, Puritanism as a power or even an influence had seemingly perished out of the land. The bodies of its great champion and of his chosen associates had been torn from their sacred resting-places in the abbey of the kings, and the mouldering remains of the mighty dead, amidst the plaudits of a people, had been subjected to repulsive degradation. Amidst all the ruin and disaster which in the course of the strange vicissitudes of fortune had happened to the cause he loved, and to the memory of the masters he honoured, Milton—the friend and secretary of Cromwell, the poet, the author of the famous apology for the execution of Charles I., a book which the Parliament of the Restoration ordered to be burnt by the public hangman—lived on, so intensely hated by the most fanatical royalists, that for a time his very life was in danger. Private misfortunes one upon another reduced him to what was almost poverty. Above all, blindness had stricken him.

It is a true picture, and one often dwelt upon by historians, which depicts the sightless, well-nigh friendless old man, after listening to a chapter from the Hebre Bible, and playing awhile on the organ the viol in his poor chamber in Bunh Fields, hung with faded green hanging his fair brown hair clustering, as in pa happier days, dictating to his tired a somewhat unsympathetic daughters t lines of his immortal poems; for it was the course of that long dark evening th the Puritan wrote the wondrous poem his lost cause, "Paradise Lost," first pu lished in 1667.

Its scheme has been well and terse described as "the problem with which t Puritan wrestled in hours of gloom a darkness, the problem of sin and redem tion, of the world-wide struggle of e against good. . . . The greatness the Puritan aim in the long and waveri struggle for justice and law and a high good, the grandeur of character which th contest developed, the colossal forms good and evil which moved over its sta . . . the mighty eloquence and mighti ambition which the war had roused in being, all left their mark on the 'Paradi Lost.' . . . But if the poem expres the higher qualities of the Puritan tempe it expresses no less exactly its defect Throughout it we feel almost painfully want of the finer and subtler sympathie of a large and genial humanity." *

Like so much else in Puritanism, t poems of Milton have touched and i fluenced English life *after* the appare ruin of the system. Gradually, but on slowly, the Puritan epic of the "Paradi Lost" and "Regained" attained the fu height of its reputation as the most popul

*Green: "History of the English People," cha viii., section x.

MILTON DICTATING "PARADISE LOST."

(*From the picture by Michael Munkacsy.*)

of all English poems. Its influence on English religious thought is simply incalculable. But in the lifetime of the great Puritan, and for long after, it was not so. "Waller, not Milton, was long reckoned the Virgil of the nation."* The exquisite earlier poems of the "Penseroso" and "Allegro" indeed appeared to have fallen into utter neglect; and this neglect and want of appreciation was evidently bitterly felt by the blind and sorrow-stricken Puritan poet, when in his stately and touching "Samson Agonistes," under the figure of the blind and persecuted Hebrew hero, he paints himself. Alluding to Him whom his chorus finely calls "our living Dread who dwells in Silo, His bright sanctuary," with sorrowful reproach, all conscious of his mighty power he wrote:

"He led me on to mightiest deeds,
Above the nerve of mortal arm,
* * * *
But now hath cast me off, as never known."

Dwelling again and again on his awful calamity, he moans as he recounts his many miseries:

"But chief of all,
O, loss of sight, of thee I most complain!
Blind among enemies, O, worse than chains,
Dungeon or beggary, or decrepit age!
Light, the prime work of God, to me's extinct.
* * * *
O, dark, dark, dark, amid the blaze of noon!
Inevitably dark, total eclipse,
Without all hope of day!"

The lonely and deserted evening of Milton's life, with the sad figure of the blind and hated poet working still in his poor and shabby home, not unfitly represents the fate of Puritanism after 1660; while the subsequent power and influence of the Miltonic poems among the English race, are equally suggestive to us wh we dispassionately review the effect Puritanism upon English life and charact

As an example of the vast influen which Puritanism exerted upon the min of the less educated, less thoughtful, will take as our instance the author "The Pilgrim's Progress." Born in 16 John Bunyan sprang from quite the low and uncultured masses, his father bei a poor Bedfordshire tinker. But the ligious awakening we have been dwelli on, permeated all sorts and conditions men, in the first half of the seventeen century. In "Grace Abounding," a ki of autobiography, Bunyan gives us curious and interesting confession respe ing the thoughts which were passi through the minds of many of the rank a file of the English people in that age, wh the very atmosphere was quivering wi excited religious feeling. While st almost a child in years, he tells us h visions of heaven and hell alternate charmed and terrified him: "in the mid of my merry sports and childish vaniti amidst my vain companions, I was oft much cast down and afflicted in my mi therewith, yet could I not let go my sins The sins alluded to seem to have be mostly an ordinary love of boyish game and dancing and bell-ringing. On o occasion, he writes how in the midst one of these sports he heard, as it seem to him, a voice from heaven which sai "Wilt thou leave thy sins, and go heaven, or have thy sins and go to hell?

At seventeen, Bunyan joined the ran of the Cromwellian "new model" arm whose officers and men were alike inspir

* Professor Blunt: "Essay on Milton."

y the religious fanaticism of one extreme
ıase of Puritanism; a fanaticism, however,
hich largely contributed to the almost
ıbroken series of successes in pitched
ıttles, as in smaller skirmishes, after the
new model" army under Cromwell had
ken the field against the Royalists.
ıfter two years the Civil War was finished,
ıt the young soldier of Cromwell was
ore fervidly religious than ever. For a
ason he was continually tormented with
rrible internal conflicts. He imagined
mself now and again a lost creature, one
ho had sinned past forgiveness. Then
me a period of strange visions of distant
easant sunny hills, the Delectable Moun-
ins he wrote about later in his wondrous
legory; and so he passed through his
lley of the shadow of death, emerging
last into that bright and fair land of
ulah, which the readers of "Pilgrim's
ogress" know so well. He became a
ıptist preacher in the free ranks of the
ndependent" Puritans, acquiring great
ne as a popular orator; but even under
e Protectorate the fervid Independent
eacher was looked on with disfavour, as
illegal teacher. Under the Restoration
was imprisoned; an imprisonment which,
ing to his refusal to promise to abstain
m preaching, lasted some twelve years.
was during this long and weary time
enforced seclusion that Bunyan wrote
ıst of those remarkable works which for
ore than two centuries have played a
ge part in the influencing and develop-
of the religious life among our people.
e "Grace Abounding," already re-
ed to, the "Holy War," and the
ater and more important part of the
mitable "Pilgrim's Progress," were written amidst these sad and gloomy surroundings.

We must, however, pass on: ours is no life or even study of the character of this famous "Puritan of the people"; he is only introduced into our story as a typical

CHRISTIAN AND APOLLYON.
(*From the 13th Edition of the "Pilgrim's Progress,"* 1692.)

example of one phase of popular Puritanism at this momentous period, sketched lightly in to show how deeply its thoughts and aims, hopes and fears, had sunk into the hearts of one great section of the people. His most important work, the writing with which his name will be for ever associated—the allegory of "The Pilgrim's Progress"—owes its extraordinary

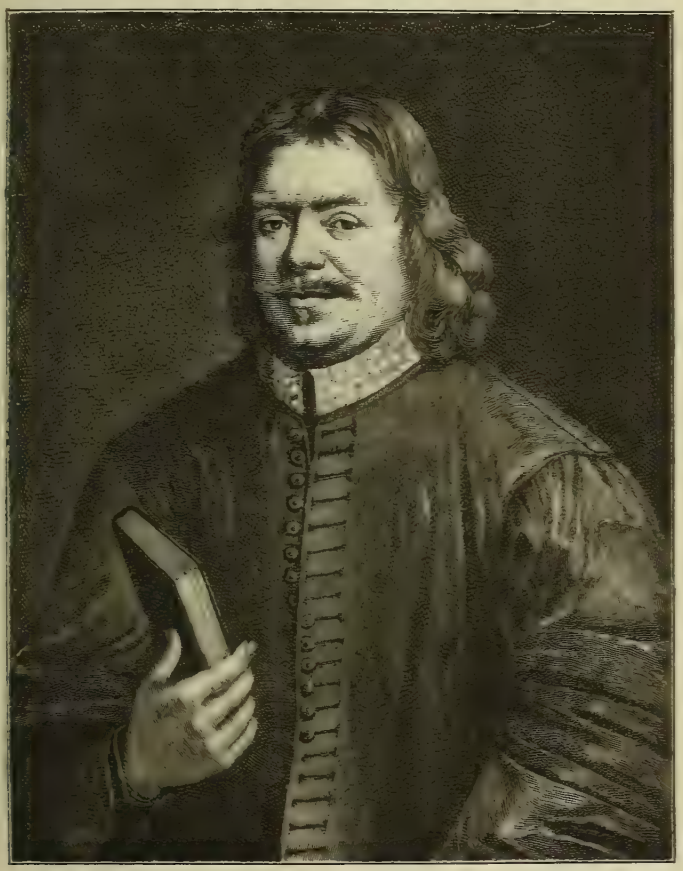
and enduring popularity, especially among the less cultured classes, to its acknowledged unrivalled power over the human heart. It is the simple story of innumerable souls longing to find peace on earth. It shows to these poor doubting, trembling ones, by means of a charming allegory, which all may understand—child and grey-haired, scholar and peasant alike—how even in this busy, anxious, tangled life, this blessed peace may be found and kept. While "Paradise Lost" and "Regained" is the Puritan epic for the more cultured few, the "Pilgrim's Progress" is the popular prose Puritan story for the more slenderly cultured masses.

It possesses most of the virtues and the faults of that great strange system which in England sprang from the Reformation, and especially from the newly-awakened study of the English Bible. It essays to teach men the way to the city of life, with no immemorial Catholic teaching to guide them, or blessed sacraments to help them. It is without a ritual, or a ceremony, uncertain, wavering, often leading to fanaticism and dire confusion; but with all its grave errors, with all its lack of that divine order and sublime reverence (*ehrfurcht*) pointed out by the principal and most revered religious teachers of every age and land as the God-given way to heaven, it has still its high use, and must not be lightly regarded or scornfully disesteemed. It has found not a few earnest souls, and we humbly believe has led, and is leading them still, to light and life and heaven. Many men, holy and humble of heart, in our Anglican communion, followers of the straitest Laudian school of ritual uniformity, use as a precious handmaid to devotion, thou not as a guide, the Puritan "Pilgri Progress." Its enormous and unfadi popularity bears testimony to the c tinued existence of Puritanism in one fo or other among the Anglo-Saxon peop It is perhaps the most widely known of English books. It is peculiarly the st for the uneducated. Its "vocabulary the vocabulary of the common peo There is not an expression, if we excep few technical terms of theology, wh could puzzle the rudest peasant," and "for magnificence, for pathos, for vehem exhortation, for subtle disquisition, every purpose of the poet, the orat and the divine, this homely dialect, dialect of plain working men, was perfec sufficient."* The journey of Christ from the City of Destruction to Heavenly City was the record of the of a Puritan like Bunyan; and thousa feel it is the record of the pilgrimage t are now making, and pray from their he that the glad end of the story may be th blessed experience likewise.

After its publication the "Pilgrim's P gress" was at once eagerly read by section at least of religionists in Engla Bunyan died in 1688, and though onl few years had passed since its appearan ten editions had been already sold; although Dr. Johnson dared to say t "Pilgrim's Progress" was one of the t or three works which he wished w longer, its vast popularity was mainly c fined to the poor and the lower mid classes. Even at the end of last centu says Macaulay, Cowper remarked "that dared not name John Bunyan in his ve

* Macaulay.

fear of moving a sneer." The critics our own day and time, however, with rer taste, have recognised its many sur- ssing excellencies, and its power over



JOHN BUNYAN.
(*From the portrait by Sadler.*)

nan souls; and its writer, with all his ggeration, his quaint and somewhat barous imagery, his errors in theology, l his fanaticism, is generally acknow- ged now as the greatest allegorist the ld has seen. There is no sign that its uence among us is likely to decrease;

in one form or another—acknowledged or unacknowledged—Puritanism is too deeply rooted in the hearts of the English-speaking peoples for its greatest and noblest work, the writing that with the truest pathos expresses its deepest needs, ever to be neglected.

In our fourth and last little study of Puritan character, no attempt will be here made to relate the story in detail of Oliver

Cromwell's career, or in any way to discuss the political issues of his work and policy. It is simply a little character-sketch of a great Puritan life, of a somewhat different type from that we have essayed to paint in the persons of Hampden, Milton, and Bunyan. Oliver Cromwell, afterwards His Highness the Lord Protector, has been well described as "a Puritan of the Puritans." In him existed all those qualities which raised this powerful reformed sect to the position of influence to which, in the first half of the seventeenth century, they attained in England. The intense, real earnestness, the deep family affections and traditions, the passionate love of the Bible as the one unerring infallible guide, the vivid sense of personal communion with God: all these things, which made up the strong Puritan character, met together in Oliver Cromwell, the country gentleman, the great soldier who developed into the yet greater captain, the profound and consummate statesman, the successful ruler.

Oliver Cromwell was born in 1599 at Huntingdon, on the borders of the Fen country in the eastern counties, ever a famous centre of those strong religionists we are just now especially dwelling upon. He belonged to a family with a great tradition of ultra-Reformation sympathies, a family which owed its rise originally to plunder derived from the dissolution of the monasteries. Its founder was a kinsman of the all-powerful minister of Henry VIII., Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex; and the Cromwell family had occupied, in the days of the absolutism of Charles I., for about a century, a considerable position among the eastern counties country gentry.

Everything connected with the earl life of Oliver linked him to that peculia school of religious thought, whose strang rise, yet stranger ruin, and subsequer influence is just now our especi theme. The whole atmosphere whic Oliver Cromwell breathed in boyhoo manhood, middle age, was permeate with intense religious earnestness. H possessed a Puritan mother, a seriou father, an intensely earnest Puritan schoo master. Of his father we know littl beyond the fact that he was a well-thought of religious gentleman; he died, howeve when the subject of our study was sti comparatively young. We know more o his mother, between whom and her so Oliver ever existed the tenderest affec tion; and the influence of this typica Puritan lady was no doubt ever a powerfu factor on the religious side of his life.

It was a quiet, beautiful character, tha of the mother of the mighty soldier an statesman. Her portrait "shows us a fac curiously resembling her son, the motherl form of the same type—strong, homely keen, with firm mouth, penetrating eye a womanly goodness and peacefulness o expression, the genial face demurely en veloped in its flowing wimple and prin lawn kerchief."* She lived to an advance age, and was ever near her son. In he latter days the Protector took the simpl Puritan lady, who through his strang eventful life had thus been so close to him to his new stately home in the palace o the kings of England at Whitehall. I 1654 we come across the following littl details of the mother and son, in a letter o Thurloe, Cromwell's secretary of state:—

* Harrison: "Oliver Cromwell," chap. i.

"My Lord Protector's mother, of ninety-four years old, died last night. A little before her death she gave my Lord her blessing in these words: 'The Lord cause His face to shine upon you, and comfort you in all your adversities, and enable you to do great things for the glory of your Most High God, and to be a relief unto the people. My dear son, I leave my heart with thee; and good-night.' And so died." Against her wishes, Oliver laid his loved mother amongst the royal and illustrious dead of England in Westminster Abbey; but in the Restoration reaction the remains were torn up and flung into a nameless grave.

The beautiful picture of the Puritan's home life would be incomplete without one word on his wife, who, however, beyond the immediate family circle, seems to have exercised but little weight in the circumstances connected with the public life of Oliver. Her quiet, blameless career has ever been spared by the fierce and jealous enemies of her husband's glory and greatness and errors. A few lines of a letter of Oliver's, written in the Scotch campaign, still preserved to us, lift a corner of the veil that lies over the private life of the soldier and statesman, and shows us how tender and devoted was the love of Oliver to wife and children, as well as mother. "Pray for me—truly I do daily for thee, and the dear family. . . . My love to the dear little ones. I pray for grace for them. I thank them for their letters; let me have them often."

His father's early death recalled him when he was about eighteen or nineteen years old to take charge of the family estate, and to watch over his mother and sisters. For some ten or twelve quiet years he played the useful but undistinguished part of a country gentleman of small estate, with many family responsibilities. Carlyle in his quaint picturesque language thus paints these years: "Diligent grass farming, mowing, milking cattle, marketing; add hypochondria, fits of blackness of darkness, with glances of the brightness of the very heaven, joys and cares: we have a solid, substantial farmer of St. Ives, hoping to walk with integrity and humble devout diligence through the world; and by his Maker's infinite mercy, to escape destruction and find eternal salvation in wider Divine worlds. This latter, then, is the grand clause in his life which dwarfs all other clauses. Much wider destinies than he anticipated were appointed him on earth; but that, in comparison to the alternative of heaven or hell to all eternity, was a mighty small matter."

In the course of the quiet uneventful spring-time of his career, came to Oliver the awakening to higher aims and a nobler life, which was the mainspring of his future career. This awakening to the sense of the awful responsibility of life and its tremendous issues, was very common among the Puritans of that age. Their religious surroundings, traditions, conversations among themselves, only needed some spark to kindle the fire smouldering within them. These men, as did Oliver, often passed through a long time of inward conflict, of melancholy despondency, sometimes of almost hopeless despair; then on a sudden, out of that Bible they had been taught to read, to ponder over as a life-long study, and to regard as the written voice of God, would come light, and they would see the

Redeemer, the Helper, and the Friend, in a way in which perhaps only those who had been similarly tried and trained ever saw Him.

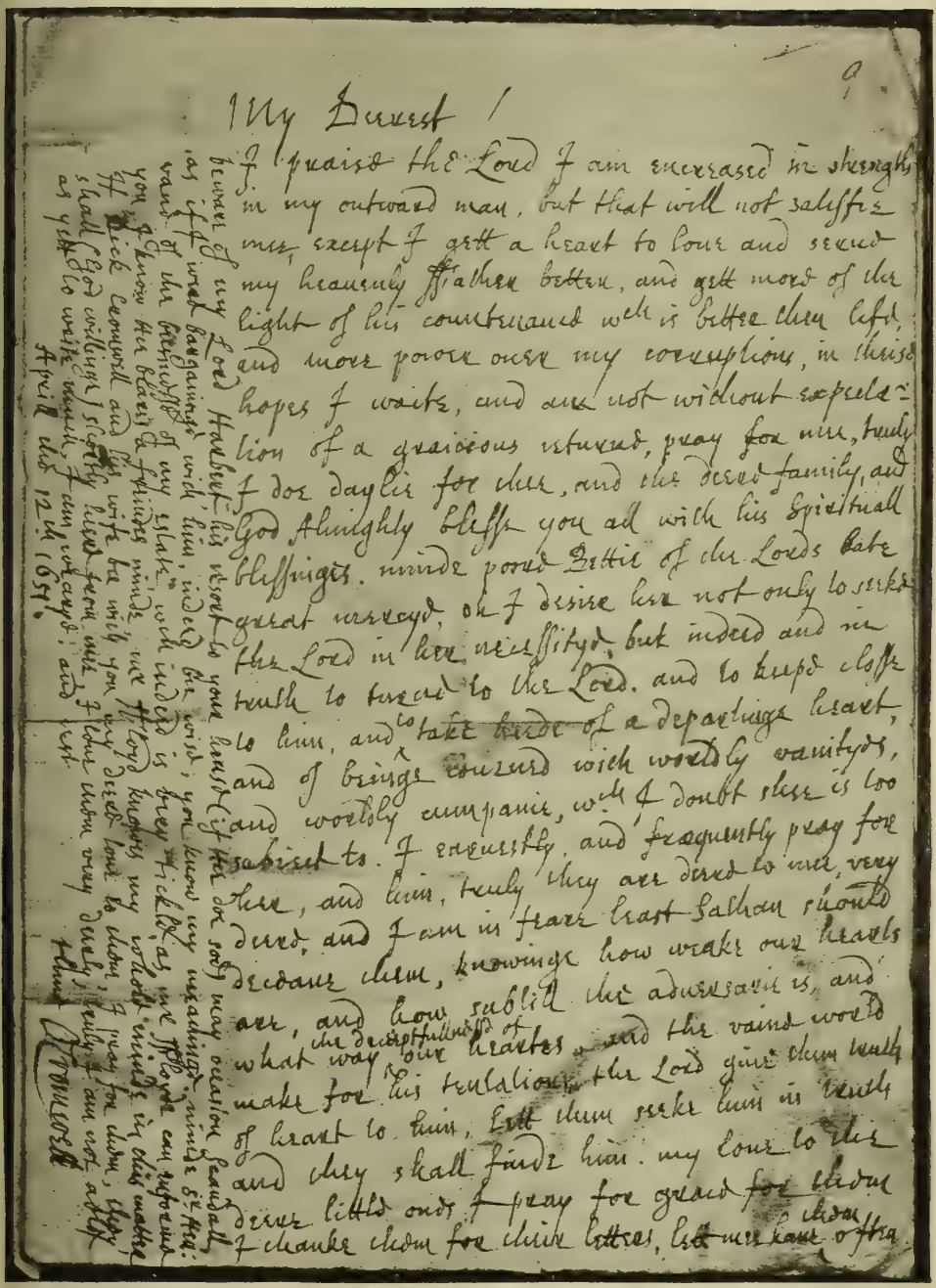
Years later, Oliver describes the sadness and the joy of that eventful hour in one of his letters. "I live, you know where. . . . My soul is with the congregation of the first-born, my body rests in hope ; and if here I may honour my God either by doing or by suffering, I shall be most glad. Truly, no poor creature hath more cause to put himself forth in the cause of his God than I. I have had plentiful wages beforehand, and I am sure that I shall never earn the least mite. The Lord accept me in His Son, and give me to walk in the light. . . . Blessed be His name for shining upon so dark a heart as mine ! You know what my manner of life hath been. I lived in and loved darkness, and hated light. . . . I hated godliness, yet God had mercy on me. O, the riches of His mercy ! . . . Pray for me that He who hath begun a good work would perfect it in the day of Christ." *

The result of such training from infancy, such traditions, such a home, in which the Bible, with its glowing imagery, its declaration as to God's power and love, its mystic ecstasy, its teaching respecting death and life, was used as the great, the chief, the only guide—produced a class of men the like to which the world had never seen before. A phase of religion different in some respects from ordinary Christianity appeared in England — "that mighty Puritanism, of which Oliver Cromwell was the incarnation and the hero." † But Oliver was only one out of many who lived in that age ; greater, no doubt, more gifted far than any of his contemporaries and companions, but only fired as they were by the same training, the same hopes and fears, onlooks and aspirations. Among the Puritan party of the first half of the seventeenth century there were many Hampdens, Miltons, Bunyans, Cromwells, Iretons, Hutchinsons, and the like ; less brilliant, of course, less endowed with natural talents and powers, but in whose souls lived the same mighty power, and who had experienced a like awakening to the real meaning of life.

We return to Oliver Cromwell, whom we have chosen as our last conspicuous example of this wonderful Puritanism. He felt he was never alone ; he heard in every incident of his life the very voice of the Most High, guiding him, cheering him, helping him, prompting every thought, shaping every action. We have with us still a number of his letters, written to various friends, to his superiors, to his comrades, to the official chiefs of that Parliament in whose service he played the part of soldier and general. Again and again in these precious reliques we catch sight of the very heart of Oliver Cromwell. The letters are no formal cut-and-dried expressions of a faith he did not feel, or of convictions simulated for a purpose ; no mere "cant," as men are too readily prone to assume. They are intensely real, genuine, true ; they reflect the inmost soul of the man, and tell us something of the secret of the Puritan power which for a time carried all before it. In his letters or despatches to Lenthall, Speaker of the Long Parliament, which Oliver Cromwell

* Oliver Cromwell to his cousin, Mrs. St. John, October, 1638.

† F. Harrison : "Oliver Cromwell," chap. vi.



AUTOGRAPH LETTER FROM OLIVER CROMWELL TO HIS WIFE, FROM EDINBURGH, APRIL 12, 1651. (*See p.* 111.) (*British Museum.*)

during the Civil War looked upon as the chief authority in England, he perpetually alludes to the great hand of God in all this business of the war. We get such expressions as "Surely, sir, this is nothing but the hand of God." The events, such as the striking series of victories at Marston Moor, Naseby, Dunbar, Worcester, and the like, were "marvellous, mysterious, grand, providential, even supernatural." He and his followers were "poor, despised, weak saints—instruments, nothing more—weak hands." Every success, great and small, was solely owing to the divine agency. "The Lord," he wrote, "is wonderful in these things; wonderful, wonderful," he repeats. We come again and again upon such phrases as "the gloriousness of God's work," "God's strange work," "the seals of God's approbation," "His marvellous salvation wrought at Worcester," "His crowning mercy, which God wrought at one place and the other; all this, Parliament must see and acknowledge; your instruments are poor and weak, and can do nothing but through believing."

In this stern spirit of ardent, living faith, the great Puritan soldier created the army of the Parliament, against which the gallant and chivalrous Royalists were utterly unable to stand. Cromwell's thoughts on the religious character which war and its instruments should assume, seem first to have found expression in the course of a conversation with Hampden, who was a connection of his family, his tried friend, and often his associate. Long years after, the Protector, in a speech to his second Parliament, related the incident; it happened in the early days of the Civil War, when Oliver was only captain of a troop of horse. His words possess a rare interest, for they tell us exactly what the Puritan thought of war and the combatants. "I had a very worthy friend then," he said, "and he was a very noble person, and I know his memory is very grateful to all—Mr. John Hampden. At my first going out into this engagement I saw our men were beaten at every hand. 'Your troops,' said I [Hampden was at this time colonel of a Parliamentary regiment], 'are most of them old, decayed serving-men, and tapsters, and such kind of fellows; and their [the Royalists'] troops are gentlemen's sons, younger sons, and persons of quality. Do you think that the spirits of such base mean fellows will ever be able to encounter gentlemen that have honour and courage and resolution in them?' . . . He was a wise and worthy person, and he did think that I talked a good notion, but an impracticable one." He then went on describing to his Parliament how he carried out his plan, which was subsequently known as the "new model." "I raised such men as had the fear of God before them, as made some conscience of what they did; and from that day forward, I must say to you, they were never beaten, and wherever they were engaged against the enemy, they beat continually. And truly this is a matter of praise to God, and it hath some instruction in it: to own men that are religious and godly."

Of Cromwell's new soldiery, Baxter wrote as follows: "He [Oliver] has a special care to get religious men into his troop; these men were of greater understanding than common soldiers, and making not money, but that which they took for

the public felicity, to be their end, they were the more engaged to be valiant; as far as I could learn, they never once ran away from an enemy. . . . He brought this troop into a double regiment of fourteen full troops (840 men), and all these as full of religious men as he could get." Not a man of this strange Puritan regiment ever swore but he paid his fine; plundering, drinking, and disorder were sternly forbidden, and rigidly punished. On the stricken field of Marston Moor, prince Rupert gave Oliver the sobriquet of "Ironside," and from their captain the name passed to his troopers; they were men that had the fear of God, and gradually came to lose all other fear. These were the men who decided the Civil War, for upon the fashion of these Ironsides the whole Parliamentary army was eventually reorganised and formed, under the well-known title of the "new model."

But the Puritan spirit which lived in Oliver was not only displayed in thus creating an invincible body of fervid religious soldiers; it could be, as we see from the following letter of the successful hero, tender and true, full of the deepest sympathy, breathing the noblest hopes. In the midst of the hurly-burly of the campaigns which in quick succession followed one after the other in the stern, bloody Civil War, Oliver could write as follows to one of his Puritan comrades—a colonel Valentine Walton, a distinguished Parliamentarian soldier, whose son was slain at Marston Moor:

Truly England and the church of God hath had a great favour from the Lord in this great victory given unto us, as the like never was since this war began. . . . We never charged but we routed the enemy. . . . I believe of twenty thousand the prince (Rupert) had, not four thousand were left. Give glory, all the glory to God. Sir, God hath taken away your eldest son by a cannon shot. It brake his leg. We were necessitated to have it cut off, whereof he died. Sir, you know my own trials this way (alluding here to the death in battle of his own loved son). But the Lord supported me with this, that the Lord took him into the happiness we all pant for and live for. There is your precious child, full of glory, never to know sin or sorrow any more. He was a gallant young man, exceedingly gracious. God give you His comfort. Before his death he was so full of comfort, that to Frank Russell and myself he could not express it. It was so great above his pain. This he said to us. Indeed, it was admirable. . . . Truly he was exceedingly beloved in the army of all that knew him . . . you have cause to bless the Lord. He is a glorious saint in heaven . . . you ought exceedingly to rejoice. Let this drink up your sorrow; seeing these are not feigned words to comfort you, but the thing is so real and undoubted a truth. . . . Your faithful and loving brother, OLIVER.

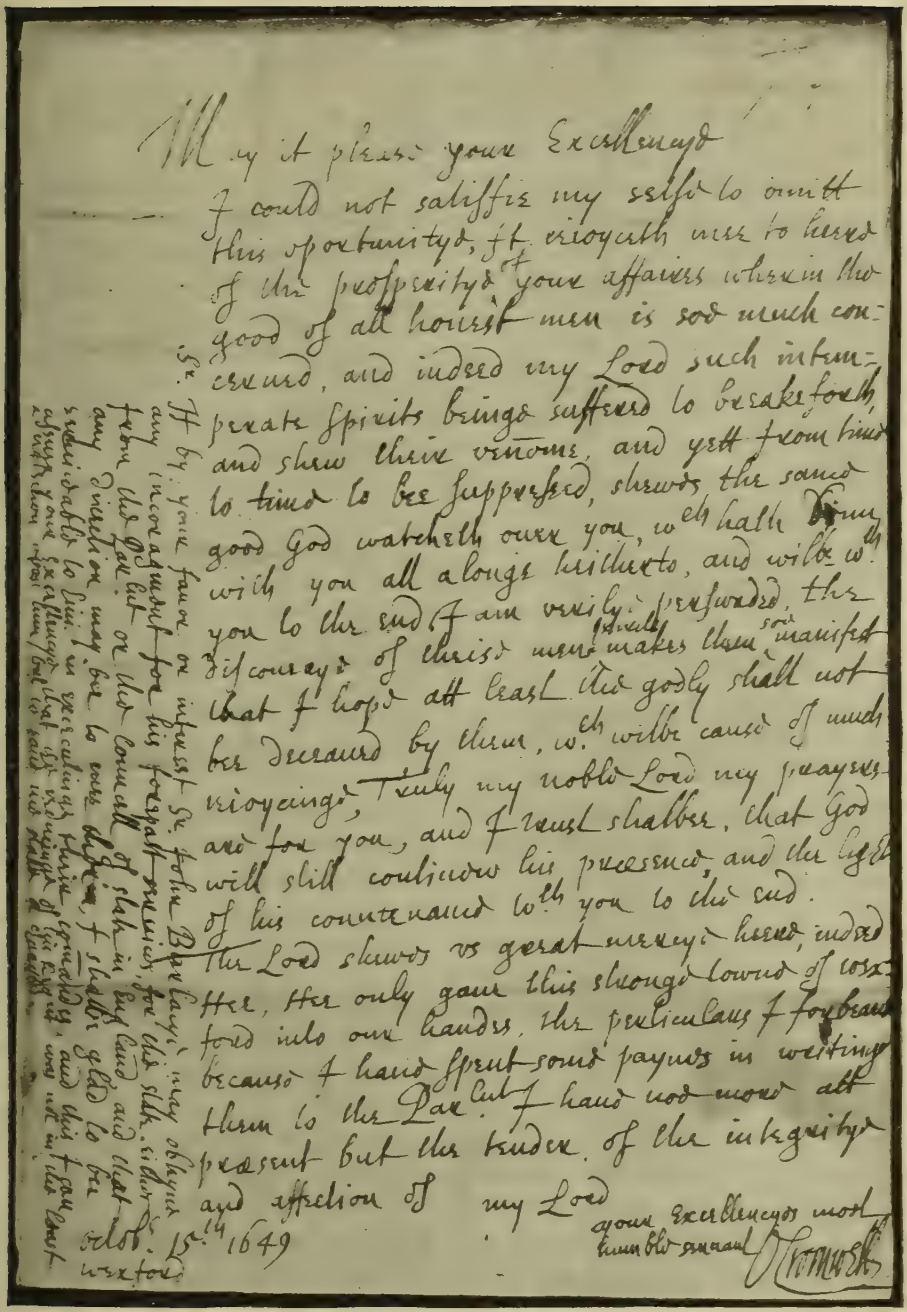
But although we have painted Oliver Cromwell as intensely earnest, as no hypocrite, as no mere vulgar fanatic, simply as an admirable example of that mighty religious sect which was playing so important a part in the drama of English political life, it must be remembered that the great Puritan was far from an ideal hero, far from a perfect saint in the lofty sense of the often misused word. His part in the execution of the king may find—does find—apologists; but although the sin may be blotted out of the Book of God's remembrance by that Blood in which Oliver, with all his errors and mistakes, trusted with so unswerving a trust, England will never forget, and the majority of serious Englishmen can never forgive the chief actor for his share in that woeful tragedy. His conduct, too, in the bloody Irish campaign, few among us will even try to condone, much less to approve. That fierce, relentless Irish bloodshed has left

behind it, alas! a wound which time has as yet failed to heal; has complicated and marred all subsequent friendly relations between England and the sorrowful and unhappy island, where the ever victorious Cromwell played so ill a part. It has left behind it a hatred which as yet no English statesman, however wise and conciliatory, has succeeded in changing into even a cold friendship and a lukewarm loyalty. It has been, indeed, a heritage of sorrow and confusion which Oliver has left to his country, as the fruits of his campaign in Ireland and desolating victory there. It is not our purpose to dwell on the confused and disturbed state of the island, when Cromwell with his Ironsides attempted its pacification. There is no doubt but that Ireland in 1649 was desolated with racial feuds, was dishonoured by shameful scenes of murder, pillage, lawless anarchy, and confusion; but what can excuse such acts of stern revenge as the massacres of Drogheda and Wexford, deliberately planned and carried out by the Parliamentary general?

Of the first of these bloody deeds, Oliver in an official letter, dated September, 1649, to Bradshaw, president of the Council of State, acting under the Parliament, thus writes: "It hath pleased God to bless our endeavour at Tredah (Drogheda). After battery we stormed it. The enemy were *three thousand strong* in the town . . . . we refused them quarter . . . I believe we put to the sword the whole number of the defendants . . . I do not think *thirty* escaped with their lives." In the storming of Wexford, in his report to Speaker Lenthall, Oliver placed the loss of the enemy at about two thousand! the Parliamentary general adding some ghastly details. The great apologist for Oliver Cromwell calmly relates how he put every man of the Drogheda (Tredah) garrison to death—"I forbade them (wrote Cromwell to Lenthall) to spare any that were in arms in the town, and I think that night they put to the sword about two thousand men"—and condones this merciless act thus: "To those who think that a land overrun with sanguinary quacks can be healed by sprinkling it with rose-water, these letters (Cromwell's reports to Bradshaw and Lenthall above quoted from) must be very horrible. Terrible surgery this; but *is* it surgery and judgment, or atrocious murder merely? That is a question which should be asked, and answered. Oliver Cromwell did believe in God's judgments, and did not believe in the rose-water plan of surgery; which, in fact, is their editor's [Carlyle's] case too!"*

Few will probably be found prepared to endorse this estimate of Cromwell's procedure in the Irish campaign; an estimate which speaks of the relentless hero of the still unforgotten terrible Irish tragedy, as an "armed soldier, solemnly conscious to himself that he is a soldier of God the Just . . . armed soldier, terrible as death, relentless as doom! doing God's judgments on the enemies of God." Puritanism, indeed, has been described, and deservedly so, in language of extravagant praise and extravagant blame, as "a form of belief which could bring out all the good and all the evil of the heart; it made some noble natures heroic, it made some

* Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, vol. ii., part v., "Irish War."



My it plees your Excellencyd
I could not satisfie my self to omitt
this opportunityd, of rejoycing unto you
of the prosperityd of your affaires wherein the
good of all honest men is soe much con-
cerned, and indeed my Lord such intem-
perate Spirits beinge suffered to breake forth,
and shew their venome, and yett from time
to time to bee suppressed, shewes the same
good God watcheth over you, wch hath bine
with you all alonge hitherto, and wilbe wth
you to the end. I am verily perswaded, the
discovery of christ mine makes them manifest
that I hope att least the godly shall not
bee deceaved by them, wch wilbe cause of much
rejoycinge. Truly my noble Lord my prayers
are for you, and I trust shalbee, that God
will still continow his presence, and the light
of his countenance with you to the end.
The Lord shewes us great mercy: heere, indeed
Hee, Hee only gave this stronge towne of wex-
ford into our handes, the particulars I forbeare
because I have sent some paynes in writinge
them to the Parliament I have not more att
present but the tender of the integrity
and affection of my Lord

your excellencyes most
humble servant
O Cromwell

Wexford
Octob. 15th
1649

Sr. If by your favor or interest Sr. John Bourchier may obtayne any recommendacon for his forepast service, for the sake of his father the late Lord Mayor of this Towne and that he may be to some employment, I shall desire it of you, and rest

Your humble servant
O Cromwell

AUTOGRAPH LETTER FROM OLIVER CROMWELL TO LORD FAIRFAX, INFORMING HIM OF THE CAPTURE OF WEXFORD.

Dated Wexford, October 15, 1649. (*British Museum.*)

base natures devilish."* Indeed, it might well have been described as making the nature of the same individual now heroic, now devilish, according to its temper at the time or its special environment. The consciousness, true or false, of being a chosen instrument to work out the decrees of the Almighty, confers upon a man a strange and an awful power, but a very dangerous one withal. This consciousness was the heritage of every true Puritan, and was the mainspring of Oliver Cromwell's public life.

We possess portraits on canvas, drawn by skilled hands, of this typical Puritan; we have also pictures of him painted by contemporary word-painters. Sir Philip Warwick, a Royalist, thus describes him as he appeared to himself before the Civil War: "The first time that I ever took notice of him was in the very beginning of the Parliament held in November, 1640 [that is, in the early days of the Long Parliament], when I vainly thought myself a courtly young gentleman, for we courtiers valued ourselves much upon our good clothes. I came one morning into the House well clad, and perceived a gentleman speaking whom I knew not, very ordinarily apparelled, for it was a plain cloth suit, which seemed to have been made by an ill country tailor; his linen was plain, and not very clean, and I remember a spot or two of blood upon his little band, which was not much larger than his collar; his hat was without a hat-band; his stature was of a good size, his sword stuck close to his side, his countenance swollen and reddish, his voice sharp and untuneable, and his eloquence full of fervour." Sir Philip Warwick proceeded to say how later he noticed "this very gentleman appear of a great and majestic deportment and comely presence."

Another description we possess, painted by John Maidston, an officer of Cromwell's household and a member of his Parliaments, in a letter to Winthrop, a distinguished man, and governor of Connecticut. It is dated 1659. He writes thus: "His body was well compact and strong, his stature under six feet (I believe about two inches); his head so shaped as you might see it a storehouse and shop, both of a vast treasury of natural parts; his temper exceeding fiery, as I have known, but the flame of it kept down for the most part, or soon allayed by those moral endowments he had. He was naturally compassionate towards objects in distress, even to an effeminate measure, though God had made him an heart wherein was left little room for any fear. . . . Yet did he exceed in tenderness toward sufferers. A larger soul I think hath seldom dwelt in a house of clay than his was."

Carlyle pictures him thus in the day of his supreme power, the details massed together from contemporary pamphlets and descriptions: "His highness was in a rich but plain suit, black velvet, with cloak of the same, about his hat a band of gold—a man of strong, solid stature and dignified, now partly military carriage, the expression of him valour and devout intelligence; . . . fifty-four years old; ruddy, fair complexion, bronzed by toil and age; light brown hair and moustache are getting streaked with grey; . . . massive stature; big, massive head, of somewhat leonine aspect; nose of considerable

* Frederic Harrison: "Oliver Cromwell.

blunt aquiline proportions; strict yet copious lips, full of all tremulous sensibilities, and also, if need were, of all fiercenesses and rigours; deep, loving eyes, looking under those craggy brows as if in life-long sorrow, yet not thinking it sorrow, thinking it only labour and endeavour—on the whole a right noble lion face and hero face, and to me royal enough."

It would be unjust, even in this brief sketch, not to say a word on the public work of that strange man who ruined the Royalists' cause, for a time apparently crushed the Church of England out of being, and punished with so terrible a punishment the mistaken attempt to force a despotism upon the English people. We have dwelt sufficiently on his grievous errors—not to use a harsher word—never to be forgotten on earth. This is no place to plead for him, still less to condemn him; but we must in all fairness acknowledge him to have been no vulgar tyrant, no mere self-seeking despot, no hypocritical fanatic. His bitter animosity to the Church of England was based on grounds deeper than the mere antagonism of an extreme Puritan. It was a hatred and distrust which was a natural part of the political creed of Oliver. The church he hated had ever been ranged on the side of king Charles. It was Royalist to the core. When the monarchy which had played so mistaken a part had disappeared, and Oliver found himself undisputed dictator in the country he had fought for, suffered for; when the church, as Oliver supposed, was wrecked, his great care as supreme governor was to restore order and prosperity in the England, which had been torn and well-nigh ruined by civil war for fourteen long years. And his work was brilliantly successful. "Most of the eighty-two ordinances passed by the Protector and his council were subsequently confirmed by Parliament. . . . Many of his measures treated of the reform of colleges, schools, and charitable foundations, for the suppression of cock-fighting, duelling, etc. In substance his legislation was a wise and moderate set of reforms. . . . He made some of the best judges England ever had. Justice and law opened a new era. Trade and commerce revived under his fostering care. Education was re-organised. . . . Men of learning of all opinions were encouraged and befriended. If there was a man in England who excelled in any faculty or science, the Protector would find him out and reward him according to his merit. . . . 'All England over, these were halcyon days,' said an opponent."*

But it was outside England that the splendour of Oliver's work was most noticeable. Clarendon, no friend to him, nobly writes here: "His greatness at home was but a shadow of the glory he had abroad." It will be the Protector's proudest title to honour, that he discerned with unerring sagacity the inescapable necessity of making England supreme at sea. It was under Oliver that the chief maritime power passed for ever from the Dutch to the English. It was Oliver who found in the great seaman, Blake, the fitting instrument to carry this wise, far-seeing policy into effect, and who provided him, certainly one of the greatest of the glorious line of English admirals, with the means to make

* Harrison: "Oliver Cromwell," chap. xii.

England mistress of the seas. "It was hard to discover," writes Clarendon, "which feared the Protector Oliver most, France, Spain, or the Low Countries."

In his home life, in his court, in the day of his supreme power, he showed the highest example of morality. His career was absolutely free from all stain of personal interest. He made no serious attempt to found a dynasty. He made no definite nomination even of a successor. (The naming of his son Richard at the last, when his brain was clouded with mortal sickness, is doubtful.) "After his death, he knew too well, nothing which he could do would save the cause. He accepted the inevitable, and he did nothing."*

Our picture of the Puritan soldier and statesman would not be complete without some account of his last hours. Of these we possess a tolerably full and probably an absolutely authentic record, in the words of his faithful attendant.† They are transparently real in themselves, and the evidence of their genuineness never having been seriously impugned, they will give us one more proof, if such be required, of the reality of Oliver Cromwell's religion and the transparent sincerity of his faith. He was only fifty-nine when the end came — was seemingly strong and even young for his years, but in reality worn out by twenty years of incessant toil, danger, crushing anxieties. The death of his favourite daughter, the lady Elizabeth Claypole, after great and prolonged sufferings, in the August of 1658, had seriously affected the loving father; and as he watched the slow ebbing-out of the last hours of her young life, the sickness from which he never rallied stole upon him. It was a kind of tertian ague; probably the seeds had been laid long before in some of his many campaigns. George Fox, the Quaker, tells us how he saw the famous Protector riding into Hampton Park with his guards for the last time; this was in the same August. "And before I came to him," says Fox, "I saw and felt a waft of death go forth against him. He looked like a dead man. After I had laid the sufferings of 'friends' before him, he bade me come to his house. The next day I went up to Hampton Court to speak farther with him"; but the Protector was too ill then, and Fox never saw him again.

A few more days of restless sickness, and by the advice of his physicians he was removed in a coach to Whitehall, the air of London being considered better for his ague and fever; this was on the 24th August. But Harvey, his groom of the chamber, who wrote the pathetic story of the end, tells us "his time was come, and neither prayers nor tears could prevail with God to lengthen out his life and continue him longer to us. Prayers abundantly and incessantly poured out on his behalf, both publicly and privately, as was observed, in a more than ordinary way. Besides many a secret sigh, . . . all which, the hearts of God's people being thus mightily stirred up, did seem to beget confidence in some and hopes in all—yea, some thoughts in himself—that God would restore him." Hope, however, in his recovery, as the symptoms grew graver, was at last abandoned. Many of his last sayings and words in these few closing

* Mr. Frederic Harrison.

† Harvey, groom of Oliver Cromwell's bedchamber; dated 1659.

days of the great life have been carefully preserved to us by the same kindly hand of his faithful attendant above quoted.

He was seldom alone; preachers, chaplains, and others being constantly in attendance. His wife and children, too, weeping, watched him constantly during those sad hours. The intense reality of the Puritan religion is conspicuously manifest in the touching little record. Carlyle* has gathered up a few of the Lord Protector's sayings and words out of Harvey's memoir. "Lord," the bystanders heard him say, "Thou knowest, if I do desire to live, it is to show forth Thy praise and declare Thy works." He had not as yet abandoned all hope of recovery. Three times, Harvey tells us, he was heard repeating: "It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the Living God." Then he would utter words of trust and confidence: "The Lord hath fill me with as much assurance of His pardon and His love as my soul can hold." And again, after dwelling on the promises of God in Jesus Christ, the dying Protector said aloud: "I think I am the poorest wretch that lives, but I love God, or rather am beloved of God. I am a conqueror and more than a conqueror through Christ that strengtheneth me."

THE DEATH OF OLIVER CROMWELL.
(*From the picture by D. W. Wynfield, in South Kensington Museum.*)

On the 30th August, when none of those who loved him well dared entertain any hope that the life so precious to England and Puritanism would be spared, broke over England that historic storm which chroniclers dwell on with awe and

* "Oliver Cromwell," vol. iii., part x. Also see Mr. F. Harrison: "Oliver Cromwell," chap. xiv.; and S. R. Gardiner: "Puritan Revolution," chap. ix.

wonder. It seems to have swept across the country with howling winds and drenching rains, with a fury rarely experienced in this island, uprooting trees, unroofing houses, and scattering desolation far and wide. "The devil," said the cavaliers and Royalists, who still bitterly mourned their king and their own utter defeat, "was fetching home the soul of the Tyrant"; but little cared Oliver then for storm or curses. Very touching were his words to wife and children as they stood and watched him: "Love not this world. I say unto you, it is not good that you should love this world. No, children, live like Christians."

Two or three nights before he died he prayed the beautiful prayer which Harvey gives us, thus commenting upon it and its undoubted authenticity: "Some variation there is of this Prayer, as to the account divers give of it, and something is here omitted, but *so much is certain*—these were his requests, wherein his heart was so carried out for God and His people, yea, indeed, for some who had added no little sorrow to him, the Anabaptist Republicans and others, that at this time he seems to forget his own family and nearest relations."

THE PRAYER.

Lord, though I am a miserable and wretched creature, I am in covenant with Thee through grace. And I may, I will come to Thee, for Thy people. Thou hast made me, though very unworthy, a mean instrument to do them some good and Thee service; and many of them have set too high a value upon me, though others wish and would be glad of my death. Lord, however Thou do dispose of me, continue and go on to do good for them. Give them consistency of judgment, one heart and mutual love, and go on to deliver them, and with the work of reformation, and make the name of Christ glorious in the world. Teach those who look too much on Thy instruments to depend more upon Thyself.

Pardon such as desire to trample upon the dust of a poor worm, for they are Thy people too.

And pardon the folly of this short prayer, even for Jesus Christ's sake.

And give us a good night, if it be Thy pleasure.

Amen.

There is little more to tell. The long death agony from the time of his removal to Whitehall, lasted ten days. The evening before the end he was heard talking as it were to himself: "Truly God is good; indeed He is; He will not——." Then, said Harvey, his speech failed him, "but as I apprehended, it was, 'He will not leave me.' This saying, 'God is good,' he frequently used all along, and would speak it with much cheerfulness and fervour of spirit in the midst of his pain." That night—the last—he was very restless. On there being offered to him something to drink which would give him sleep, he refused, saying, "It is not my design to drink or to sleep, but to make what haste I can to be gone." A few more expressions of deep humility, but of consolation and peace, were heard by Harvey. Then he fell into a stupor, and so passed away. It was the 3rd September, 1658, the anniversary of his two great victories of Dunbar and of Worcester.

He had many warm and devoted friends, chiefly in that matchless army and fleet which he had created. But he had no successor; Richard, his son, who assumed for a brief interval his title and dignity, being but the shadow of a name. With extraordinary rapidity, in less than two short years from that sorrowful September afternoon, the whole of the elaborate machinery of government devised by the Lord Protector had collapsed; the old Stuart dynasty, in the person of the son of

the murdered king, was once more firmly re-established on the English throne; and at the same time passed away for ever Puritanism as a power—though not as an influence, as we shall see.

They gave him a funeral—the most stately, men say, ever known in this country, copying the gorgeous and elaborate ceremonial of king Philip II. of Spain, who had died on the same day sixty years before. They laid him among the kings and queens of England in the storied abbey at Westminster. Reckoned in our present money, these magnificent and more than royal obsequies cost £150,000. Round the fate of the remains of Oliver many legends have gathered. The most probable account is the one which relates how the body, after having been embalmed, was buried in Henry VII.'s chapel of the abbey—in the spot still pointed out. After the Restoration it was disinterred, decapitated, hung up at Tyburn, and the head set up and exposed for a lengthened period over the gate of Westminster Hall. A story not unworthy of credence tells how after a time lady Fauconberg was suffered to take the poor dishonoured trunk down from the Tyburn tree, and had it securely walled up in masonry in the walls of Yorkshire Newburgh. The whole story of the ghastly disinterment is a pitiful memory, and not a few of the most devoted royalists in England, who admire the colossal greatness of the Protector, while loathing his sin against his king and his terrible work in Ireland, would witness with true joy the reverent replacement of the bones of the great Puritan, should they still exist, in their abbey tomb. We do not now war with the dead.

There is nothing told in the many-coloured pages of history more remarkable than the rise of Puritanism, its victory, and its sudden fall. In the pictures we have painted of four of its typical men, it will be seen how mighty a power it must have been once among us. For Hampden and Milton, Bunyan and Oliver Cromwell, were not solitary instances of Puritanism, but, as we have already urged with great insistence, were simply examples of many thousands of the English people who had set before them "the fear of God" as the mainspring of all life and endeavour. The four only differed from the great majority of the rank and file of their party, by being their superiors in ability and in mental power.

But though this mighty Puritanism, when Oliver Cromwell died, strangely passed out of sight as an outward power, as a visible force, its spirit has lived among us ever since; not, as some writers imagine, only or even principally among the Nonconformist bodies, such as the Baptists and Independents, the Presbyterians and Wesleyans. Many of the truest and noblest Puritans, it must be ever remembered, were loyal to the Church of England. We have instanced here such men as Hampden and Milton *before* the Civil War. In some particulars those great Dissenting bodies, whose religious work and well-deserved influence among our people every true son of the Church of England gladly acknowledges, are the lineal descendants of the later Puritans. But, quite apart from those earnest and devout Protestant sects who for various reasons are unhappily not in communion with the great historic church of our land, the spirit of

Puritanism still lives and works among ourselves. It is one of the great powers for good, to this day, in the English nation. To its grave and earnest influence is owing much of the earnestness, the sobriety, the "religiousness," if we may use the word, of the Anglo-Saxon race—in a word, many of those unspeakably noble characteristics which specially belong to Englishmen, and which have contributed so much to make the Anglo-Saxon equal to the task of controlling and influencing so large a division of the world. The historian of the English people tells us in a striking passage* that "the whole history of English progress since the Reformation, on its moral and spiritual sides, has been the history of Puritanism." The assertion is possibly a little over-coloured, but in the main it is emphatically true; for on whatever side of the complex society of England in the closing years of the nineteenth century we fix our attention, we are sensible of its mighty influence.

To take a few obvious examples of this blessed, far-reaching influence. In no country of the civilised world is *woman* reverenced and respected as in England and in her daughter-lands. Among no people is the sanctity of marriage, and the holy purity of the home life, reverenced as it is with us in England; and how jealous is her church of the smallest step in the direction of any relaxation of the marriage law, in the matter of divorce and separation! Again, how proud is the entire nation of the white and stainless purity of the Court which gives the tone to all society, the Court which for sixty years has been under the sway of a distinguished and spotless queen! "The womanhood of England was nurtured in the great Protestant tradition,"* and the ideal of English womanhood was hymned first by the Puritan poet, Spenser, and even more conspicuously by the yet more pronounced Puritan, Milton, who had before him such models as Lucy Hutchinson and the mother of Oliver Cromwell, and others of the nobler Puritan ladies of his day and time.

But in no department of modern life has the influence of Puritanism been more felt than in letters. In European letters it is to England that all nations resort, not only for masterpieces of literature, but for pure books in the several domains of history, romance, and poetry. In the pages of her many great historians, romancists, song-men, very rarely comes the student across a thought which would bring a blush upon the cheek of even a girl; and whenever this canon of purity is violated, the true voice of English society at once repudiates it, and the works of the offending writers are placed by public opinion in an informal but real "Index" of condemned and repudiated letters. Can this be fairly predicated to the same extent of the books of any other nation? It is the same in art as in letters. Puritanism permeates all alike.

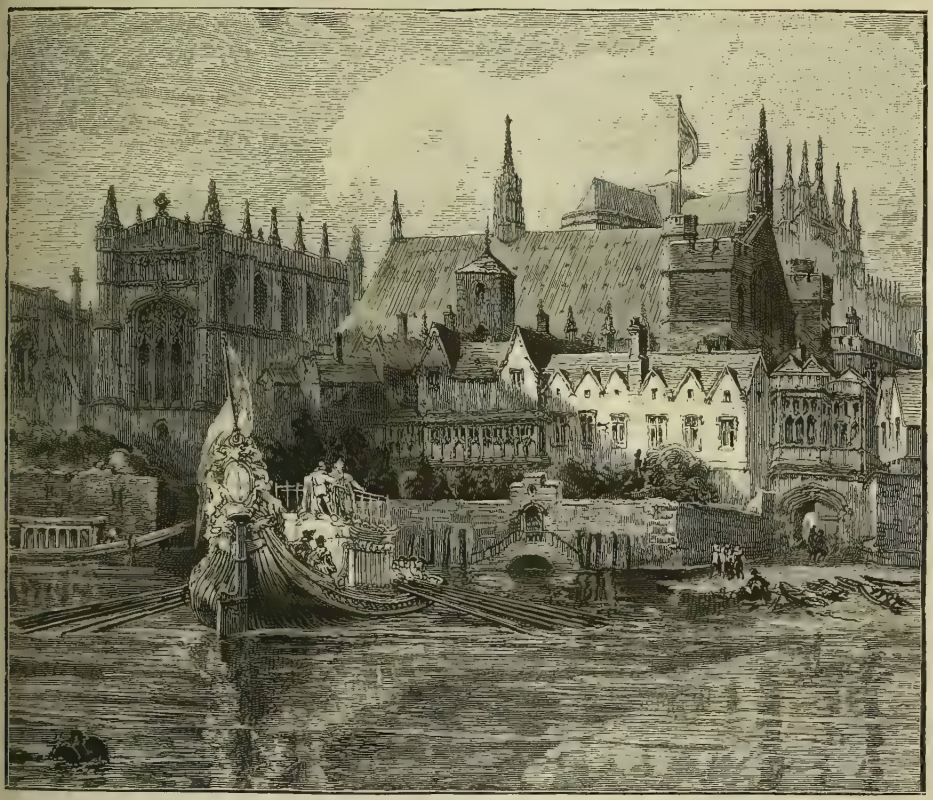
Once more: it is the same spirit to which we owe the rigid conservation of our English Sunday; an institution often mocked at, even sneered at by continental critics, but at the same time envied and admired by the very men who now and again heedlessly ridicule it. It affects, too, all political life in various ways. The unblushing cynicism and the venality of such

* Mr. Green: "History," chap. viii., section x.

* S. R. Gardiner

a government as was Sir Robert Walpole's, utterly foreign to the true English spirit, finds no apologists, and is condemned universally with an unstinting condemnation; very rarely indeed can a flaw now be

power in her midst. The good sense and calm judgment which, in the vast majority of our clergy, leads them to adopt that historic "middle way," the precious tradition of the Church of England, often,



WESTMINSTER HALL FROM THE RIVER, IN THE TIME OF CHARLES I.

letected in the public life of our statesmen, r in the acts of their administration.

The very Church of England is permeated by the same influences. Her cknowledged care for the education of the oor, her devotion to the sufferings of the asses in sickness and in poverty, largely pring from the same Puritan spirit, which, ardly acknowledged, dwells as a living

for the common weal, subordinating their own predilections—this one in the direction of mediæval symbolism, that one for the great simplicity loved by a Hooper or a Jewel—belongs also to that spirit of lofty Puritanism which once animated the serene soul of Hampden, and which lives along the eloquent pages of the earlier verses of Milton.

CHAPTER LXVI.

OLIVER CROMWELL AND THE SUPPRESSION OF THE ANGLICAN CHURCH.

Epitome of the Civil War—The Growing Conflict between Presbyterianism and Independency—Between Parliament and the Army—Pride's Purge and the "Rump"—Trial and Execution of the King—Destruction of the English Constitution—Fighting in Ireland—The "Crowning Mercy" of Worcester — Dissolution of the "Rump" Parliament — The Protectorate — Oliver's Abortive Efforts to Secure Parliamentary Government—Animosity of the Long Parliament to the Church—Its Causes—The "Root and Branch" Bill—The Westminster Assembly—Adoption of the "Solemn League and Covenant"—Abolition of Episcopacy, and Expulsion of Anglican Clergy—The Directory for Public Worship—The Two Catechisms—The Confession of Faith—Charges against Episcopal Ministers — Wholesale Ejectment and Spoliation — Anarchy in Religious Matters—The "Triers"—Evelyn's Testimony—End of the Puritan Interregnum.

BEFORE chronicling the doom which befell the Church of England during the years of the Puritan ascendancy, we must very slightly sketch the events which succeeded each other with extraordinary rapidity after king Charles I. raised the royal standard at Nottingham in 1642; an act which may be regarded as a signal that the Civil War had begun in earnest. This period, including scarcely twenty years—1642–1660—fraught with such momentous issues, may be fairly arranged into three divisions as follows:—

(1) 1642–1649, *the great Civil War*, ending with the execution of Charles I. and the general supremacy of the army of Oliver Cromwell over the Parliament and all constituted authority.

(2) 1649–1653, *the Commonwealth*, when Parliament still nominally governed, and issued orders to the army and its great general.

(3) 1653–1660, *the Protectorate*, when Oliver Cromwell was virtually dictator, until his death in 1658, when a short period of anarchy preceded the Restoration of 1660.

As regards the first period, the great Civil War, at the commencement and during the early stages of the struggle between the crown and the Parliament, the north and west of England were, roughly speaking, on the king's side, the south and east on the side of the House of Commons; but the lines of separation were scarcely ever definite. One broad line of boundary between the two opponents, however, may be held in memory. The entire district of the eastern counties, with Bucks, Herts, Middlesex, Surrey, Kent, Sussex, and the cities of Gloucester, Reading, Bristol, Leicester, and Northampton, were the home of Puritanism, and were opposed generally to the king and his views of government.

In the early scenes of the war the advantage lay with the king. "The dashing cross-country rider, followed by his groom and huntsman,"* the high-spirited loyal gentlemen who followed the royal standard, were vastly superior to the *matériel* which composed the armies of the Parliament. But there was an office serving in the ranks of the rebel army

* Gardiner: "Puritans," chap. iv.

who quickly saw this and was able to remedy it. In Oliver Cromwell the Parliament possessed one of the great soldiers of the world. From the first days of the war he made his influence felt. "He was everywhere ; his zeal kept alive the fervour of resistance, and stirred it up when it was yet sleeping. He organised, fought, taught men how to fight." Equally great as a strategist or as a combatant, he rapidly became the mainspring of the rebel forces. His most important piece of work in the early days of the war, however, was his creation of that terrible regiment of Puritan soldiers, subsequently known as the Ironsides, which we have already described. "I have a lovely company," he once wrote ; "you would respect them did you know them." Very soon he was master of the best soldiers to be found in the two armies. In the field of Marston Moor, the first real victory over the king, the Ironsides of Cromwell decided the battle.

But while this great soldier of the Parliament was busy forging that tremendous instrument which in the end decided the event of the war, the Long Parliament in 1643 were growing uneasy at the state of affairs in the field. The general superiority of the royal forces was manifest, and they determined to enlist the services of Scotland on their side. The price they paid for this help, proved one of the principal causes of the eventual downfall of Puritanism. Scotland, before sending its trained veterans to the help of the English Parliament, insisted that England should formally adopt Presbyterianism ; and the national representatives, who in the Civil War were opposed to the king, mainly to conciliate Scotland—to win her support and the aid of her trained armies—adopted Presbyterianism as the national form of religion. It was the price Parliament paid for Scottish aid. "No Presbyterianism, no Scottish army," and the Parliament were conscious of this. The price was loyally paid, but Presbyterianism was never really popular in England. The Solemn League and Covenant was, however, signed by the members of Parliament, and Presbyterianism became dominant through the length and breadth of the England which had revolted against Charles I.

We have before touched upon the great split, which in the hour of its seeming triumph cleft Puritanism asunder, dividing it into two opposite camps, utterly irreconcilable the one to the other. There were grave reasons besides, which, if it became separated from the Church of England and adopted Presbyterianism or Independency under disguise, would have made it impossible for Puritanism to have been the form which Protestantism would assume as the established religion in England. On some of these we have already dwelt. But the immediate downfall and ruin of its short-lived supremacy was primarily, no doubt, owing to this serious split in its own ranks. For the Parliament of 1643 and the following years had another power to reckon with besides the Royalist party—in their own army, daily increasing in numbers and efficiency. This army hated Presbyterianism. In its ranks were not a few of the exiles, who, disliking the uniformity which was being enforced in the Church of England, had in past years crossed the seas to the New England of the vast, unexplored Western Continent,

but who, in hope of happier and more tolerant days, had now come back to their native land. These returned exiles, who in considerable numbers joined the Parliamentary forces, included Separatists of varied kinds—Independents, Baptists, and the like—all animated with a dislike, even a hatred of Presbyterian rule, as intense as their former antipathy to Episcopalian government. These men—and their numbers were soon increased—would serve God after their own fashion. Each congregation was to be perfectly independent of every other congregation; they suffered no government, Parliamentary or Royalist, to interfere with them. At the head of these Independents, or rather Separatists, and in entire sympathy with them, was the formidable Puritan hero who had lately arisen, Oliver Cromwell. Under his protecting influence the "Ironsides," and soon the whole army, of which he was the virtual commander and directing influence, became anti-Presbyterian.

In the spring of 1643, the lieutenant-general of the Parliament—for he had rapidly risen to this commanding military rank, and was already regarded as the great soldier of the rebel armies—wrote his famous letter to major-general Crawford, a zealous Scotch Presbyterian, in which he openly declared the position he was prepared to take up in matters of religion. Utterly opposed, "root and branch," as it has been well termed, to Presbyterianism as a narrow and tyrannical form of church government, he publicly declared himself as the patron of "Independent Puritans." The occasion of this letter was the suspension and arrest of a lieutenant-colonel Packer, who, simply on account of religious opinions, was disgraced b his commanding officer, major-genera Crawford. To this Presbyterian genera Oliver Cromwell sternly wrote:

> Surely you are not well advised thus to turn o one so faithful to the cause, and so able to serv you as this man is. Give me leave to tell you, cannot be of your judgment, cannot understand a man notorious for wickedness, for oaths, fo drinking, hath as great a share in your affection a one who fears an oath, fears to sin, that this dot commend your election of men to serve as f instruments in this work! Ay, but the man "i an Anabaptist." Are you sure of that? Admi he be, shall that render him incapable to serve th public? . . . Sir, the State, in choosing me to serve it, takes no notice of their opinions; i they be willing faithfully to serve it, that satisfies I advised you formerly to bear with men of differen minds from yourself. . . . . It may be you judg otherwise, but I tell you my mind. I desire yo would receive this man [lieutenant-colonel Packer into your favour and good opinion. Take hee of being sharp against those to whom you ca object little but that they square not with you i every opinion concerning matters of religion. I have not further to trouble you, but rest, you humble servant, ... OLIVER CROMWELL.

Very clearly in other letters and des patches the Puritan soldier chief expresse his strong opinions and views on thes points. To Speaker Lenthall especially h writes: "Presbyterians, Independents, al here [in the army] have the same spirit o faith and prayer, the same presence an answer; they agree here, have no name of difference; pity it is it should be other wise anywhere! . . . For being unite in forms, commonly called uniformity every Christian will for peace sake stud and do as far as conscience will permi And for brethren, in things of the mind we look for no compulsion but that o light and reason."

Thus began the long series of religiou

PURITANS AND CAVALIERS.

(From the painting by H Pille.)

disputes, hatreds, intrigues, between the Parliament and the army. The great general and moving spirit of these formidable men-at-arms, Oliver Cromwell, fervid Puritan though he was, was ever opposed to Presbyterianism. The victory of Marston Moor was decided by the Ironsides of Cromwell, and the ascendancy of the general and his army was becoming more felt every day. The chief commands in the Parliamentary forces were still held by the earls of Essex and Manchester, but these and other officers were regarded as inefficient, perhaps half-hearted, by Oliver Cromwell. A strange device was adopted to get rid of them. His influence in the House of Commons was sufficient to secure the passing of an act termed the "self-denying ordinance," by which every member of either House was declared incapable of holding any military command. Oliver, however, being absolutely indispensable to the army, as might have been expected, was exempted from the provisions of the "self-denying ordinance." Indeed, the whole of the rebel army was being reorganised by Cromwell and his officers on the pattern of his own invincible force of Ironsides.

The "new model" army, as it was termed, and the "self-denying ordinance," brought about a complete revolution in the affairs of the Parliamentary party. A concession was made to the Presbyterians of the House of Commons, by declaring their system of church government universal in England; but all true power was taken out of their hands, and was vested in Cromwell and his friends. Sir Thomas Fairfax was made commander-in-chief, but the real authority belonged henceforth to Oliver Cromwell, who now had in h hands an organised army of the highe efficiency, led by officers entirely devot to him. Lords Essex and Manchester a all other peers and members of Parliame were excluded from holding any comman in the army. Presbyterianism, thou nominally the system of church gover ment established by the Parliament, fou no sympathy in, and was practically d regarded by, the army and its gre organiser and real chief. Early in 16 this new state of things was finally esta lished, and in the June of the same ye in the centre of England, the battle Naseby was fought. So crushing was t defeat of the Royalists, it virtually clos the war. A few skirmishes, and here a there a siege, fill up the dreary record the rest of the fatal year, but never aga were the English Royalists able to gath together another army to meet Oliver a the Parliamentarians. The tone of t despatch to the Houses announcing t victory of Naseby, shows that Oliver treat himself as practically commander-in-chi and as master of the situation in t council chamber as in the field.

In 1646 Charles, finding the situati hopeless, gave himself up to the Sco who were then besieging one of his l remaining strongholds at Newark. W are not concerned here with the confus and tangled negotiations between Charl and the Scottish Presbyterians, which, ho ever, came to nought. At the beginni of 1647, as the result of a shame agreement, the Scots gave up the king the English Parliament. A considera sum of money, which the northern nati claimed as wages for the assistance giv

to England in the late war, was paid to them. This disgraceful bargain, by which king Charles I. was sold to his inveterate English enemies, was utterly unworthy of the chivalrous Scottish nation. No doubt the refusal of the English king to support the Presbyterianism so dear to the Scottish people, determined them to surrender him, but no excuse can ever palliate the deed of shame. More negotiations were now set on foot between the Parliament and the king, who was confined in Holmby House in Northamptonshire; indeed, at this time dread of the enormous power of the army and its great general disposed Parliament to attempt to come to terms with Charles. Oliver, however, solved the question by forcibly taking possession of the king's person and placing him under safe custody.

The three years following the defeat of Charles I. to his death at Whitehall (1646-1649), have been well described as "the most intricate and obscure of the Civil War." We shall in this brief historical survey not attempt to follow them up with any detail, but shall only indicate the principal events. The struggle now really was between the Parliament and the army. The Parliament was pledged to support Presbyterianism, and the army was equally determined to prevent Presbyterian domination. The Parliament was fully aware of the terrible power of the instrument they had called into being, and was even ready to come to terms with the sovereign they had humbled, if by these means they could destroy the influence of the great soldier, and ward off the drastic political and religious changes which they foresaw would be carried out against their will in the near future. The condition of their submission to the crown, however, was the acceptance of Presbyterianism by Charles.

As the event showed, the army under its mighty chief, who proved himself to be as wise a statesman as he was a great soldier, was too powerful to be dictated to or even influenced. Once more Scotland and its army for a brief moment seemed to hold the key of the position. The Scottish Presbyterians, alarmed at the prospects of Presbyterianism in England if the army and Oliver Cromwell were suffered to gain the upper hand, again entered into negotiations with the captive king, and the result was the breaking out of what is termed the second Civil War. A great army, consisting of some 17,000 Scots and 7,000 Royalists of the northern counties, poured into England. The campaign was conducted with little skill, and Oliver Cromwell, with a force little exceeding 9,000, but composed of veterans trained in many a fight, engaged the Scottish and English forces as they aimlessly marched southwards. The fight continued for three days. It is known as the victory of Preston, though the battle was spread over more than thirty miles of country. Oliver was completely victorious. Ten thousand prisoners were taken, and a vast number were slain. This closed the short but decisive campaign.

In the meantime Parliament was more determined than ever to carry out its own policy of enforcing the tyranny of Presbyterianism. The Commons issued, in opposition to Oliver Cromwell's known wishes, a fierce statute for the suppression of blasphemies and heresies. Death was appointed as the doom in some cases, prison

in others. The latter penalty was to be inflicted on any who asserted that "the church government by Presbytery was anti-Christian or unlawful." Again negotiations between Parliament and the king were set on foot, and towards the end of 1648 the Commons openly declared for a reconciliation with the king. Oliver was still in the north, but the southern army under Fairfax and Ireton, "his other self," acting no doubt under the direction of the great chief, marched upon London and quickly surrounded the "House," and a regiment under Colonel Pride forcibly ejected some hundred or more of the leading Presbyterian members. This was known as "Pride's purge." Other members absented themselves; in all, 146 members were excluded from the proceedings of the "House," and the remnant of the Long Parliament who remained were known as the "Rump." Henceforth this Parliament was simply the obedient instrument of the army and its mighty general, who now played the part of military dictator.

The "Rump" now simply carried out the will of Oliver and his officers. A resolution was passed to bring the captive king to justice, and he was brought, strongly guarded, to Windsor. On the 1st January of the following year (1649) a high court of justice, numbering 135 members, under the presidency of an eminent lawyer, John Bradshaw, was appointed by the remnant of the Commons to try the king. The few lords who still sat as a House, refused to take part in the proceedings. The Commons upon this at once declared that "the people are under God the original of all just power; that the Commons of England in Parliament assembled . . . have the supreme power in the nation; that whatsoever is enacted by the Commons hath the force of a law although the consent and concurrence of the king and the House of Peers be not had thereunto."

No time was lost in bringing the long meditated deed to a conclusion. On the 21st January, 1649, the trial of the king commenced at Whitehall, only sixty-seven however, of the 135 appointed members being present. The king refused to plead denying the competence of the court. It was therefore simply a formality, the conclusion being a foregone one. On the fifth day of the trial he was condemned to death as a tyrant, a traitor, and an enemy of the country. The barbarous sentence was carried into execution on the 30th of the same month. The scaffold, erected in front of the Banqueting House at Whitehall, was guarded by a strong military force, while all around the streets and roofs of the houses were crowded with spectators. The Banqueting House built by Inigo Jones is still with us, the solitary remain of the famous palace of the kings of England; the window out of which the king passed to the temporary scaffold is still pointed out with tolerable certainty.

The behaviour of the fallen monarch on the scaffold, and as he waited during the last two or three sad days for the supreme hour, was characterised—his friends and foes bear a like testimony—by all the graces which belong to a chivalrous Christian gentleman. No harsh, vengeful words seem to have passed his lips; calm courageous, and dignified, hopeless as regards this present, passing world, he rejoiced in the larger, grander hope with

CHARLES I. ON HIS WAY TO EXECUTION

(From the picture by Ernest Crofts, R.A., by permission of Messrs. Hildesheimer & Co.)

perfect, unshaken confidence, and died without a murmur, with that serene courage which he had inherited from a line of sovereign princes stretching over well-nigh a thousand years. When the masked executioner lifted up the head, which fell at the first stroke, and the vast crowd looked on the well-known beautiful features, pale and blood-streaked, of their king whom they had allowed to die, a groan of sorrow and dismay burst from the silent multitude. In foreign lands the execution excited even greater indignation than in England, where the long fierce wars had sadly familiarised men's thoughts with deeds of blood and vengeance. The death of the English king was viewed with burning indignation alike amongst the Protestant and the Roman Catholic nations of the Continent.

When the head of Charles I. fell on the scaffold at Whitehall, the ancient constitution of England was destroyed. The king and the Lords were gone, and the House of Commons was simply a docile instrument in the hands of the formidable military leader, who was virtually now dictator. A Council of State was created, composed of forty-one persons chosen from the Parliament and officers of the army, the obedient Parliament registering its decrees; this government, known as the "Commonwealth," bore sway in England from 1649 to 1653. But Oliver was the guiding spirit. His acts in respect to the Church of England will be presently related. His first pressing work was the subjugation of Ireland. We have already touched, in our sketch of the Puritan soldier, upon this terrible campaign. The Irish task was sternly and cruelly, bu from Oliver's point of view, thorough done. Ireland was no longer a danger the peace of England. When the conque was completed, "three out of the fo provinces of Ireland were confiscated f the benefit of the conquering race."* Th was fully carried out in 1652 by t stern lieutenant whom Oliver left behi him in Ireland to complete his work.

Yet another danger still existed, whic only the splendid military genius of Oliv could cope with. Throughout the Civ War, Scotland with its well-trained arm had played a considerable part, now sidi with the Parliament, now ranging itself the side of the king, as the chances of loved Presbyterianism rose and fell amo the Parliamentarians and the despairi Royalists. In Oliver Cromwell the Scot knew well that Presbyterianism had friend. In 1650 the Scotch adopted t cause of the young prince, Charles II., wh for the sake of their support, swore to t Presbyterian covenant. This constitute a grave menace to the peace of Englan where, as Oliver well knew, a large Roya ist party, broken and disorganised thoug it was, existed. There was a short, shar campaign; but as usual the surpassi military genius of Oliver gave him t victory, and at Dunbar the Scottish arm was well-nigh annihilated. The dang was not yet, however, overcome. Anoth force of considerable numbers, the youn king with them, pressed into Englan hoping that many Royalists would joi them. But England was exhausted wit the long warfare, and the Royalist part were hopelessly dispirited, and only fe

* Gardiner: "Puritans," chap. viii.

ined the standard of the young Charles. he Scottish forces penetrated as far as Worcester, where Oliver came up with the vaders. The result is well known. The pless Scottish army was destroyed. Charles caped, and became a fugitive and exile r many years. Oliver termed the Worster fight "a crowning mercy." He had ason so to style it; never again had the uritan soldier cause to draw his victorious ord. England, Ireland, Scotland were ke at his feet. Worcester was fought d won September 3rd, 1651.

Abroad, the Commonwealth was engaged a dangerous war with the Dutch, a war at sprang out of disputes concerning reign trade. The English navy had for me time been growing into a formidable wer, and this war would decide whether ngland or Holland was to be the mistress the seas. Both powers possessed admirals of no ordinary ability; Van Tromp d De Ruyter will ever be honoured mes in Dutch story, while Blake in ngland can never be ignored as the nder of her surpassing maritime greatss. The war for a long time dragged on. here were no startling victories on either e; but on the whole England slowly ned the upper hand, and gradually ove the Dutch from the seas, where they d long reigned supreme.

At home, the "Rump," as the pitiful nnant of the Long Parliament was med, was becoming more and more discredited. Its members were accused, obably with reason, of corruption; Oliver ged them, but in vain, to dissolve and to ovide for the election of a new Parliant. At last they proposed an iniquitous of dissolution, which would secure the sitting of the present members in the new Parliament. Upon this, at the head of an armed force, the military dictator ejected them forcibly from the "House." This was in 1653. The Council of State was dismissed the same day, and three days later appeared an "*apologia*" for the strange arbitrary deed, in the form of "a Declaration of the Lord-General and his officers." The substance of it was, that as the late Parliament were seeking to perpetuate themselves, they had been necessitated to put an end to it. The nation, including the army and navy, quietly acquiesced in Oliver's high-handed procedure, and the whole machinery of state now officially passed into the hands of the dictator, whose will for several years had been all-powerful, though the semblance of a Parliamentary government had been preserved.

Thus the Long Parliament came to an end. The same year, wishful apparently to preserve some of the constitutional framework, the general and a council of officers gathered together as a Parliament a body of 140 Puritan notables, names mainly suggested, it would seem, by the "godly clergy." Some were men of rank and position; some were soldiers or sailors, as Monk and Blake; others were extreme types of Puritan sects. In derision they have been called the Barebones Parliament, from the name of one Praise-God Barebones, who sat in it. In less than half a year (December, 1653) the members resigned their powers into the hands of Oliver. In the same month (the December of 1653) the leading officers of the army (of course, under the same inspiration) drew up an "Instrument of Government"—in other

words, a "Constitution"—which provided for an elected Parliament, of one House only, with the executive power placed in the hands of Oliver Cromwell as Lord Protector. Under this title Oliver now ruled England as absolute master until his death in 1658. Opposed to this formal assumption of sovereign rule were a little knot of stern Puritans, to whom "revolution meant Republican equality; but he had with him the Puritan rank and file, the great majority of the superior officers, all moderate men of every party who desired peace, order, good government; the great cities, the army, and the navy. With these and his own commanding genius he held his own triumphantly, slowly winning the confidence of the nation by virtue of unbroken success and (as it seemed) miraculous fortune."*

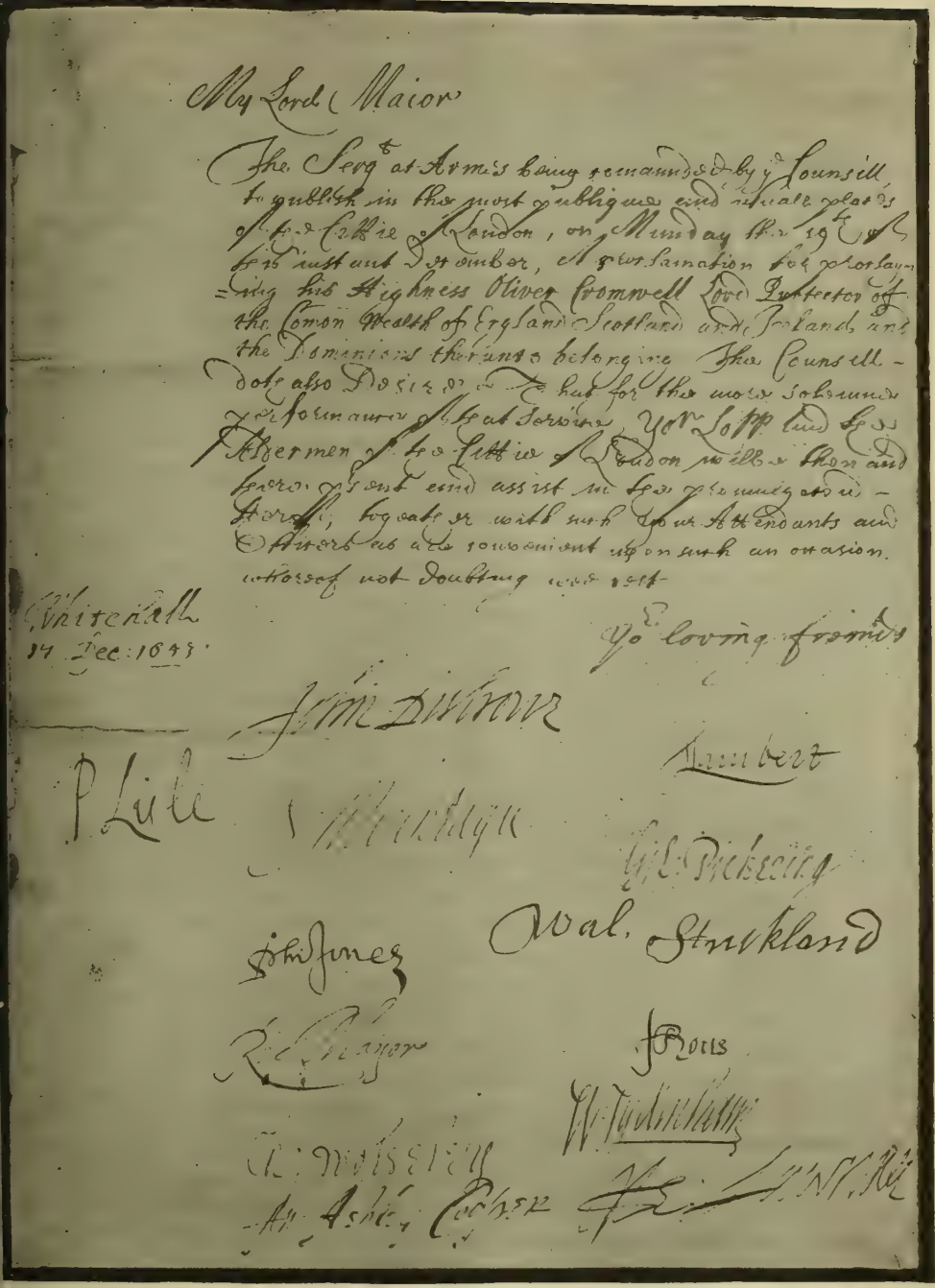
Twice during this period of the "Protectorate," which lasted not quite five years, he essayed the experiment of a Parliament, ever anxious to preserve the framework and the fiction, for in his day of power it was little more, of constitutional authority. But the experiment was not a success, and a dissolution followed not long after the assembling. Once, in 1655, symptoms of a dangerous hostility to his government manifesting themselves in different parts of England, he instituted a system of provincial governors known as that of the major-generals, ten in number; but the insurrectionary spirit dying down, these quickly disappeared. This second of the Protectorate Parliaments pressed upon him the title of king, urging him to assume the crown. Oliver, however, refused. His premature death, when only fifty-nine years

* Harrison: "Oliver Cromwell," chap. xi.

of age, has been already dwelt upon. It w totally unexpected, for the Lord Protect was still vigorous in mind and body, a apparently, when his fatal illness seiz him, had years of life before him.

We have sketched these few dry deta of a period of rare and peculiar intere because without them it would be i possible to grasp the idea of the to seeming submergence of the church; o for a brief space of time, it is true, but was a terrible experience. In the days the Long Parliament, when the solem league giving over England to Pres terianism was signed, when Laud's he fell on Tower Hill, and a few years lat when king Charles I. followed his faith friend and archbishop on the same st road of death and shame; in the d of the Commonwealth; in the splend of the Protectorate, when every variety religious practice save the solemn anci use of the Church of England was legali and fostered, it would have been a dar man who would have ventured to pred the restoration of that immemorial chu to her ancient place and power. It seem to men's eyes, as we have said, hopeles submerged. And yet within two sh years after the stately obsequies of Oli the Protector at Westminster, our task w be to chronicle its restoration to its position of power, and influence on church of the nation.

Very deeply should the student of annals of the Church of England pon over this story of Puritan England a the lives of the great Puritans. The m loyal lover of his church, who believes w unshaken belief that the weal of Engla



ORDER IN COUNCIL TO THE LORD MAYOR DIRECTING HIM "AND THE ALDERMEN OF THE CITTIE OF LONDON . . . . TOGEATHER WITH SUCH YOUR ATTENDANTS AND OFFICERS AS ARE CONVENIENT UPON SUCH AN OCCASION" TO ASSIST IN THE PROMULGATION OF "A PROCLAMATION FOR PROCLAYMING HIS HIGHNESS OLIVER CROMWELL LORD PROTECTOR OF THE COMON WEALTH OF ENGLAND," ETC., "IN THE MOST PUBLIQUE AND USUALL PLACES." *(British Museum.)*

her happiness and her grandeur, are inextricably bound up with the maintenance of the immemorial church built up by Anglo-Saxon and Norman, and purified by the fathers of the Reformation, has much to learn and some things to unlearn from the Puritan story. He must remember, if he is wise, that the voice of Puritan England spoke from many centres, out of many homes. It is speaking still. It is a voice which should never be lightly regarded or contemptuously put aside. Exaggerated perhaps, mistaken certainly in its reading of much of the teaching of primitive Christian antiquity, Puritan complaints and dissatisfaction are still often weighty, and should never be lightly disregarded. Oh that men possessed a wise and understanding heart! How many of our dissensions would disappear!

The study of Puritan England and its story has another teaching, however, and one which holds in its pages a strangely deep comfort for the loyal son of the church. The English Church, closely identified with the policy of the crown, perished, so far as the human eye could discern, in that great shipwreck of the monarchical institution which followed the termination of the Civil War. The old feudal monarchy disappeared for ever; and when the king came back, it was to a sovereignty very different from that wielded by the Plantagenets, Tudors, or the first two Stuart kings. But there was no such change observable in the church of the Restoration period. Some slight changes there were, to be noticed in due course. But it was still the old church of Andrewes and Hooker, Parker, and Jewel—the church which these great divines received as a precious heritage of many former generations. Th wonderful vitality of the established churc is what is specially noteworthy her She was persecuted, crushed, proscribe utterly ruined, and destroyed, as far the human eye could discern. As for h priests, they were thrust out with ign miny; as for her churches and cathedral they were taken from her, partially des crated, and given to others, and yet th Establishment lived on. There was *th* in her which was indestructible.

The picture which has been drawn Oliver Cromwell as a mighty Puritan the extreme type; the notice of the san heroic figure in the necessarily bri account of the Civil War, the Commo wealth, and the Protectorate, will serve show what an antagonist met the Churc of England in her hour of extreme per It is no exaggeration which recognises Oliver Cromwell at once the ablest state man and the most successful general of t long line of soldiers and rulers chronicle in the pages of English history. The mo pressing political reasons, and religious an mosity sharpened in bitter and relentle warfare, both contributed to the hatre which Oliver felt and showed to the churc of Laud and Charles; and yet, with all his wi to harm it, even to destroy it, a will backe by the unchecked power of a dictato and guided by one of the keenest an most brilliant intellects ever possessed b man, he strangely failed. The roots the church were too deeply entwined i the homes and hearths of England f even an Oliver Cromwell permanently harm her.

The fierce animosity against the Churc of England displayed in that famou

House of Commons known generally as the Long Parliament, requires some explanation. That it did not at all represent the real mind of the nation, is clear; first, from the overwhelming mass of petitions from different counties of England and Wales sent up to Parliament in the course of the year 1642, deprecating any radical changes in the constitution of the church, which from the temper of the House many felt were impending;* and secondly, from the quiet but generally hearty welcome with which the restoration of the church was received on the downfall of Puritanism, when the strong hand of the Protector was removed by death.

There is no doubt that Laud, true and earnest churchman though he was, and great though his services to the historic Church of England are now recognised to have been, was often unwise and arbitrary even in his ecclesiastical measures. With extraordinary pertinacity, for instance, he pressed the use of bowing to the east end of the church, where, owing largely to his wishes, the holy table stood altar-wise. In vain the great advocate of church order explained the meaning of this use. It was liable to grave misunderstanding; and the thoughtful, moderate churchman cannot help regretting that so much opposition should have been excited on a point, which even Laud himself allowed was one of quite secondary importance. The mode of reception of the Eucharist, the position of the holy table, the rails placed round it as greatly increasing the reverence which emphatically should surround the most holy rite —these things no doubt also excited opposition in many minds; but in them was something worth a struggle, and most churchmen acknowledge here the deep debt which the Church of England owes to Laud.

But after all, none of these matters were really the root of the bitter feeling against Laud, and the church in which he was the representative figure, manifested by the Long Parliament. Laud was identified, and alas! but too justly, with the unhappy policy of absolutism, pursued with such unbending determination by Charles I. and his ministers. In the hateful tribunals of the Star Chamber and High Commission, Laud and his friends were the most prominent figures. The archbishop also shared with Wentworth (Strafford) unenviable notoriety as one of Charles's principal and most influential and trusted ministers.

In the early days of this Parliament (1640–41), before the final breach with the king, this spirit of animosity was very apparent. Sir Benjamin Rudyard uses these words: "We know well what disturbance hath been brought upon the church for vain petty trifles, how the whole church, the whole kingdom, hath been troubled where to place a metaphor—an altar." Mr. Bagshaw, inveighing against the obnoxious tribunals, spoke as follows: "When I cast my eyes upon the High Commission and other ecclesiastical courts, my soul hath bled for the many pressures,

* Hallam ("Constitutional History," p 527; note) thus writes: "I have a collection of these petitions, printed in 1642, from thirteen English and five Welsh counties, and all very numerously signed. I observe in almost every instance they thank the Parliament for putting a check to innovations and abuses, while they deprecate the abolition of Episcopacy and the liturgy."

which I perceive to be done and committed in these courts against the king's good people." Lord Digby complained of the new oath imposed upon the clergy, and spoke very strongly against the proceedings of the last Convocation, and especially was irate with the "*et cætera*" oath. Sir John Culpepper went into matters of detail connected with "the divers new ceremonies in matters of religion, such as placing the communion table altar-wise, and bowing or cringing towards it, the refusing of the Holy Sacrament to such as refused to come up to the rails." * These attacks were followed by the committal to custody of Laud, and by his impeachment, which followed soon after.

Early in 1641 the Commons made an order that commissioners should be sent into the counties to demolish and remove from churches and chapels all images, altars, or tables turned altar-wise, crucifixes, superstitious pictures, and the like. Following the tragedy which ended Strafford's life (1641), the drastic "root and branch" Bill, as it was termed, was drafted and introduced into the Commons. This destructive piece of legislation provided for the doing away with bishops and their officers, for the abolition of deans and chapters, archdeacons, and prebendaries of the cathedrals. This Bill, however, did not become law until a later period. A committee of religion was nominated in the House of Lords, for the purpose of considering the doctrines and ceremonies of the church. Amongst other points which they reviewed and condemned were canopies over the holy table, credences or side tables, candlesticks on the table. Other objections to the Prayer-book were also made. In the middle of the same year (1641) the courts of Star Chamber and High Commission were abolished, the king assenting to this. It was now that the more moderate and earnest of the Puritans threw in their lot with the party of destruction, and we find such men as Milton using his pen in the controversy, which was being wildly carried on, for the destruction of the episcopacy.

This question of the abolition of the episcopacy continued to be fiercely discussed. A vast number of petitions, the result of Puritan agitation, were sent up to the House. These, however, were largely counterbalanced by petitions on the other side; but the political horizon grew darker and darker, and the church and the bishops became, as the months passed on, more the centre of the attack among those who were opposed to the king. London especially was distinguished for its fierce animosity to the church. Towards the end of 1641 the position of the prelates in the House of Lords became untenable, and the bishops were compelled to fly for their lives. They drew up a protest, declaring all legislation in their enforced absence illegal. Their protest excited great indignation, and a Bill was passed removing them from the House of Lords. To this Bill the king weakly gave his assent. In the January of the following year (1642) things came to a crisis, king Charles quitted Whitehall, and the great Civil War began in real earnest.

We have already alluded to the Royalist superiority in the early period of the

* Canon Perry: "History of the Church of England" (second period), chap. xxviii.

PURITANS.

(From the picture by Edgar Bundy, R.I., by permission of the Artist.)

contest, and have mentioned how the Parliament, uneasy and restless, dreading defeat at the hands of an incensed and possibly a vengeful sovereign, called in the help of the Scots, who possessed a trained and disciplined army. Under the influence of these fears, with a view no doubt of conciliating the Scottish people, the "Root and Branch" Bill above described, which swept away the entire Anglican hierarchy, and made way for the introduction of Presbyterianism, was passed, but was voted evidently with some misgivings, and it was arranged that the tremendous and destructive provisions were not to come into force for a year; hope still lingering among many that a peace might yet be arranged with the king, and that then the "Root and Branch" Act would of course, as no royal assent had been given, not possess the force of law, and would be quickly forgotten. But the war, alas! went on; and as the advantage still continued on the side of the Royalists, the assistance of the Scots became, as time went on, more and more urgently necessary to the Parliament.

It was under the pressure of this urgent necessity, that in the June of 1643 an ordinance of Parliament summoned the "Westminster assembly," a body designed as a substitute for Convocation. This famous assembly consisted of 121 "godly and learned divines," and 30 laymen. The object for which they were called together is stated in the preamble of the ordinance — "The present church government is evil and burdensome to the kingdom and a great impediment to reformation and growth of religion, it is to be taken away, and such a government settled as may be most agreeable to God's Holy Word . . . and nearer in agreement with the Church of Scotland and other reformed churches abroad." The assembly began its duties with a revision of the "Articles." The changes here were not many or of great importance; the real work began when the Scottish commissioners arrived. These pressed, as the price of assistance from Scotland, the acceptance by the Westminster Assembly and by Parliament of "the Solemn League and Covenant." This drastic and destructive document had been drawn up in Scotland as early as 1638; in it the signatories solemnly pledged themselves to the extirpation of prelacy—that is, church government by archbishops, bishops, their chancellors and commissaries, deans and chapters, archdeacons, and other ecclesiastical officials.

The need of Scottish help in the Civil War at this juncture was urgent; and after some delay the House of Commons and the Assembly agreed, with considerable reluctance on the part of many, to accept the Covenant. It was directed to be read in all the London churches, and eventually this most tyrannical "covenant" was ordered to be taken by every person in England above the age of eighteen, and came into force in the February of 1644. The Solemn League and Covenant, the price of the Scottish assistance, was the result of the earnest desire of the northern clergy for the assimilation of the English to the Scottish Church. "The English," it is said, "were for a civil league, the Scotch for a religious covenant." The covenant was drawn up on the lines of the Sottish national covenant of 1638. A vow

was adopted in common by both—"that we shall all and each of us sincerely . . . endeavour the preservation of the true Protestant reformed religion in the Church of Scotland in doctrine, worship, discipline and government, and the reformation of religion in the Church of England *according to the Word of God* and the example of the best reformed churches, and as may bring the churches of God in both nations to the nearest . . . uniformity in religion, confession of faith, form of church government, directory for worship and catechising, that we and our posterity after us may as brethren live in faith and love." Other clauses provide for the abolition of episcopacy in England, the maintenance of the rights of the two Parliaments, . . and the "bringing to trial of incendiaries and malignants."* The Solemn League and Covenant was adopted in Scotland in August, 1643, and by the Westminster Assembly and Parliament in the autumn of the same year.

During the Civil War this Presbyterian legislation was put into force, as the Parliamentarian forces obtained the upper hand, in all parts of England; and most of the Anglican clergy were ejected from their cures and benefices. Before the end of 1643 many had been driven out. We read of some thousands of churches vacant. Allowing for some exaggeration in such a statement, there is no doubt but that a wide-spread desolation was the result of the adoption of the Scotch "Covenant."

Episcopacy being now destroyed by Parliament, committees were appointed to examine candidates for ordination, and to ordain them by imposition of hands. Thus a form of Presbyterian government was established. Milton, who at this time had become an extreme Puritan and an ardent adversary of Anglicanism, calls attention to the greed and avarice of some of the Presbyterian divines in this period of confusion and distress. These self-seeking men seized upon the best and more important of the vacated preferments for their own use. He writes of these plunderers as follows:—"The most part of them were such as had preached and cried down with great show of zeal the avarice and pluralities of bishops, and how one cure of souls was a full employment for one spiritual pastor, how able soever. Yet they wanted not boldness, to the ignominy and scandal of their pastor-like profession, to seize into their hands sometimes two or more of the best livings, collegiate masterships in the universities, rich lectures in the City, setting sail to all winds that might blow gain into their covetous bosoms."

At this time general confusion and disorder prevailed. An enormous number of churches were without a minister. Some of the more important were held as we have just described. In the churches which were not deserted various kinds of service were used; some used the old service; some parts of it; some substituted conceived (extemporary) prayer. The bitterest animosity was in many parts of the country stirred up by Scottish influence against the Book of Common Prayer. To counteract the general disorder and hope-

* Cf Gardiner: "History of the Great Civil War," chap. xi. The words in *italics*, objected to by the Scots, were added to the original Scottish draft by Vane. They appear in the form of the Covenant adopted in relation to the coming reform of the English Church.

above, was omitted. No creed was recited, nor the ten commandments. These, however, with the Apostles' Creed, were added to the "Confession of Faith," which was presented by the Westminster Assembly to Parliament in the December of 1646.

The "Directory" is conspicuous throughout for its studied ignoring of all Catholic traditions. The sacrament of baptism, for instance, was to be performed "in the face of the congregation, where the people may most conveniently see and hear, and not in the places where fonts in the time of popery were unfitly and superstitiously placed." Before baptism "the minister is to use some words of instruction—especially teaching that the inward grace of baptism is not tied to the moment of its administration."

"The Communion or Supper of the Lord is frequently to be celebrated, but how often may be considered and determined by the ministers and other church governors of each congregation." It was to follow the morning sermon:—"Then, the table being before decently covered and so conveniently placed that the communicants may orderly sit about it or at it, the minister is to begin the action with sanctifying and blessing the elements of bread and wine set before him." The words of administration were quite changed from those used in the Anglican Church, which, as we have seen, were taken from the most esteemed and ancient liturgies.

In place of the office for the burial of the dead, the following bare and simple direction is given:—"When any person departeth this life, let the dead body be decently attended from the house to the place appointed for public burial, and there immediately interred without any ceremony."

It was specially ordered in the Directory "that only the Lord's day and days separated for public fasting or thanksgiving shall be kept holy."

Perhaps the most curious sentence in the Presbyterian Directory issued by the Westminster Assembly is the one which *apologises* for the continued use of old churches, in the following strange language: "As no place is capable of any holiness under pretence of whatsoever dedication or consecration, so neither is it subject to such pollution by any superstition formerly used and now laid aside, as may render it unlawful or inconvenient for Christians to meet together therein for the public worship of God. And therefore we hold it requisite that the places of public assembling for worship among us should be continued and employed to that use."

The supremacy of Presbyterianism and its tyranny in England was short-lived. We have already sketched the progress of the Civil War, and have seen how, as the power of the victorious army under the great general grew, another form of Puritanism and another sect completely overshadowed the Presbyterians—viz. the "Independents." These nominally accepted indeed the Westminster Confession, but in matters of discipline practically rejected the Presbyterian system. Each congregation was independent, and settled its own service and appointed its own officers. Before the year 1646 had run its course, a modified scheme of church government was voted, and a general toleration of all sects, even the wildest and most disorderly, under the influence of Oliver Cromwell

ecame general. The Church of England as, however, excepted from this broad nd comprehensive policy; the all-powerful eneral, Oliver Cromwell, from reasons ready specified, regarding her existence highly dangerous to his plans for the overnment of the country; and a terrible narchy in all religious matters succeeded e swift downfall in England of the resbyterians. The Westminster Assembly as never formally dissolved, but in 1646 e number of those who attended its eetings and discussions grew smaller and naller as the influence of the Presbyterians as gradually overshadowed by the Inpendents, and in 1647 it virtually ceased exist.

Besides the Directory for public worship, e Assembly put out two Catechisms, a nger and a shorter; the longer occupying, th Scripture proofs, 157 quarto pages, d the shorter forty pages. The latter s intended for the young. The doctrine both, as might be supposed, was strongly oured with Calvinism.

The "Confession of Faith," which was ant to supply the place of the thirtyne Articles, was the Westminster Asnbly's last public work. It was comted in 1646, and presented to Parliament.

The condition of the clergy of the urch of England, from the commencent of the bitter dispute between the g and the Long Parliament in 1640, was rible. From the first, the church shared unpopularity of the crown. The causes ich led to this unpopularity have already n pointed out. Three days after the asbling of the Long Parliament, a Grand nmittee for Religion was formed, and to this committee were referred the various petitions and complaints against individual ministers. The Church had relentless enemies, largely drawn from the bitter political foes of Strafford and Laud. The charges contained in the petitions and complaints were of many descriptions. The most cruel, and for the most part utterly baseless, were those bearing upon immorality, it being openly asserted that great numbers of the clergy were living scandalous lives. No opportunity was given them for refutation of these accusations, and the calmer judgment of posterity has set aside the great majority of them as utterly without foundation. As a specimen of the treatment which the accused were likely to meet with at the hands of a hostile and embittered committee, the words of Mr. White, one of the four principal chairmen of the committees into which the Grand Committee for Religion was divided, are worth quoting, from their extraordinary virulence and shameless exaggeration. They occur in his preface to a book he published, entitled "The First Century of Scandalous Ministers." He termed the clergy "dumb dogs, ignorant drunkards, whoremongers and adulterers, men unfit to live, crawling vermin, popish dregs, priests of Baal, sons of Belial, unclean beasts," etc.

Two thousand petitions were got up in different parts of the country, it is said, and sent up to the Grand Committee. By far, however, the greater number of these charged the clergy with some description of ceremonial scandal; indeed, these ritual complaints were well-nigh universally mixed up with the cruel but comparatively rare accusations of evil living. The ceremonial scandals were generally connected with

communion table, tore the velvet cloth from before it, defaced the goodly screen or tabernacle work, violated the monuments of the dead, spoiled the organs, broke down the ancient rails and seats, with the brazen eagle which did support the Bible, rent the surplices, gowns, and Bibles, mangled the service-books and Books of Common Prayer, and exercised their malice on the arras hangings representing the whole story of Christ." In many an ancient church and stately cathedral, the marks of the fury of the excited and frenzied Independents and Presbyterians in the days of the supremacy of Oliver and the Ironsides, are still unhappily visible: they are, alas! indelible.

To the mind of Oliver Cromwell and his extreme school the worship of the Church of England, her stately ritual, her ancient churches, were simply intolerable. "To him the Book of Common Prayer contained but the weak and beggarly elements of an outworn creed."* His conduct when governor of the Isle of Ely is a well-known instance of his intolerant behaviour to the church. He visited Ely cathedral with the intention of ordering one of the cathedral staff, who persisted in using the choir service, for which he had an especial dislike, to be silent. The clergyman refused to obey him. Oliver left the church, and returned at once with a guard of soldiers. Then the stern Puritan soldier rudely called to the officiating minister, "Leave off your fooling and come down." His soldiers peremptorily drove the Ely congregation from the choir of the great Fen church.

* Gardiner: "History of the Great Civil War," chap. xv.

For some ten years after the executi of Charles I. a wild anarchy in religio matters prevailed in England. Most of t churches were occupied by Presbyteria and Independents, or by the smaller se of Baptists, Fifth-monarchists, and oth less known sectarians. The spirit of gene toleration, which was peculiar to Oliv Cromwell, after a time did away with t obligation of signing the Covenant, and its place a much easier obligation w substituted, called the "Engagement." this, ministers of the various denominatio only swore that they "would be true a faithful to the government establishe without king or House of Peers." Th novel oath, which by substituting a simp undertaking to be faithful to the gover ment of the Commonwealth, did aw altogether with religious tests, was mo obnoxious to the Presbyterians, to who its broad spirit of toleration was positive impious; while to a poor remnant of t hapless clergy of the crushed and ruin Anglican communion it offered a possibili of still exercising their ministry. Some the more prominent of the divines of th fallen church, such as Dr. Sanderson, la Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, h pronounced that to take such an oath the "Engagement" was lawful for English clergyman, as it simply bou them to be loyal to the existing gover ment of the land. Dr. Gauden,* afterwar one of the Restoration bishops, thus writ of the sad remnant of Anglican clerg who availed themselves of the "Engag ment" in order to resume ministerial work

* Dr. Gauden is principally known as the reput author of the famous "Eikon Basiliké," attribut to king Charles I.

"These poor ministers had gained some little plank or rafter, possibly a little refuse living or a curateship, or a lecture, or some chaplain's place in a gentleman's house, by which to save themselves from utter shipwreck and sinking."

But even these few clergy exercised their ministry under the greatest difficulties. The old liturgy was strictly forbidden, and the prayers could only be said from memory. A kind of form as nearly identical with the Prayer-book as possible was composed by Dr. Sanderson and used by some, but, so far as the Anglican clergy were concerned, even these sorry expedients were soon rendered impossible. Oliver Cromwell, disposed as he was to a broad toleration of sects, intensely disliked the Church of England, and determined to crush out even these few sad relics of the hated communion. He caused an ordinance to be passed in 1654, in which it was stated that many weak, scandalous, popish, and ill-affected persons had intruded themselves into vacant posts. To remedy this state of things, a body of commissioners, named "Triers," were appointed, whose duties were carefully to examine clergymen and satisfy themselves of their fitness, before suffering such candidates to exercise their ministry. The questions propounded by these "Triers" were of such a character as to exclude ministers of the Anglican communion, and as the "Triers" possessed retrospective powers, many of the Anglican clergy who had obtained positions under the "Engagement" were ejected.

But even this exercise of tyranny was not deemed sufficient. Oliver was well acquainted with the general feeling of the Anglican clergy; knew well how they regarded him, and with what fervid loyalty they hoped for a restoration of the banished house of Stuart. He considered, not without some reason, that the existence of such a body of religious teachers was a source of danger to his government. So in 1655 a stern and bitter edict was passed, forbidding "any person keeping in their houses or families as chaplains or schoolmasters for the education of their children to be taught by such, . . . any sequestered or ejected minister, fellow of a college," etc. . . . It went on to say "that no person, who had been sequestered or ejected, shall keep any school, either public or private, nor that any person, who shall be ejected for the causes aforesaid, shall preach or administer baptism or the Lord's Supper, or marry any person, or use the Book of Common Prayer or the forms therein contained." This drastic edict closed the door effectually upon almost every clergyman of the Church of England ever obtaining any position whatever as minister or teacher in England. Effective measures were taken to put this law into force without delay.

It is interesting to read the estimate formed of this commission of "Triers" by Mr. Carlyle, whose influence has been enormous in the last half century. The famous philosopher and historian is a passionate admirer of Oliver, and never can he see aught but the purest motives as the basis of all his acts. Political motives, as we have seen, very largely indeed coloured Oliver's bitter hatred of the Church of England. The humiliation and destruction of the Anglican Church was, as he perhaps rightly deemed, necessary for the preservation of the form of

government he had established, and the board of "Triers" was simply an unscrupulous instrument he created for his purpose. But this is the great historian's view of it:—"A rather satisfactory arrangement. Thirty-eight chosen men, the acknowledged flower of English Puritanism, are nominated a supreme commission. . . . Any person pretending to hold a church living or levy tithes or clergy-dues in England, has to be tried and approved by these men. . . . Independents, Presbyterians, one or two of them even Anabaptists, . . . they were men of wisdom, and had the root of the matter in them . . . the acknowledged flower of spiritual England at that time, and intent as Oliver himself was, with an awful earnestness, on actually having the Gospel taught in England." * It seems curious to read of this singular medley of Independents, Presbyterians, and Anabaptists being "the acknowledged flower of spiritual England at that time," although scholars and divines like Jeremy Taylor, Dr. Hammond, Dr. Sanderson, Dr. Prideaux, archbishop Usher, bishop Juxon, Mr. Pocock, Dr. Gauden, and others were then living and working amongst us!

Evelyn, in his contemporary diary, gives us some little pictures of this sad time for the Church of England and those who loved her. His entry on the 25th December, 1655, runs as follows:—"There was no more notice taken of Christmas day in churches. I went to London, where Dr. Wild preached the funeral sermon of preaching, this being the last day, after which Cromwell's proclamation was to take place, that none of the Church of England should dare either to preach or administ sacraments, teach schools, etc., on pain imprisonment or exile. So this was t mournfullest day that in my life I had se or the Church of England herself since t Reformation, to the great rejoicing Papist and Presbyter. Myself, wife, a some of our family received the co munion; God make me thankful, who ha hitherto provided for us the food of o souls as well as bodies. The Lord Jes pity our distressed church, and bring ba the captivity of Zion." *

In 1657 we find the following entry the diary, dated December 25th:—"I we to London with my wife to celebra Christmas day, Mr. Gunning preachi (this was, of course, in defiance of the la in Exeter chapel. Sermon ended, as was giving us the Holy Sacrament, t chapel was surrounded with soldiers, a all the communicants and assembly su prised and kept prisoners by them, so in the house, others carried away. . . In the afternoon came colonel Whall and others from Whitehall to examine u . . . When I came before them, the examined me, why, contrary to the ordi ance made that none should any long observe the superstitious time of t nativity (so esteemed by them), I dur offend, and particularly be at commo prayers, which they told me was but t mass in English. . . . In the end Evelyn tells us, "they dismissed me wit much pity of my ignorance. . . . The were men of high flight and above ordi ances, and spake spiteful things of o Lord's nativity. As we went up to r ceive the sacrament, the miscreants he

* "Cromwell's Letters, etc.," part viii. (1654).

* "Diary of John Evelyn" (1655).

OLIVER CROMWELL PREACHING TO A PURITAN CONGREGATION.
(*From a Dutch Satirical Print published in* 1651.) (*British Museum.*)

their muskets against us, as if they would have shot us at the altar."

In less than a year from the date of the above-quoted entry in Evelyn's diary, Oliver Cromwell died. With him, as we have said, Puritanism in its many forms ceased to be the dominant power in England. For a few months went on almost of itself the vast machinery of government devised by the great Puritan who had passed away in the zenith of his power, still vigorous and apparently strong, and, as men thought, with long years of life before him; the shadow of the mighty Protector, his son Richard Cromwell, occupying his seat at Whitehall, and the "Rump," the remains of the famous Long Parliament, for a brief interval taking up the reins of government once more. Dominated by the spirit of the old Parliament, Presbyterianism was in favour again, bu only for a few months. Another Parliamen was elected, and under the influence General Monk and his army the Restoratio of the ancient monarchy was decided upo

Many of the clergy of the down-trodde church, anxious not to delay or endang the carrying out of the Restoration of th Stuarts which they so earnestly desired, i conjunction with certain of the nobilit and gentry of known Royalist dispositio drew up a "declaration," in which the professed their earnest desire for compr mise, not for retaliation. In it they sai with great wisdom and forbearance, "W do sincerely profess that we reflect upo our past sufferings as from the hand God, and therefore do not cherish an violent thoughts to those who have bee in any way instrumental in them."

RICHARD CROMWELL.

CHAPTER LXVII.

RESTORATION OF THE KINGDOM AND OF THE CHURCH.

Reasons for the Unpopularity of Puritanism—The Puritan idea of Christmas—The Interregnum and Convention Parliament—The Restoration, and Position of the Anglican Church—Action of the Parliament—The Anglican Bishops and Archbishop Juxon—Negotiations and Efforts of the Presbyterians towards Puritan Revision of the Prayer-Book—Their Failure—The Savoy Conference—Anti-Puritan Temper of the Parliament—Final Revision of the Prayer-Book by Convocation—Details of the Revision—The Act of Uniformity—The Great Puritan Secession—Its Essential Necessity—Growing Estrangement between the Church and Nonconformists—The First Conventicle Act—The Five-Mile Act—Second Conventicle Act—The Test Act—Titus Oates and the Anti-Papal Agitation—Deterioration in Morals and Manners during this Period—Society for the Propagation of the Gospel—The Caroline Divines—The Puritan Divines—Richard Baxter.

WHEN the king "got his own again," the change was welcomed in England with almost a delirious joy. The nation was weary of its Puritan rulers, their extravagances, and their oppressions. Various reasons contributed to the wide-spread feeling which inspired the majority of Englishmen to welcome the restoration of Charles II. to the throne of his ancestors.

The government of the country had become a military despotism, although the despotism was thinly veiled under an appearance of constitutional authority. The Parliament, under whose authority the great general professedly ruled, was called into being and summarily dissolved at the will of Oliver the Protector; while such an interlude as the rule of his lieutenants, under the name of major-generals, showed the nation that their fortunes and lives were in the hands of that powerful army, which the famous Long Parliament had called into existence to carry out its will, but which it soon found itself utterly unable to guide, much less to control. Such a military tyranny was utterly hateful to the English mind; and when the mighty soldier and statesman passed away, the jealousies and divisions which immediately sprang up among the military chiefs, enabled the people to express their determination to put an end to a state of things which they abhorred.

Another reason must not be ignored, that powerfully influenced the people in welcoming the return of the ancient dynasty to power. The English nation was especially a religious people. Before the Reformation the church was ever a mighty influence. After the Reformation, as we have already noticed, religion became even more than in the mediæval period a power which swayed men's minds. But the form which religion assumed under the Puritan domination was generally hateful to the majority of Englishmen. We have dwelt at some length upon the nobility of the aims of the Puritans, upon their struggles after a purer life, upon their hatred of all that was low and base and mean and trivial. Nevertheless Puritanism, in its hour of success, became an oppressive tyranny; its very virtues in many instances lost their reality, and became suspected—not without good reason—of hypocrisy.

"Godliness," as it was termed, was required not only in Oliver's army of the new model, but of everyone who was admitted into the service of the state; and the "godliness" in question was of a kind which could be imitated, put on, masqueraded in. It consisted largely in a sad and peculiar dress. It expressed itself in a strange phraseology, unnatural and even hypocritical. It showed itself in a curious renunciation of the ordinary pleasures and recreations which go so far to render life pleasant and agreeable.

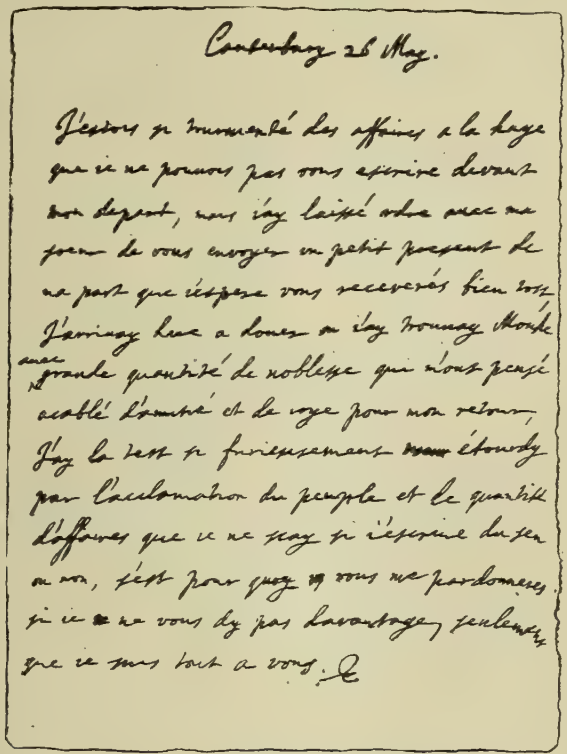
But this was not all. The dominant party insisted on the nation generally submitting to its peculiar and austere view of life. State ordinances were issued forbidding all those rough and somewhat rude diversions which for ages had formed the amusement and relaxation of the people. Some of these were forbidden because the Puritans traced them to ancient superstition, and imagined that they kept in memory a form of religion they were determined to stamp out. Others were abolished because they deemed them frivolous and unworthy of a nation which, on their theory, was made up of the "Lord's people." For instance, all theatrical representations, so dear to many of all sorts and conditions of men, were ever sternly forbidden. Puppet shows, horse-racing, bear-baiting,* curious and rough pastimes, were all done away with. Playhouses were to be demolished; the actors whipped at the cart's tail; the very spectators incurred the penalty of a fine. Time-honoured village observances, such as decorating the Maypole and dancing round it, were swept away. Even the quiet game of bowls was looked askance upon by these votaries of an exaggerated Puritanism—a rigid and even ridiculous austerity which, as we have said, too easily shaded into hypocrisy.

The old feasts and holy-days, loved by Englishmen partly from their associations, partly because their forefathers had loved them, were forbidden to be kept. Even the sacred joyous Christmas festival was changed by these extreme and mistaken fanatics into a day of mourning and fasting, the Long Parliament in 1644 giving directions that the great festival of our home life, the traditional anniversary of the Nativity of the Redeemer, should be strictly observed as a day of mourning for the national sin of centuries—a sin which was specified as untimely and godless mirth, a season of dancing and eating and drinking. Nothing that the Puritans did affecting the matter of the life of the people gave more dire offence, or was more universally unpopular, than this change of Christmas from a season of rejoicing to a season of mourning and restraint. It was resented by high and low; from the child, who ever looked forward to Christmas games and gifts, to the grey-haired old man who, in the joy of the time-honoured festival, for a brief moment renewed the happy, pleasant memories of his youth. With not a few the suspension of the ancient services of

* This not very elevating pastime was in the first half of the sixteenth century a favourite diversion with all classes. Macaulay quaintly characterises the causes of the Puritan aversion to it as having nothing to do with any idea of protecting beasts against the wanton cruelty of man. "He hated it, not because it gave pain to the bear, but because it gave pleasure to the spectators. Indeed, he generally contrived to enjoy the double pleasure of tormenting both spectators and bear."

the Holy Nativity was regarded as an insult to the Divine Son of God, whose whole life when on earth was a rebuke to these stern and forbidding precisians.

Many also resented with a fierce indignation that Puritan temper which loved to destroy all works of art; which condemned painting and sculpture, and especially architecture, so long the glory of the land; which spared nothing in its wild, unreasoning fanaticism, not even those graceful and exquisite buildings which the piety of many generations had erected to the glory of God, and where the prayers of a hundred generations of Englishmen had been offered. Thus art, dress, and even the very language of England, felt the withering effects of the strange revolution which had placed the Puritan in power.



LETTER FROM CHARLES II. TO HIS SISTER HENRIETTA, AFTERWARDS DUCHESS OF ORLEANS, WRITTEN THE DAY AFTER THE RESTORATION. (*British Museum.*)

["I arrived yesterday at Dover, where I found Monke with a great quantity of the nobility, who seemed to me overwhelmed with friendship and joy at my return. My head is so furiously stunned by the acclamations of the people and the quantity of affairs, that I do not know if I am writing sense or not."]

There were many in England who intensely disliked this meddlesome and unsympathetic interference in well-nigh everything which touched the beauty and the joy of life, and who eagerly welcomed the return to the old state of things, though not caring perhaps very much for the im-

portant constitutional questions which had brought about the great Rebellion. To these must be added the scattered and disorganised, but still numerous and powerful party of the defeated Royalists, who naturally hated with a perfect hate the Puritan, who in their eyes was connected with Oliver the Republican and the stern Ironsides who broke their ranks at Marston Moor and Naseby, and whose hands were still red with the blood of their king. And the crowded ranks of those who welcomed king Charles were yet further increased by the more earnest, and on that account more influential phalanx of Englishmen who were deeply attached to the doctrines and rites of the ancient Church of England, and who regarded the teaching and acts of the lately dominant Puritan party with intense disapproval.

Among the Puritans themselves a rift, which could not be bridged over, divided them into two opposing sects, the one bitterly distrusting the other. These were the Presbyterians and the Independents, the latter numbering in their ranks various other Protestant sects, such as the Baptists, Quakers, Anabaptists, and Fifth-Monarchy men. The army of the Puritan cause, the source of its strength, was mainly composed of Independents ; in the Parliament many, perhaps the majority, of its officials were ranked as Presbyterians. When the great Protector died, the Puritan party he had led to victory found itself without a chief, hopelessly divided in the matter of religion, with its strong and disciplined army owning allegiance to no one general, and hence absolutely powerless.*

* This accounts for the sullen acquiescence of the soldiers of Cromwell in the Restoration.

Oliver Cromwell died in the September of 1658. His son Richard, who succeeded him, being neither soldier or statesman was unable to control the army, and abdicated in the May of the year following (1659). Then followed a short time of anarchy. The Long Parliament, or rather that small remnant of it termed the Rump ejected forcibly by Cromwell in 1653, was restored by the army. After a short existence, under the strong pressure of Monk one of the most far-seeing of Cromwell's generals, who had fairly gauged the temper of the country, the sorry remnant of the Long Parliament voted formally its own dissolution. A new Parliament, composed of the two Houses of Lords and Commons known in history as the "Convention" Parliament, because the House of Commons was elected without any crown writs, determined to give effect at once to the will of the majority of the nation, and to restore the monarchy. Charles II. signed at Breda a declaration conspicuous for its moderation, which was warmly received by the "Convention" Parliament. On the 29th of May, 1660, the third Stuart monarch was once more at Whitehall. How enthusiastically he was welcomed and some among the reasons of this welcome, we have briefly traced.

Of the policy of Charles II. during his reign of some twenty-five years, we have only to concern ourselves here with that portion which directly or indirectly relates to the Church of England. The position of that church at the Restoration was somewhat singular. The Anglican Church had apparently been destroyed ; the bishops had been forcibly thrust out of their several jurisdictions ; the primate had been

publicly put to death; and the various dignitaries and incumbents of benefices had been expelled by the dominant party. The cathedrals, and parish churches generally, were either closed, or, what was more usual, were occupied by Presbyterian or Independent* ministers. No Act of Parliament was, however, necessary, when Charles II. became king, to repeal the various ordinances which had abolished episcopacy and driven out the Anglican clergy. These ordinances, being clearly illegal, needed no formal repeal. They had emanated in some instances from a Parliament composed of two Houses, the House of Lords being represented by a small number of peers who had sided during the troubles with the Commons; but in the majority of instances from the House of Commons only, the consent of the crown being, of course, ignored during the Civil War and after. At the Restoration the spiritual position of the church was at once acknowledged, but the difficult question concerning its temporal possessions remained to be settled.

The temper of the "Convention" Parliament did not leave the matter long in doubt. Almost directly, an act was passed replacing in their benefices all those Anglican incumbents who, having been illegally driven out, still survived. About a thousand were thus restored. In cases when the Anglican incumbents were dead,† the Puritan occupants were for the present left in possession. The ancient liturgy, so long forbidden, was, of course, permitted to be used. The intruders were removed from the universities, and in the desolated cathedrals the old beautiful services, which had been, as we have seen, so bitterly objected to by Cromwell at Ely and other places, once more were heard again. The estates of the bishops and chapters were taken out of the possession of those who had acquired them, and returned to the church. But a complete settlement was still far from being accomplished, and the Presbyterian party, which, although in a minority, was still strong in the Convention Parliament, hoped to make such terms with the new government as would secure to them some of their influence; and they expected much from the well-known desire of the king to bring about a general toleration. Their hopes were doomed to disappointment, however, when the temper of the new Parliament which succeeded the Convention Parliament in the year 1662 was manifested. But in the meantime various important ecclesiastical events which preceded the final settlement must be related.

The "Convention" Parliament, which had recalled the king, continued to sit for nearly a year after the Restoration. Largely Presbyterian though it was, it reflected the mind of the majority of Englishmen in being fervidly loyal. Following out the terms of king Charles's Declaration of Breda, it passed an Act of Indemnity; but the act contained many exceptions, and thirteen of the regicides, with Vane, who had been a distinguished Republican, were executed. Others of the

* Under the name of "Independent" we here include the various other denominations who more or less asserted the right of congregations to choose their form of government, in contradistinction to the Presbyterian central rule.

† It must be remembered that eighteen years had passed since the bishops had been excluded from Parliament, and fifteen since the Book of Common Prayer was suppressed.

"traitors" were punished by imprisonment and confiscation, and some escaped to foreign parts and expiated their offences by a life-long exile. These acts of retaliation were no more than might have been looked for, considering the tremendous reaction which succeeded the Puritan victory, and the Puritan methods of using their victory. What, however, was deeply regrettable, and indeed admits of no excuse, was the pitiful warfare with the illustrious, even if guilty dead. The bodies of Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw were torn up from their graves in Westminster abbey, and hanged. The remains of other leading personages of the era of rebellion, such as Pym, and the great seaman Blake, through whose splendid gallantry and wonderful ability the flag of England had become honoured and feared on all the seas, were also rudely disinterred and carelessly buried in a pit outside. There is no loyal son of the Church of England but regrets intensely these merciless and useless acts of a stupid revenge, which must for ever stain the proceedings of the Restoration Parliament.

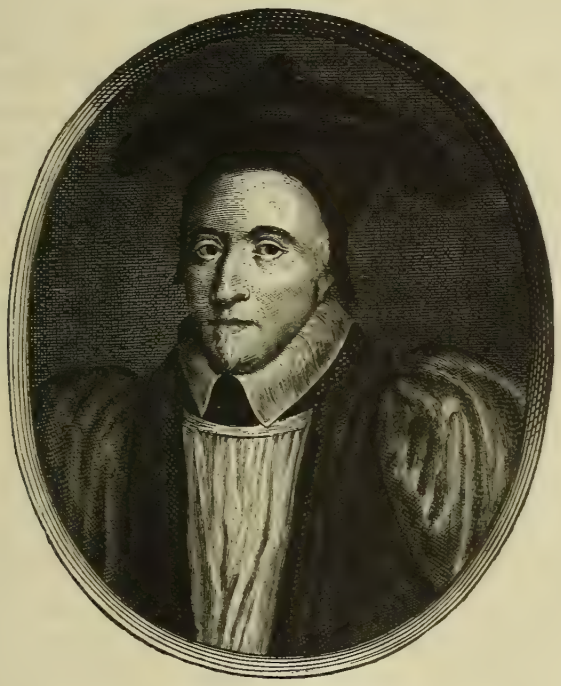
When the Anglican communion, with scarcely an effort, resumed its position as the national church, to the great satisfaction of the majority of Englishmen, nine of the bishops who had been contemporaries of Laud still survived. One of them, Wren, had been a prisoner in the Tower for nearly twenty years. Their thinned ranks were speedily recruited by a group of men, all of them more or less distinguished for their literary or administrative powers. These included Sheldon and Hammond (who unfortunately died before his consecration), specially illustrious for the help they had given to the suffering and dispirited clergy during the Protectorate; Cosin, the most illustrious liturgical scholar of his day; the scholar Walton, the editor of the great Polyglot Bible which bears his name; Gauden, the compiler and probably the writer of the far-famed "Eikon Basilike" of Charles I.; Sanderson, a great theologian; and Morley.

The archbishopric of Canterbury was vacant. No successor had been appointed to the illustrious man whose memory the church will ever hold in honour, who fifteen years before had expiated his political errors on Tower hill. For the high post of primate of the restored church the choice fell on one, well-nigh an octogenarian, infirm and worn out with years and cares, who in happier days had presided over the difficult see of London. But, old and worn out though he was, bearing about indeed a dying body, the church with one voice designated Juxon as the only possible primate. He had indeed a matchless record. The intimate friend of Laud, and depositary of his far-reaching plans for the church; the trained and scholarly divine; the stainless even if mistaken minister of Charles I., the one whom the fallen monarch had summoned to his side in those solemn hours which went before the tremendous tragedy of Whitehall; the wise and saintly comforter of his monarch in the prison chamber of St. James and in the last sad progress through the royal park; the faithful and courageous companion of the king on the scaffold; the friend who whispered the last solemn prayer over the coffin of his sovereign in royal Windsor. While

Juxon, bishop of London, lived, no other primate was possible.

He lived to take the chief part in the coronation ceremonies, and place the crown on the brows of Charles II. Too ailing to preside himself in the Convocation which he summoned in 1661 and he followed him subsequently in the see of London, and finally in the archbishopric of Canterbury.

It was about a year before Juxon closed his eyes on the world, where he had seen so many and such varied things, and had



DR. WILLIAM JUXON, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.
(*After a picture in St. John's College, Oxford.*)

which completed the ecclesiastical settlement of the restored church, the archbishop shared in and largely guided the proceedings of that important assembly, which restored the English Prayer-book, and he quietly passed away in 1663, full of years and honour. Juxon rests in the chapel of St. John's College, Oxford, hard by the grave of his friend Laud, whom he followed in the headship of the House, as

experienced such strange vicissitudes of fortune, that the relations between the Church of England and Puritanism in its many forms, were finally settled in the Savoy Conference. Before Charles II. left Holland for England in the early days of the eventful May of 1660, some eminent Presbyterian divines, representing their powerful Puritan sect, accompanied the Parliamentary commissioners who were

sent to bring the king back. These men hoped to enlist Charles's sympathies, in order that he might be on their side when the ecclesiastical relations of the future came to be discussed. They saw him on several occasions, and especially expressed their earnest desire that he would not in his own private chapel revive the use of the Anglican Book of Common Prayer; but they obtained little satisfaction on this point. They then urged that the surplice might not be adopted by his royal chaplains; again they were met with a refusal. When Charles arrived in England, he was again pressed by the same party. His reply was that he desired to receive in writing a statement of their wishes and views generally upon church matters. They then presented to the king a lengthy address embodying their objections to the Book of Common Prayer and to the Anglican ceremonies generally. In this formal Presbyterian address, among other matters, was pressed the desirability of freedom being given to the ministers to use extempore prayer. It was suggested that a new liturgy might be drawn up more consonant with Presbyterian views; that ceremonies, such as kneeling at the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, the use of the surplice and the sign of the cross in baptism, and bowing at the name of Jesus, might be abolished, or at all events not insisted upon. To these requests, or rather demands, the Anglican bishops replied. Their reply was virtually a refusal to change in any way the Anglican uses as embodied in the Book of Common Prayer.

The king, however, temporised, and issued a declaration in which, pending a formal settlement, considerable licence was allowed to the Presbyterian party. In the meantime a royal warrant was issued appointing twelve bishops and the same number of Presbyterians, with nine other divines on each side as assistants or assessors, to meet together to discuss the questions at issue. These met in the spring of 1661 in the Savoy hospital, and this conference is known in history as the Savoy Conference. Again the points above referred to were brought up, with various other questions, such as the omitting altogether the religious observation of saints' days, the substitution in the Prayer-book of the title "minister" for "priest," and the appellation "Lord's day" for "Sunday," the recasting of offices where the language used presumes all persons within the communion of the church to be regenerated and in an actual state of grace; and the expunging of the rubric which permitted parts of the service to be sung or said. The Presbyterians also desired that preaching should be more strictly enjoined. In the baptismal office, especially, they objected to much. Alterations were further required in the catechism and in the rite of confirmation; other and less important changes were also claimed. Generally, the free use of extempore prayer was desired. Baxter, the most learned and prominent of the Puritan side, brought forward a new liturgy, embodying the Presbyterian requirements, which he proposed should be adopted as the basis of the compromise.

The differences, however, were too great to admit of any agreement, and the church felt itself, in this hour of reaction in which they knew that the majority of Englishmen were on their side, powerful enough firmly to reject any suggestion

compromise in matters which its vocates felt were vital. So the Savoy nference came to nothing.

Uncompromising as the bishops and eir assessors showed themselves in the nference, a yet greater and more thoritative assembly was expressing itself ore strongly by far in the same direction. ne "Convention" Parliament had given ace to a new Parliament, elected accord- g to the ancient constitutional precedents. met in the May of 1661, while the voy Conference was in session. This ouse of Commons, elected in the first vour of the Royalist reaction, "was ade up for the most part of young men, no had but a faint memory of the Stuart ranny of their childhood, but who had a en memory of living from their manhood neath the tyranny of the Commonwealth. neir bearing was that of a wild revolt ainst the Puritan past. . . . The zeal the Parliament at its outset, indeed, far tran that of Charles and his ministers."* e action in ecclesiastical matters of this called Cavalier Parliament was peculiarly rked with extreme zeal for Anglicanism, l an extraordinary bitterness towards the Puritan sects. It has been com- ed that not more than fifty Presby- ians were to be found among the ranks its members, and the bishops were at re restored to their seats in the House Lords.

Iore singular, however, was their zeal the bishops and their assessors should induced to make any concessions in rgical and ceremonial uses to the Puritan resentatives in the Savoy Conference. guard against any such contingency, the Commons passed a Bill of Uniformity, enforcing the old unaltered Prayer-book. On the understanding, however, that the king was about to issue letters to the archbishops of Canterbury and York, desiring the Convocations of the two provinces to make a review of the Book of Common Prayer, the House of Lords laid the bill in question aside.

Before the end of the year a careful report was prepared by a strong committee. This report, which suggested certain points in which it was desirable that the Prayer-book should be revised, was approved by both Houses before the close of 1661. The amended Prayer-book was finally accepted by Parliament in its entirety, and an Act of Uniformity, which received the royal assent on May 19th, ordained that the Prayer-book in question should be used in all the churches of England on St. Bartholomew's day, August 24th, 1662.

The work of this final revision of the Prayer-book, although it was all completed in a few months, was the result of long and careful research. The principal hand in it was that of bishop Cosin, the famous liturgical scholar, who for well-nigh forty years had been engaged in this particular study, bringing ever the results of his researches to bear upon the Anglican Prayer-book. He had been the librarian of Andrewes and Overall, and was cognisant of the wishes of these two eminent theologians in the matter of the liturgy of their church. After Cosin, Wren, the bishop who had (in consequence of the special dislike of the Puritans) so long languished in captivity, and Sancroft, Cosin's chaplain, who subsequently filled

* Green: "History," chap. ix., sect. ii.

himself the highest place in the Anglican Church, were the most active and influential members of the small committee to whom the revision work was entrusted. It is computed that some six hundred or more corrections and additions were made in this last and final review of the book. But though these may seem to be very numerous, the book as it left Convocation, and which shortly after Parliament approved and accepted, was substantially the same as the book revised and corrected by the Elizabethan divines, known as the Second Prayer-book of Edward VI., the original work of Cranmer, Ridley, and their companions.

The more important alterations which were introduced in this last revision by Cosin and his coadjutors, were as follows. Among the chief additions to the old book was a preface drawn up by Dr. Sanderson, the new bishop of Lincoln. An office for the administration of baptism to such as were of riper years was added, as were also the final benediction and the occasional prayers. Forms of prayer were supplied to be used at sea, and also for the 30th of January, the day of Charles I.'s execution, and the 29th of May, the day of Charles II.'s restoration. A few additional prayers appear in this book, such as the prayer for Parliament, the prayer for all sorts and conditions of men, and the General Thanksgiving. Two or three new collects were also appointed; an Epistle was provided for the Purification; the first of the short anthems for Easter day was added, and certain names were added in the calendar to the list of "Black-letter Saints." Certain changes are also noticeable in the book of 1662. The absolution was to be pronounced by t *priest* instead of the *minister*. The pray for the king and the following prayers we printed in the order of morning and eve ing service. The words "bishops, pries and deacons" were substituted for bisho pastors, and ministers of the church. the communion service the last clau respecting saints departed was adde to the prayers for the church milita The order in Council, dated 1552, respe ing kneeling at communion, which h been removed by queen Elizabeth, w again placed at the end of the office, wi the explanation "that no adoration w intended to any corporal presence Christ's natural flesh and blood"—t doctrine of a real spiritual presence bei thus implicitly retained.

These are among the more distincti changes, but the book virtually remain the same. No real concessions of any ki were made to Puritan feeling. Convoc tion retained all the ceremonies and e pressions to which the gravest excepti had been taken by the now vanquish and unpopular party; such as the form the Litany, certain expressions in t services for baptism, marriage, and buri the ring in marriage, the absolution f the sick, the sign of the cross baptism, especially the declaration touc ing the salvation of baptised infan This last was among the points deep objected to by the Puritan comm sioners. The Act of Uniformity a required Puritan ministers not only conform to the regulations of the Pray book, but also to confess the illegali of their past practice. They were a directed to submit to episcopal ordinati

tongues, lighting upon the apostles, to teach them, and to lead them to all trueth, giving them both the gift of diuers languages, and also boldnesse with fervent zeal, constantly to preach the gospel unto all nations, whereby we are brought out of darknesse and errour, into the clear light and true knowledge of thee, and of thy Sonne Jesus Christ. Therefore with angels, &c.

¶ Upon the feast of Trinitie onely.

IT is verie meet, right, and our bounden dutie, that we should at all times, and in all places give thanks to thee, O Lord, Almighty and everlasting God, Which art one God, one Lord, not one onely person, but three persons in one substance. For that which we believe of the glory of the Father, the same we believe of the Sonne, and of the holy Ghost, without any difference, or inequality. Therefore, &c.

¶ After which prefaces, shall ~~follow~~ immediatly *be sung, or said,*

THerefore with angels, and archangels, and with all the company of heaven, we laud and magnifie thy glorious Name, evermore praising thee, and saying, Holy, holy, holy Lord God of hosts, Heaven and earth are full of thy glory. Glory be to thee, O Lord most High. *Amen.*

¶ Then shall the priest kneeling down at ~~Gods board~~ *y^e Lords Table*; say in the name of all them that shall receive the communion, this prayer following.

WE do not presume to come to this thy table (O mercifull Lord) trusting in our own righteousnesse, but in thy manifold and great mercies. We be not worthy so much as to gather up the crumbs under thy table. But thou art the same Lord, whose propertie is always to have mercie: grant us therefore, gracious Lord, so to eat the flesh of thy dear Son Jesus Christ, and to drink his blood, that our sinfull bodies may be made clean by his body, and our soules washed through his most precious blood, and that we may evermore dwell in him, and he in us. Amen.

¶ *When y^e priest, standing before y^e Table, hath so ordered y^e Bread, & Wine, that he may, w^th y^e more reuerence, & decency, break y^e Bread before y^e people, & take y^e Cup into his hands, he shall say y^e prayer of Consecration, as followeth.*

¶ Then ~~the priest standing up, shall say as followeth,~~

ALmighty God, our heavenly Father, *who* ~~which~~ of thy tender mercy didst give thine onely Sonne Jesus Christ to suffer death upon the crosse for our redemption, who made there (by his one oblation of himself once offered) a full, perfect and sufficient sacrifice, oblation and satisfaction for the sins of the whole World, and did institute, and in his holy gospel command us to continue a perpetuall memory of that his precious death, untill his coming again: Hear us, O mercifull Father, we beseech thee, and grant that we receiving these thy creatures of bread and wine, according to thy Sonne our Saviour Jesus Christs holy institution, in remembrance of his death and passion, may be partakers of his most blessed body and blood: Who in the same night that he was betrayed, (a) took bread, and when he had given thanks, (b) he brake it, and gave it to his disciples, saying, Take, eat, this is my body which is given for you, do this in remembrance of me. Likewise after supper he took the cup, and when he had given thanks, he gave it to them, saying, Drinke ye all of this, for this is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for you and for many for the remission of sinnes: Do this as oft as ye shall drink it in remembrance of me. *Amen.*

i most humbly

(a) *Here y^e priest is to take y^e paten into his hands.*
(b) *And here, to break y^e bread.*
(c) *And here to lay his hand upon all y^e bread.*
(d) *Here he is to take y^e Cup into his hand.*
(e) *And here to lay his hand upon every vessel, (be it Chalice, or Flagon) in which there is any wine to be Consecrated.*

¶ Then shall the minister first receive the Communion in both kindes himself, and ~~next deliver it to other ministers (if any be there present) that they may help the chief minister, and after to the people in their hands, kneeling.~~ *then proceed to deliver y^e same to y^e Bishop (if any be present) & after y^e to y^e people also in order into their hands; all meekly kneeling.* And when he delivereth the ~~bread~~ *Bread* he shall say,

THe body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life: ~~and take and eat this in remembrance~~ that Christ died for thee, and feed on him in thine heart by faith with thanksgiving.

¶ And

PAGES OF THE COMMUNION SERVICE, FROM THE COPY OF THE BLACK LETTER PRAYER BOOK OF 1636, THAT WAS CORRECTED TO FORM THE PRAYER BOOK OF 1662. THE ORIGINAL IS IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS

Copies of the Prayer-book thus revised were carefully examined by commissioners appointed for this duty, and then sealed with the Great Seal. These copies are known as the "Sealed Books," and are preserved as the standard of liturgical worship in the Church of England, containing as they do the exact form of words which was signed by members of Convocation and ratified by Parliament.

Since 1662 the offices of the Church of England have never been revised. "Attempts have been made to introduce certain changes in its language, but hitherto it has resisted the efforts both of latitudinarianism and of Romanising innovation."* The only unimportant alterations that have been made since that date are the following:—In 1859 the forms of prayer for November 5th (anniversary of the Gunpowder Plot), for January 30th, and May 29th were removed by royal warrant. Two royal proclamations in 1837 and 1859 respectively inserted the form of prayer for the 20th of June (the date of the accession of queen Victoria). In 1871 a revised system of "Lessons" was introduced; and in 1872 a special Act of Parliament allowed the shortening at discretion of the prescribed forms for morning and evening prayer, except on Sunday, Christmas day, Ash Wednesday, Good Friday, and Ascension day.

The Act of Uniformity, 1662, required all ministers before St. Bartholomew's day (August 24th) to read publicly the morning and evening prayer from the revised Prayer-book, and to declare their unfeigned assent to everything contained in t book. They were also compelled to ma declaration against the Solemn League a Covenant, and, if not episcopally ordain to obtain ordination from a bishop. might have been expected, the deep sorrow and indignation pervaded t Puritan ranks, which included Pres terians, Independents, Quakers, and oth sects far more extreme. In vain the ki and even his chief adviser Clarendon, w was a steadfast friend of Anglicanis endeavoured to find some loophole which some of the provisions of this t mendous Act might be dispensed with the crown. The Cavalier Parliament h made up its mind, and was inflexible.

On the appointed 24th of August, t ever memorable day of St. Bartholome 1662, the nobler and more earnest of t Puritan party—Presbyterians, Indepe ents, and others—to the number of 2,0 (some writers give the somewhat smal number of about 1,600), refusing to co form, went out into the wilderness, givi up their positions at the universities, th benefices, their lectureships, and any p ferment they happened to be holdi Very many of them were confessedly m of learning and eloquence—were divi distinguished for piety and earnestness.

Such a vast secession was necessarily severe blow to the cause of religion England. "Such an expulsion," wri the popular and philosophic historian the English people, "was far more to t Church of England than the loss of th individual services. It was the defin expulsion of a great party. . . . It w the close of an effort, which had be going on ever since Elizabeth's accessio

* Procter: "History of the Book of Common Prayer," Appendix to chap. v., section i.

to bring the English communion into closer relations with the reformed communions of the Continent, and into greater harmony with the religious instincts of the nation at large. The Church of England stood from that moment isolated and alone among all the churches of the Christian world. The Reformation had severed it irretrievably from those which still clung to the obedience of the Papacy. By its rejection of all but episcopal orders, the Act of Uniformity severed it as irretrievably from the general body of the foreign Protestant churches, whether Lutheran or Reformed." *

We may deeply sympathise with the regret with which this severance was regarded by the great latitudinarian historian, but we cannot endorse his sweeping condemnation of the famous Act of Uniformity. What else could the theologians of our church have done? The time had arrived when the final "parting of the ways" was inevitable. The hour had come when the church had full power to choose its future course. Was it, for the sake of including the Puritans of all sects within its pale, for the sake of a doubtful union with the Lutherans and Calvinists of foreign lands, to give up its cherished connection with all Catholic antiquity, its continuity with the primitive church—a connection and continuity which Cranmer and Ridley, Parker and Jewel, Hooker and Andrewes, Whitgift and Laud, had struggled after and maintained? Was it, by ceasing to insist upon episcopal ordination, to declare among things indifferent that sacred tradition of apostolical succession, which the Elizabethan bishops had guarded with so much reverent care? Was it to eliminate from that Book of Common Prayer which the martyr reformers of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. had composed out of the immemorial formularies of the Catholic Church, rites and uses dear to the heart of the majority of the English people, because they were the heritage of a thousand years; dear because they believed they were the usages of the primitive church? Be it remembered that this and no less than this was demanded by the Puritan divines at the Savoy Conference; this and no less than this was the price which the Church of England must have paid to compass the union of the Puritan party with the Anglicans. It was a sad necessity, and one which every true-hearted son of the Church of England regards with a true mourning, to part with so many earnest and devoted men; but, alas! there was no alternative. The story of the succeeding years, the present position, the future prospects of the Anglican Church, have amply justified the wisdom of the Act of Uniformity of 1662.

It is also clear that the Act was in accordance generally with the mind of the English people at the time. The expulsion of the Puritans, good and earnest men though many of them were, excited little disturbance, scant opposition. The country, as a rule, acquiesced quietly, contentedly, in the change of pastors. No doubt there were many regrets, here and there grave discontent; it could not have been otherwise, but it soon settled down.

There were many others among the various Puritan sects who held preferments, who consented to conform. Notably

* Green's "History," chap. ix., section ii.

we have instances in Northampton, Gloucester, Norwich, Chester, Northumberland, the Isle of Wight. The majority of the bishops of the Restoration period were tolerant and kindly disposed, and desired to render conformity easy for the members of the lately dominant party. Still, in spite of kindness and goodwill on the part of most of the bishops—not of all, it must be confessed, for archbishop Sheldon, who succeeded the aged Juxon at Canterbury, was bitterly opposed to Puritanism in whatever form it showed itself—in spite, too, of the evident bias of king Charles II. in favour of an extended toleration, there is no doubt but that many severe hardships were endured by the Nonconforming ministers after the passing of the Act.

As time went on, largely owing to the strong anti-Puritan feeling manifested by the Cavalier House of Commons which sat from 1661 to 1679 when at length it was dissolved, the feeling between the church and the Puritan sects grew more bitter. A succession of persecuting Acts were passed between 1664 and 1673, which in the history of the English Church have obtained a painful notoriety. By these Acts the Roman Catholic and the Nonconformist were not only sternly forbidden to worship God with their peculiar rites, but were rigidly excluded from all positions in which they might serve their country, in the army, navy, and civil service; even in the civic corporations were they prevented from holding office. So intense was the dread and hatred excited by the government of the Commonwealth and the dictatorship of Oliver Cromwell, that every attempt made by the king to ensure a measure of toleration, was shortly afte made the pretext by the Commons fo making the yoke borne by the Noncon formists yet harder and more galling.

Nor was the church itself by any mean guiltless in these stern acts of retaliatio and unwise repression. The first Con venticle Act, for instance, passed in 166 was the response to a prayer of the clergy headed by archbishop Sheldon, to th House of Commons. Briefly, the series these unhappy pieces of legislation, whic have so sadly widened the gulf betwee the Church of England and the Purita sects, was as follows.

The Act of Uniformity came in operation, as already stated, in th August of 1662. Charles II., in th December of the same year, issued declaration in favour of toleration, an hoping to soften the rigour of the Ac asked Parliament to pass an act by whic he could legally exercise that dispensin power which he conceived to belong the crown. There had been, he considere various precedents for such an exercise royal power in former reigns. The reaso of the king's zeal for toleration of Non conformity throughout his reign, was how ever suspected, and not without cause, be based on his known inclination toward Roman Catholicism. Charles II., in 166 married a Roman Catholic princess; tha he died in communion with that church now generally admitted. The religiou zeal of his brother, afterwards James II eventually cost that sovereign his crown The intimate alliance of Charles II. with and his degrading subservience to th great king of France, Louis XIV., a fervi Romanist, is the sinister feature of the reign

The Catechisme.

Question.

What is the outward part or signe of the Lords Supper?

Answer.

Bread and wine which the Lord hath commanded to be receyved.

Question.

What is the inward part or thing signified?

Answer.

The body and blood of Christ, which are verily and indeed taken and receyved of the faithfull in the Lords supper.

Question.

What are the benefites whereof we are partakers thereby?

Answer.

The strengthening and refreshing of our soules by the body and blood of Christ, as our bodies are by the bread and wine.

Question.

What is required of them which come to the Lords supper?

Answer.

To examine themselves whether they repent them truly of their former sinnes, stedfastly purposing to lead a new life, have a lively faith in Gods mercy through Christ, with a thankfull remembrance of his death, and be in charity with all men.

¶ The Curate of every parish shall diligently upon Sundaies, & Holy dayes after the second Lesson at Evening prayer openly in the Church instruct, & examine so many Children of his parish sent unto him, as he shall think convenient, in some part of this Catechism.

¶ And all Fathers, Mothers, Maisters, and Dames shall cause their Children, Servants, & Prentices (which have not learned their Catechism) to come to the Church at the time appointed, & obediently to hear, & be ordered by the Curate, until such time as they have learned all that is here appointed for them to learn.

¶ So soon as the children can say in their mother tongue the Articles of the faith, the Lords prayer, & the ten commandments, and also can answer to such questions of this short Catechisme, as the Bishop (or such as he shall appoint) shall by his discretion appoint them in the same, shall they be brought to the Bishop. Which is, that every such Child, by their Godfathers and Godmother, shall openly before the Congregation profess, that they do renounce the devil and all his works, the vain pomp and glory of the world, with all the sinfull lusts of the same, and that they will not follow, nor be led by the same. These shall also profess their belief in all those Articles of their Faith, and be demanded severally in the words of the Creed, as they are there rehearsed. And that they will learn and endeavour themselves faithfully to obey Gods holy will and commandements, and walk in the same all the dayes of their life. And that they will not follow nor be led by the lusts of the flesh. And that they will not be present at, nor consent to any wicked or sinfull act, purpose or device, but will resist the same, and shall give their diligence always to live soberly, righteously, and godly, and to keep their bodies in temperance, soberness, and chastity. And that they will do no murder, nor hurt any body by word or deed, but will bear patiently and quietly the correction and punishment laid upon them, and shall submit themselves obediently to all their governours, teachers, spirituall pastors and masters, and order themselves lowly and reverently to all their betters. And that they will truly and justly behave themselves in their vocations, and in all other things to live as they look to be saved by the grace of God, and to be inwardly sorry for their offences, and shall beg forgiveness for the same. And that they will be a good example and pattern to all other persons, and shall forbear all lewd, wanton, and immodest behaviour, and all manner of excesse in meat and drink. And that they will apply themselves to know their duty, and to serve God truly in their callings according to his commandements. And that they will do their duties in that state of life unto which it shall please God to call them. And that they will be diligent to learn the Catechisme, and shall come to the Church to be confirmed of the Bishop, as soon as they can say the Articles of their Faith, the Lords prayer, and the ten Commandements, and can answer the questions of the Catechisme.

¶ And whensoever the Bishop shall give knowledge for children to be brought unto him for their Confirmation, the Curate of every parish shall either bring, or send in writing the Christian and surnames of all such persons within his parish, as he shall think fit to be presented to the Bishop to be confirmed. And if the Bishop approve of them, he shall Confirm them in manner following.

¶ THE ORDER OF CONFIRMATION, or laying on of hands, upon those that are baptized, & come to years of Discretion.

¶ Upon the day appointed, all that are to be then Confirmed, being placed, & standing in order before the Bishop: He (or some other Minister appointed by him) shall read this preface following.

To the end that Confirmation may be ministred to the more edifying of such, as shall receive it; the Church hath thought good to order, That none hereafter shall be confirmed, but such, as can say the Creed, the Lords prayer, and the short Catechism above mentioned, in the Order of very convenient accustomed to the end That Children being now come to the years of Discretion, & having learned, what their Godfathers & Godmothers promised for them in Baptism, do ratify themselves, with their own mouth, & Consent openly before the Church, and confirm the same; & also promise, that by the grace of God they will endeavour themselves faithfully to observe such things as they by their owne Confession have undertook unto

¶ Confirmation or laying on of hands.

The Bishop Minister.

OUr help is in the Name of the Lord. Who Answer.

Which hath made heaven and earth. Bishop. Minister.

Blessed be the Name of the Lord. Answer.

Henceforth world without end. Bishop. Minister.

Lord hear our prayers. Answer.

And let our cry come unto thee. Bishop.

¶ Let us pray.

ALmighty and everliving God, who hast vouchsafed to regenerate these thy servants by water and the holy Ghost, and hast given unto them forgivenesse of all their sinnes: strengthen them, we beseech thee, O Lord, with the holy Ghost the Comforter, and daily increase in them thy manifold gifts of grace, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsell and ghostly strength, the spirit of knowledge and true godlinesse, and fulfill them (O Lord) with the spirit of thy holy fear, Amen: now, & for ever. Amen.

¶ Then the Bishop shall lay his hand upon every childe severally, saying,

Defend, O Lord, this child with thy heavenly grace, that he may continue thine for ever, and daily increase in thy holy Spirit more and more, until he come unto thy everlasting kingdom. Amen.

¶ Then shall the Bishop say

¶ Let us pray.

ALmighty and everliving God, which makest us both to will and to do those things that be good and acceptable unto thy Majestie: We make our humble supplications unto thee for these children, upon whom (after the example of thy holy

their owne Confession have undertook unto

¶ Then shall the Bishop say.

Doe ye here in the presence of God, & of this Congregation renew ye solemn promise, & vow that was made in your Name at your Baptism, ratifying & confirming your name in your own persons, & acknowledging yourselves bound, to believe, & to doe all those things, which your Godfathers & Godmothers then undertook for you?

¶ And every one shall audibly answer,

I doe.

¶ Then all of them in order kneeling before the Bishop, he shall lay his hand upon the head of every one severally, saying,

Our help, this thy servant

¶ The Lord be with you. Answer. And with thy Spirit.

¶ And (all kneeling down) the Bishop shall say,

Let us pray.

Our Father, which art in Heaven, Hallowed be thy Name. Thy Kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth, as it is in Heaven. Give us this day our Daily Bread. And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespasse against us. And lead us not into temptation: But deliver us from evil. Amen.

¶ And this Collect.

PAGES FROM THE COPY OF THE BLACK LETTER PRAYER BOOK THAT WAS CORRECTED TO FORM THE PRAYER BOOK OF 1662, CONTAINING THE CATECHISM AND THE ORDER OF CONFIRMATION. THE ORIGINAL IS IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

The reply of Parliament to the king's Declaration and openly expressed wishes, was the passing in 1664 of the "First Conventicle Act," by which anyone, having arrived at years of discretion, attending a Nonconformist conventicle, was liable to a penalty which in some cases was actually transportation. A conventicle was defined as a religious meeting not in accordance with the use of the Church of England, at which more than four persons were present besides the household. "Transportation" was a terrible doom. The convicted Nonconformist was banished, generally to the West Indies, where in a tropical climate his doom was to work practically under the conditions of a slave. Pepys, in his diary, thus comments upon this cruel procedure: "I would to God they would conform, or be more wise and not be catched." In the event of the condemned person returning from exile without leave, he was subjected to the penalty of death. This cruel measure also sanctioned the forcible entry of officers of justice into suspected houses.

Charles now suggested that toleration might be sold to Nonconformists, and that by these means the public revenue might be increased. The bishops, however, stoutly resisted such an infamous proposal, Clarendon, the minister, much to the king's indignation, supporting them. His opposition to it is said to have lost Clarendon the king's favour for ever. In the year following (1665), the Parliament, which while the plague was raging in London sat at Oxford, passed the Act known as "the Oxford or Five-Mile Act." In this piece of legislation every Nonconformist minister was required to take the oath of non-resistance to the king; he was re quired, too, to swear that he would neve endeavour to alter the government i church or state. If he declined to tak the oath, he was not allowed to com within five miles of any city or borough town, or of any place where he had onc held a cure, and might therefore look t finding a congregation. Any infraction o this stern rule was to be punished wit fine and imprisonment. This cruel an vexatious Act was especially levelled at th ministers who, refusing to conform, ha been ejected from their benefices after th passing of the Act of Uniformity in 1662.

In 1667 the king again, in his speech a the opening of Parliament, requested tha some measure of relief for Nonconformist might be framed. But the House wa obdurate, and in reply passed what i termed "The Second Conventicle Act," which, while it mitigated the penalties o the first Act, was, if possible, more harsh i its provisions, such as the encouragemen it gave to informers, etc.

In 1672 king Charles issued a Declaratio of Indulgence, again claiming the disputed dispensing power. In it he suspended al penal laws in ecclesiastical matters. The effect of this "Declaration" would have been, that complete religious liberty would be assured to Roman Catholics as well a to Protestant Nonconformists. Although modern public opinion would heartily endorse the spirit of such a pronouncement it was confessedly quite unconstitutional and was said to violate forty statutes. Such an exercise of royal authority was respectfully but firmly resisted by the Commons and in their resistance they were supported by the House of Lords; so the king, a

sual, gave way, and recalled his Declaration
the following year, 1673.

The "Long" Cavalier Parliament was
till sitting. Throughout the period of
s continuance it had been distinguished
or its resolution at all costs to maintain the
osition of the Church of England, and if
ossible to stamp out Puritanism. At this
ncture the growing power of the Roman
atholics was looked on as a more pressing
anger to the church than even the oppo-
tion of the Puritan sects. James, Duke
f York—the king having no legitimate
escendant—was the heir to the crown,
nd he was known to be a bigoted Ro-
anist. The House therefore proceeded
pass the "Test Act." Its provisions
equired anyone who held office of any
ind under the state to receive the Holy
ommunion according to the rites of
e Anglican Church, and also to make
solemn declaration against transub-
antiation. The "Test Act" was not a
ersecuting Act like the "Conventicle"
d "Five Mile" Acts; but it excluded,
long as it remained in force, from all
fices held under the state, civil or military,
rsons holding conscientiously certain
ligious opinions. In its operation it fell
th principal severity upon the Roman
tholics, for they were of course precluded
m making the declaration of disbelief in
nsubstantiation, as well as from receiving
e sacrament according to the rites of the
urch of England. The king's brother
nes, for instance, at once gave up his post
head of the Admiralty. Nonconformists,
the other hand, of course rejected
nsubstantiation, and many of them would
sent to receiving the sacrament as ad-
nistered in the church.

During the last ten or twelve years of the reign of Charles II., religious questions continued to occupy a prominent place in the thoughts of the people, and largely to influence the policy of public men, both in and out of Parliament; but that extraordinary bitterness against Puritan Nonconformists, the heritage of the Civil Wars and the Commonwealth, which characterised the early and middle years of the reign, and which so painfully coloured so much of the Parliamentary legislation, gave place in great measure to open hostility towards Roman Catholicism. The revelation of the so-called Popish plot by a shameless intriguer, one Titus Oates,* in 1678, the details of which were generally received with a strange credulity, showed clearly what was the temper of the nation. This pronounced hostility on the part of the public, to which Parliament gave utterance, was no baseless feeling. The danger was very real, as the subsequent history of England showed. The undisguised preference of the careless and indifferent king for a form of religion utterly distasteful to the majority of Englishmen; the position of the king's brother the heir of the monarchy being a Roman Catholic himself, and the fact of his being married to a Roman Catholic princess,

* Titus Oates was originally, before the Restoration, a Baptist minister, afterwards an Anglican curate, and then a navy chaplain. His infamous character deprived him of his posts in the church, and he turned Romanist, and in the Colleges of St. Omer and Valladolid he became cognisant of some of the Jesuit schemes. Using them as a framework, he pretended to discover a widely-extended plot, which had for its object the destruction of Protestantism, the death of the king, and the substitution of James. The details were utterly false, but Oates's pretended revelations were largely credited, and had at the time an enormous influence over public opinion, already greatly excited.

which naturally suggested the prospect of a Roman Catholic race of sovereigns; the close though secret alliance with powerful Roman Catholic France, which became gradually suspected—all these things sank deep into the heart of the nation.

The once devotedly loyal Cavalier Parliament passed a fresh "Test Act," which excluded Roman Catholic peers from their seats in the House of Lords; and when at length this Parliament, which had sat since 1661, was dissolved in 1679, the "Short Parliaments" of 1680–1681 were even more vehement than their predecessor in their determination to crush Romanism, and endeavoured—though unsuccessfully—to pass an "Exclusion Bill" which would have shut out the Duke of York (James), the king's brother, from the succession. Curiously enough, all through the long Parliamentary agitation for the exclusion of the Roman Catholic James from the succession, the Church of England threw in the weight of its great influence on the side of the king, who was steadily opposed to the idea of excluding his brother from the succession to the crown. This action of the church was not owing to any feelings of friendship or even of tenderness towards Roman Catholicism. The policy which declined to support the Exclusion Bill was adopted because the church upheld, as a doctrine, hereditary right, which could not be interfered with, even though the heir was a bigoted Romanist. In tracts and sermons the clergy persistently taught this doctrine, inherited in part from some of the more extravagant divines of the days of Charles I., continually urging upon the people the imperative duty of passive obedience to the crown.

Thus, in the later years of Charles II we find the church siding with the kin and opposing Parliament, which for s long had ever fanatically upheld the position in the nation. A public declar tion under the authority of archbisho Sancroft was read in the churches, co demning as absolutely sinful all resistanc to the crown. Indeed, the fact of the fin rejection of the Exclusion Bill was, n doubt, greatly owing to the steady oppos tion of the church to the principle. A might have been expected on this questio the Nonconformists were prominent in th anti-Roman agitation, and their policy i the matter of the exclusion of James, duk of York, was exactly opposite to that o the church.

We have dwelt at some length upon th action of the Church of England durin the earlier and middle years of Charles II. reign, in the matter of the persecutin acts of the Cavalier Parliament—viz. th "Conventicle" Acts, the "Five-Mile Act, and the "Test" Act. This unhapp legislation was undoubtedly the work o the reactionary "long" Parliament of th Restoration, but there is no doubt tha a considerable portion of the Church o England welcomed the spirit of the act if it did not actually suggest them. Th effect has been disastrous. When the mon archy was restored, and when with th monarchy the church regained at once it old position, Puritanism was split up int various sects—Presbyterians, Independent Baptists; and the Independents were agai subdivided. The bitter and cruel persecu tion which followed the passing of th above-mentioned Acts of Parliament, ha

the effect of welding into one great phalanx of Nonconformity, sects nearly as much opposed in doctrine and in practice to one another as to the Church of England ; and its enemy, never its friend. The persecuting acts, it is true, no longer disgrace the statute-book ; but the unhappy spirit of bitter, irreconcilable enmity aroused by

LORD CLARENDON.
(*From the portrait by Sir Peter Lely.*)

henceforth these divided communions were more or less knit together in their dislike and opposition to the church. From this time onward, Anglicanism has been confronted by Nonconformity—alas ! ever as them has never been laid. To this day, on too many subjects of public interest, Nonconformity joins hands in resolute and determined opposition to the church ; and the sad spectacle is often witnessed

of a strange, unnatural Nonconformist alliance even with the community which denies the divinity of our Lord, when questions arise concerning such matters as the education of the poor. This unnatural enmity between Anglicans and the often noble descendants of the devout and earnest Puritans, paralyses not unfrequently the truest and best work of God's servants, alike in the camps of Anglicans and Dissenters.

The reaction from the excesses and extravagances of Puritanism, which had offended so deeply all sorts and conditions of Englishmen, brought in its train, besides that spirit of persecution which we have commented upon as living all through the long Cavalier Parliament, much else that was deeply regrettable. A licence hitherto unknown pervaded the court, the capital, and to a lesser extent the provinces. Godliness, which in many cases had passed into hypocrisy, was scornfully regarded. A general laxity in morals became the characteristic feature in the society of the capital. Duelling, swearing, debauchery in its most degrading features, became too common among the nobles and gentlemen of the Restoration court. The king, who is ever looked upon as the type and model of society, set the evil example. The head of the court was himself a notorious offender against all the recognised rules of propriety and even decency. Nowhere in the annals of the monarchy do we possess such a shameless record as that of the second Charles. "Mistress followed mistress, and the guilt of a troop of profligate women was blazoned to the world by the gift of titles and estates. The royal bastards were set among the Englis nobles. . . . Gambling and drinkin helped to fill up the vacant moments whe he could no longer toy with his favourite or bet at Newmarket. No thought remorse or shame seems ever to hav crossed his mind."*

The example of the sovereign was onl too faithfully copied by the nobles an gentlemen of his court, and the ev example, alas! filtered into society outsid the charmed circle of royalty. The popula drama of the period but too conspicuousl reflects the low tone unhappily prevailing Nothing too severe can be said of th teaching of the favourite playwrights the day. Wycherley, the best known them, has acquired a painful prominenc among immoral writers, and his evil sug gestions were listened to with delight an applause by thousands. There were, course, noble exceptions among the grea and influential to this general profligacy such as Clarendon, the great minister and in the provinces, it is true, the sa deterioration in morals was less observable

The church was powerless to arrest thi wild delirium, which succeeded th unnatural restraints of the generally hate Puritanism; but it will ever be a grav reproach that sterner rebukes were no publicly administered by the restore Anglican divines. No doubt a feeling o gratitude for the support and patronag of the government and leading personages disposed the church for a season to loo too gently upon the faults and excesse of men, who had raised their communio from the misery and impotence to which i

* Green: "History of the English People," chap. ix.

had been reduced by the Puritan domination and tyranny. But though the comparative silence of the ecclesiastical teachers, when their voices of warning and remonstrance were so sorely needed, may find apologists, it must ever remain a dark blot upon the fair fame of the church of that period, that more earnest efforts were not made to stem the wild torrent of licence and evil living which so painfully characterises the epoch of the Restoration.

The story of the century generally is, after all, a saddening retrospect, and sternly forbids anything like pride, or even content and satisfaction, on the part of either Puritan or churchman. The triumph of the Puritans had been marked by utter lack of sympathy in and with the life of the people. It was a dreary, sunless existence to which they would have condemned all sorts and conditions of men. They saw, or thought they saw, evil in all harmless recreation. As a party and a sect,* they were strangely blind to all the ennobling influences of art, whether exemplified in painting, sculpture, or architecture. Godliness and religion, in the sense these men understood them, became bywords of scorn among the people. Hypocrisy crept in when it became clear that a profession of sanctity was necessary to obtain favour in the eyes of the dominant party in the state. The burning disputes between Presbyterian and Independent swept away even the semblance of order and discipline, and a number of wild and fanatical sects contended among themselves for the position of religious guides to the nation. The Church of England seems to have been the especial object of hate and persecution among all these communions, and in a lesser degree, because fewer in number, the Roman Catholics. To stamp down anything like serious opposition, the Puritan saints were simply merciless in the methods they used. It would be difficult to match the cruel severity which distinguished Oliver Cromwell and the Puritan leaders in the well-known Irish campaign, while the massacres of Drogheda and Wexford are memorable instances of the shameful crimes which a vengeful and conquering force thinks itself justified in perpetrating. We have dwelt, it will be remembered, upon the noblest and best side of Puritanism, and have shown how lasting has been its effect on English life and character; but, alas! Puritanism triumphant had a darker side.

The triumph of the Church of England, again, we have sorrowfully noticed, was contemporaneous with a marked increase in immorality and in the general dissoluteness of society, especially in the court and capital. In literature, in the pursuits and pleasures especially of the higher ranks of society, a lower standard was aimed at; and a marked deterioration in English social life becomes apparent, when a comparison is made with the days of Elizabeth, even of the first two Stuarts.

The English Roman Catholics, too, can only view with sadness the part which Romanism played during the reign of the second Charles. The king notoriously favoured Rome, and died in her communion. But the influence of this comparatively small body was ever exercised in

* There were, of course, exceptions, notably Oliver Cromwell himself in the latter years of his life.

favour of the pretensions of the powerful French monarch, Louis XIV. Little cared the majority of the English Romanists whether or no England was the vassal of France. The sinister power which the great French king exercised during most of this reign over England, was in no slight measure due to Rome. The prevailing feeling in England, that a Romanist was no patriot—where his religion was concerned—was by no means baseless.

Yet although the Anglican, the Puritan, the Roman Catholic, in reviewing this period, finds alike abundant material for self-abasement, and little for self-congratulation, the picture of the irreligious side of English society which the reign of Charles II. presents is so sombre in its hues, that the thoughtful student trembles when he thinks what the country would have been without the restraint and teaching of the church or Puritanism, even such as they were. His chief cause of complaint against the church is that it seems to have failed at this juncture to exercise the whole of that mighty power of restraining vice, and the dissoluteness so general after the Restoration, which to a great extent it undoubtedly possessed.

Within the church, after it had become again the recognised church of the land, much was done. Generally its restored ministrations were warmly welcomed. But only very gradually, especially in the country districts, was church order properly restored. The long domination of the several sects of Puritans had accustomed the people to various kinds of divine service, all more or less alien to the Anglican spirit. Especially had the fabrics of the churches, and even of the cathedrals, been suffered to pass into a state of sham ful neglect, even of decay. Evelyn's wor are well known when he says (he is speaki of Suffolk), "Most of the houses of God this county resemble rather stables a thatched cottages than temples in whi to serve the Most High."* This state things was by degrees largely amende and among the restorations of the fabri of the churches the cathedrals deser special mention. Not a little renew care and thought in the period followi the Restoration of 1660 was devoted to t fabrics of the cathedrals and churche There is no doubt that much of the dec and desolation in these noble building which has attracted so much attention a called forth such splendid offerings duri the last twenty or thirty years of t nineteenth century, was due to the spi of neglect, almost of aversion, with whi the Puritans had regarded those nob homes of prayer which the Church England has inherited from a remote pas

Conspicuous among the repairing a rebuilding work done in the days Charles II. was the almost entire rebuildi of the cathedral of St. Paul's in the metr polis. This magnificent pile had suffer greatly from fire in the days of que Elizabeth; after remaining partially in ru for a long period, Laud did much towar restoring the vast cathedral. The gre fire of 1666 again destroyed it. Evelyn writes of it thus: "I was infinitely co cerned to find that goodly church, S Paul's—now a sad ruin, and that beautif portico, for structure comparable to a in Europe . . . now rent in pieces

* Diary of John Evelyn (1677).
† *Ibid.* (1666).

CHARLES II. VISITING WREN DURING THE BUILDING OF ST. PAUL'S.
(By permission of the owner, W. G. King, Esq., from the picture by Seymour Lucas, R.A.)

The new church was commenced in 1675, and the present magnificent building, the largest in England, was completed in about twenty-five years. Evelyn, in 1681, tells us also how Sir Christopher Wren, the king's architect—"this incomparable personage," as he terms him—"was in hand with the building of fifty parish churches" in the city of London. Throughout the kingdom, indeed, the works of church restoration and rebuilding were actively carried on in the years succeeding the Restoration, but, alas! were not sufficient to arrest much of the decay which Puritan neglect and even destructive fanaticism had brought about.

This period also witnessed the first efforts of what was subsequently known as the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.* Missionary work in America had been commenced during the Commonwealth by John Eliot, whose name will ever be held in honour as the pioneer of that work for which the Anglican communion has always been distinguished among churches; but it is to Robert Boyle, a son of lord Cork, that is owing the first real organised effort. By his efforts a large portion of the New Testament was translated into the Malayan tongue, and another version of the Holy Scripture was also made into Arabic, or rather Turkish, for circulation in the Levant, then becoming a great field for English commerce.

Among the difficulties which met the restored Anglican communion was the lack of sufficiently trained ministers to fill the many posts vacated by the expelled Nonconformists; and many, no doubt, were ordained who possessed little learning fitness for their sacred calling. In spite this grave hindrance to its progress a usefulness, the Church of England mai tained its ancient reputation for learnir and erudition, owing to the presence in ranks of a band of extraordinarily learn and devoted leaders. No age, perhaps, pr duced so famous a group of English theol gians. Amongst these eminent Caroli divines, as they are termed, may be cit the names of Bull, afterwards bishop of S David's, the author of the "Defence of t Nicene Creed," a monumental work erudition and research, famed far beyor the limits of England; and Pearson, t expositor of the Creed, whose book is st the text-book, alike for the young stude and for the ripe theological scholar. Jerem Taylor, too, Cosin, Barrow, Ken, Tillotso South, Stillingfleet, and Sanderson are st household words among us. Hammon perhaps one of the most distinguished them all, died very shortly after the fall Puritanism, just before he was about to consecrated bishop of Worcester; but h left behind him writings which exercise a most enduring influence in the restore church.

Sanderson is a good example of th brilliant and saintly company, although b no means the most illustrious of thes Caroline bishops and divines. He was type of the great church leaders of th time, and in Isaak Walton's simple an beautiful little memoir we gather wh those who lived in the same age thoug of him. Sanderson was a distinguishe Oxonian in the days of Charles I., who the request of Laud made him his chaplai The king valued him much, and subs

* The charter of the S.P.G. was granted formally in 1701.

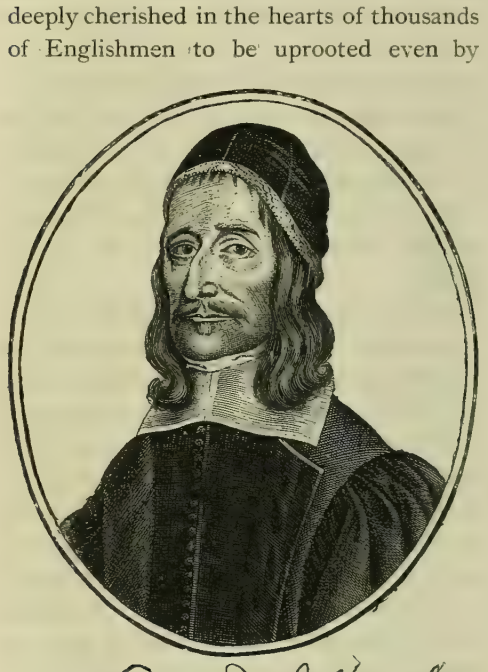
iently preferred him to the Regius Profes-
rship of Divinity at Oxford. As a teacher
id writer on casuistical divinity he was
erhaps unrivalled. Driven by the Puritan
arty in their day of power from his
niversity chair, he betook himself to the
uiet seclusion of his country living at
oothby-Pagnel in Lincolnshire, where
uring the troubles he was left unmolested.
uring the period of the church's deepest
egradation, Sanderson, with Hammond
id a few other like-minded men, kept
ive the fading torch of the ruined
nglican Church. He was the spiritual
uide and adviser of numbers in those
ays of gloom and bitter anxiety. His
ographer relates how by his beautiful
e, "his peaceful moderation and sincerity,
became so remarkable that there were
any that applied to him for resolution
perplexed cases of conscience, some
nown to him and many not, some re-
uiring satisfaction by conference, others
letters; so many that his life became
most as restless as their minds." On the
estoration he was appointed bishop of
ncoln. Although he only occupied his
for a short time (dying in 1662), he
s most energetic in carrying out the
al injunction directing the repair and
toration of all church buildings, includ-
g the houses of the clergy. The restora-
n of Lincoln cathedral was particularly
object of care.

Sanderson's sermons are still models of
le, written in vigorous English. He left
ind him the reputation of a scholar, a
acher, and a learned theologian, and,
ve all, he set to the English Church
high example of a devoted friend and
ish priest, fearless and self-denying.
His above quoted biographer* closes his little sketch of Sanderson with the following touching words, which well represent the popular estimation in which the great divine was held by churchmen of that time —he had been telling the story of Sanderson's last hours: "Thus this pattern of meekness and primitive innocence changed this for a better life. It is now too late to wish that mine may be like his (for I am in the eighty-fifth year of my age, and God knows it hath not), but I most humbly beseech Almighty God that my death may."

In this great church revival and triumph it must not, however, be supposed that the Puritans, though persecuted and driven from all positions of honour and emolument, and looked on with disfavour generally, in the country as in the metropolis, lost entirely their influence among the English people. Among their leading divines were not a few men of great learning, of devoted earnestness, and of deep piety. These, in that period which was indeed to them a time of clouds and darkness, scarcely lit up with a passing ray of sunshine, by their writings and exhortations, private as well as public, amid surroundings of discouragement and even danger, kept alive the Puritan tradition, handing on to future

* *Isaak Walton*, whose biographies, especially that of Hooker, have been several times quoted, was born in 1593 and died in 1683, in his ninetieth year. He is best known as "the common father of all anglers," but his literary powers and acquirements were great. His biographies of a few of the noted and distinguished divines of the century are admirable in their simplicity, transparent truthfulness, and exquisite language. He was intimately associated with many of the eminent churchmen who lived during the period of the Stuart kings and the Commonwealth.

generations the doctrines and teachings which had been so long dear to many of the most earnest of their Puritan countrymen. The old Puritan God-fearing spirit, with all its many grave errors, was too deeply cherished in the hearts of thousands of Englishmen to be uprooted even by



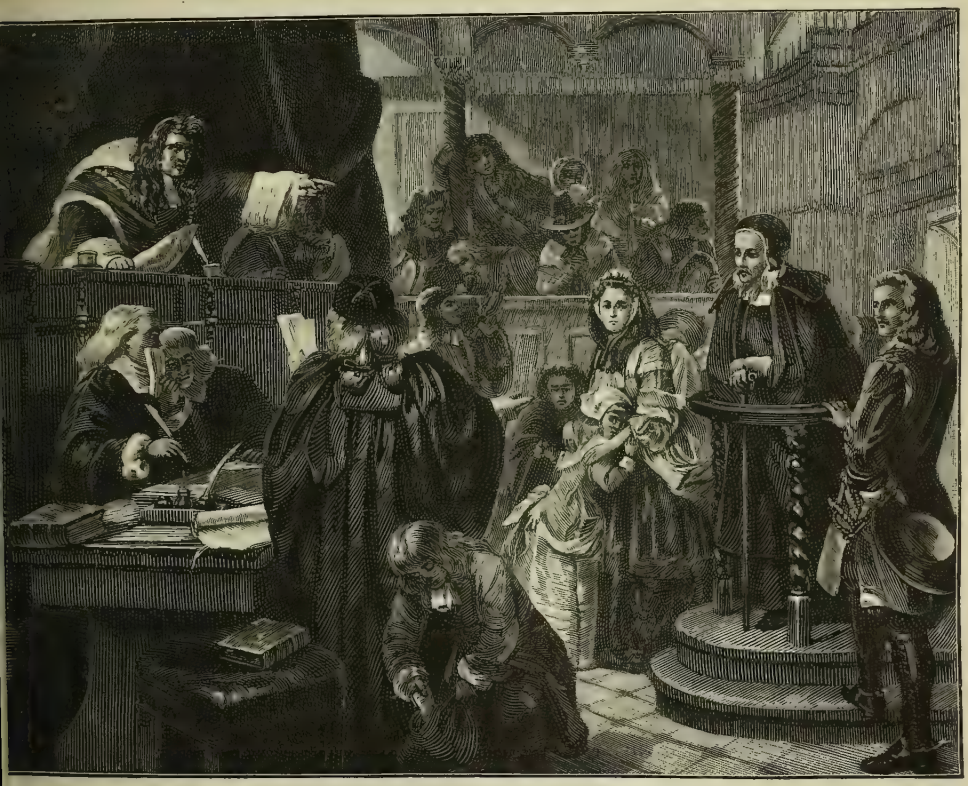
(*After a contemporary engraving by Robert White.*)

years of unpopularity, accompanied with bitter persecution. England, as a whole, emphatically preferred the church, with its immemorial traditions, with its primitive rites and doctrines, and its greater sympathy with the mass of the people generally. The real joy which welcomed its restoration in 1660–1 tells us this with a voice none can mistake. But there was something in Puritanism which was deathless, and which survived even the great Restoration r action. Among the two thousand who r fused to conform, and who for conscien sake gave up possessions, place, and ran were not a few very learned and eloque men, some of whom during the Commo wealth had filled with honour and distin tion professors' chairs at Oxford and Ca bridge; some of them, as great preache and writers and pastors, had won a deserv reputation and a commanding influenc Among these ejected Puritan divines, su names as those of Baxter, Howe, and Ow are still household words among t English Nonconformist communities. brief picture of the first of these, w may be considered as the leader of t Nonconformists during the days of t second and third Stuart kings, will gi a fair instance of the spirit which liv in these men.

Richard Baxter, the son of a well-to- Puritan Shropshire yeoman, was born 1615, and trained for the ministry of t Church of England. His mind, howev was largely influenced by Puritan teac ing, though it is said that the study Hooker's "Ecclesiastical Polity" reconcil him to episcopal ordination and the ord of the Church of England. Ordained Worcester in 1638, he soon obtained reputation as a preacher. He was also indefatigable student, and his Puritan bi soon led him to question certain of the rit and ceremonies of the church in which was a minister. He continued, however, perform his duties, and at Kidderminst where with some interruptions he work for years, his work was attended wi conspicuous success. During part of t Civil Wars he acted as chaplain to t

Parliamentary regiment of colonel Whalley. In spite of his fervid Puritanism he by no means sympathised with the ecclesiastical measures of the dominant party, and was especially, strongly opposed to the Solemn League and Covenant. Nor did he hesitate

Then came the famous Savoy Conference, between the church in the hour of its sudden but complete triumph, and the Puritans, dismayed at the tremendous change in their position. But there was at that historic meeting no attempt at



JUDGE JEFFREYS AND RICHARD BAXTER.

(By permission, from the picture by E. M. Ward, R.A., in the Mappin Art Gallery, Sheffield.)

openly to oppose even Cromwell. After the Restoration, when Charles II. hoped to effect a union between the more moderate Puritans and the Anglican Church, Baxter was appointed a royal chaplain, and as he was looked upon as one of the most learned and influential of his party, was even offered the mitre of Hereford. conciliation, no movement in the direction of yielding, on either side. The leading position among the Puritans seems to have been taken by Baxter; and while on the one hand the church conceded nothing, on the other Baxter, the great representative of Puritanism, stoutly contended for the abolition, or at least for the merely

optional use, of most of the ritual and practice which so long had been objected to by Puritanism.

The final rejection by the church of the Puritan demands, determined Baxter to throw in his lot henceforth with the men who refused to submit to the stern Act of Uniformity passed after the failure of the Savoy Conference. Henceforth, as the recognised leader of Nonconformity, he became the object of bitter persecution, and "in the forty-seventh year of his age (after a life spent in ceaseless and noble work), bowed down with infirmities, was driven from his home and his weeping congregation, to pass the remainder of his life in loathsome jails and precarious hiding places, there to compose in penury and in almost ceaseless pain, works without parallel in the history of English theological literature, for their extent and prodigality of intellectual wealth." * The tremendous catalogue of his printed works comprises one hundred and sixty volumes, the subjects on which he wrote covering the entire field of theology, and comprising doctrinal, practical, polemical, and casuistical treatises. Of course, they are very unequal, but many of them are vigorous and powerful, and contain passages of great majesty and beauty. Of these the famous "Saint's Rest" is perhaps the best known and most enduring.

Towards the end of his busy, toil-worn life, occurred that well-known scene at Guildhall, when Baxter, then an old man, appeared before the notorious chief justice Jeffreys, accused of advocating sedition in his writings. It was in a commentary o the New Testament that the obnoxiou words occurred. The scene was a remark able one. Never had that unrighteou judge been more violent than when h tried Baxter. He did not scruple to ter the great Puritan an old rogue, an ol schismatical knave, an hypocritical villain and when the counsel for the defenc alluded to Baxter's noble record, and ho king Charles was willing to have conferre a bishopric upon him, if he would hav consented to conform, "Aye," said th judge, "we know that, but what ailed th old blockhead, the unthankful villain, tha he would not conform? Is he wiser o better than other men? He hath bee ever since the spring of the faction. I a sure he hath poisoned the world with h doctrine—a conceited, stubborn, fanatica dog!" As might have been expecte in such a court, Baxter was condemne to a great fine and imprisonment, fro which, however, after about two yea he was released, and his fine remitted.

He survived this last cruel stroke som five more years, working, writing, preach ing to the last. None of the Purita leaders in the days of the great persecutio came up to him in power, self-denial, an endurance; but he had many imitator and followers, who kept alive the torch of Puritanism until better and calme days, when a measure of toleration wa extended to these men, who, with all thei errors and mistakes, have ever played, an are playing still, a great part in th religious training of their countrymen.

* Sir James Stephens: "Richard Baxter."

CHAPTER LXVIII.

JAMES II. AND THE REVOLUTION.

ast Days of Charles, and Accession of James II.—The King a Roman Catholic—His Religious Zeal—Appointment of Romanists to Various Posts—Restores the Court of High Commission, and Suspends the Bishop of London—The King's Declaration of Indulgence—Tyrannical Proceedings at Oxford University—Magdalen made a Romish Seminary—Various other Absolutist Measures—Resistance of the Anglican Clergy—Petition of the Bishops Against Reading the Declaration of Indulgence—Imprisonment of the Seven Bishops—Their Trial and Acquittal—Attitude of the Puritans—The Birth of a Prince Precipitates the Crisis—William of Orange Invited to England—The King's Too Late Concessions—Flight of James—The Convention Parliament Confers the Crown upon William and Mary.

THE reign of Charles II. came to a sudden end early in the year 1685.* For about a quarter of a entury, as we have seen, light and adow alternated in the history of the hurch of England. Never in the long ourse of its existence had it been so iumphantly shown how deep a lodgment possessed in the hearts of the people. he wonderful expressions of joy and deep ntent which had welcomed its restoration its old place of power and influence in e realm, can never be forgotten. The ork and teaching of the great Anglican vines during that period contributed rgely to its consolidation, and deepened d widened its commanding influence. uritanism, in the more extravagant and aggerated forms which it had assumed the period immediately preceding and during the Civil War and the Commonwealth, though by no means extinct, or ceasing to be a great force in the religious life of the country, was no longer a grave source of danger to the church. On the other hand, the broad rift between Anglicanism and Puritanism had been seriously widened by the cruel series of persecuting acts levelled against all Nonconformists, passed by a Parliament smarting under the remembrance of the Presbyterian and Independent tyranny of the Commonwealth. This deplorable policy, however, weakened instead of strengthening the position of the church, which certainly acquiesced in, if it did not actually promote, these unhappy measures.

The reign of Charles II. had lasted about a quarter of a century, and will be for ever memorable in the annals of the church which had in his days experienced so marvellous a revolution in its fortunes. The end of that brilliant, kindly, thoughtless life came with startling suddenness. The too true pictures painted by John Evelyn in his diary, of the last Sunday evening of the king's life at Whitehall, faithfully depicts the wild and dissolute society of the Restoration period, to which we have

* As our history proceeds, we have less and less ase to trace the civil history of the time. The e and fall of the different ministers of Charles II. l their administrations, the selfish life of the g, his miserable subservience to France, are re or less well known, and have been fully nted in the well-known history of Macaulay, l at less length by Green, and have been cribed in the lucid and admirable précis of rdiner in his "Student's History of England"—works within the easy reach of students.

already alluded, and of which the king and his court were the examples and models, sadly and faithfully copied in a thousand less

REVERSE OF ANTI-POPERY MEDAL STRUCK IN THE REIGN OF CHARLES II. REPRESENTING THE HEADS OF THE POPE AND THE DEVIL JOINED IN ONE. (*British Museum.*)

distinguished circles. "I can never forget." wrote Evelyn, "the inexpressible luxury and profaneness, gaming and all dissoluteness, and, as it were, total forgetfulness of God (it being Sunday evening), which this day se'nnight I was witness of; the king sitting and toying with his concubines the duchesses of Portsmouth, Cleveland, and Mazarine, a French boy singing love songs in that glorious gallery, whilst about twenty of the great courtiers and other dissolute persons were at basset round a large table, a bank of at least £2,000 in gold before them. Upon which two gentlemen who were with me made reflections with astonishment. Six days after, was all in the dust."*

That very Sunday night when Evelyn looked on the gay and wicked scene, was king Charles seized with his brief but fatal illness. In his dying moments, it will be well remembered, the king declared that he was a Roman Catholic, and received the last sacraments at the hands of th Papist Father Huddleston. A new an unexpected time of trial now lay before th church. The duke of York, better know as James II., followed his brother on th throne. James had avowedly become "convert" to Roman Catholicism, and, lik many converts, was intensely in earnest promote what he considered the welfare his new faith. For it he risked all, an justly lost three crowns in his attempt re-introduce it into England.

He began his reign well, with an unstudie address to the Privy Council, in which acknowledged his debt to the Church England, "which he knew to be eminent

REVERSE OF POLITICAL MEDAL STRUCK IN 16 REPRESENTING JAMES IN THE FORM OF A D WEARING A ROSARY, SWALLOWING A BO INSCRIBED M. J. (MAGNUM JURAMENTU TRAMPLING ON ANOTHER WITH L. C. (LIBERT CONSCIENTIÆ), AND THROWING DOWN FR A COLUMN A THIRD WITH S.R.P. (SALUS RE GIONIS PROTESTANTIS) AND SEALS T. P. (TE AND PENAL LAWS). (*British Museum*)

loyal; it would ever be his care to suppo and defend her." But very soon he forg

* Diary of John Evelyn, 1685

THE ANTE-CHAMBER, WHITEHALL, DURING THE DYING MOMENTS OF CHARLES II.

(From the picture by E. M. Ward, R.A., in the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool.)

his words, and planned a deliberate attack on that church which had been for so long devotedly attached to his cause, determining by a series of such attacks to thrust her from the commanding position she occupied in the country.

The "Test Act," passed in 1673, required from all officers, civil and military, a declaration against transubstantiation. In Parliament, which after a short session in May had re-assembled in November, 1685, he announced that he had dispensed with the provisions of the Act in question in the case of some officers he had appointed to posts in the army. The Commons at once ventured to remonstrate with the king. In the House of Lords, Compton, bishop of London, declared that in consequence of the royal procedure the constitution was in danger. The answer of the king was the prorogation of Parliament, and the removal of bishop Compton from his position of dean of the Chapel Royal and his status as Privy Councillor.

Even previous to this, James had scandalised the Protestant members of his court by ordering a public celebration of the Roman Catholic rites in the private chapel of the palace, and by having a series of sermons preached before him by Papist ecclesiastics. At his coronation, which was performed in Westminster Abbey with great pomp and ceremony, certain significant omissions were noticed. By the king's command the Communion Service was not used, and the ceremony of the presentation to the monarch of a copy of the English Bible was left out. To preserve some show of legality for his proceedings, James II. procured an opinion from certain of the judges who were devoted to him, that the Crown might dispense with law and thus set the provisions of the obnoxio Test Act at defiance. Acting at once up this opinion, the king proceeded to appoi to the Privy Council certain Rom Catholic peers, and even one or tw Romish priests who held office at cou The royal chapel at St. James's w decorated with all the magnificence whi belonged to the proscribed religion. Jesuit school was established in the Savo and colonies of Benedictines, Franciscan and Carmelites were placed in differe centres in London. Emboldened by th success of his armies in Scotland, and st more by his signal triumph over the duk of Monmouth,* who had raised in the we of England the standard of revolt an assumed the title of king, James proceede to take further steps to restore Romanis and to degrade the Church of Englan He especially directed his attention to th two great universities, and at Oxford mad some significant changes, appointin Romanists to various important posts.

The country was now thoroughl alarmed, and many of the clergy openl preached against the errors of Rome– notably Dr. Sharp, the dean of Norwich who also held in London the rectory o St. Giles. Compton, the bishop of Londo was ordered to suspend Sharp. On th bishop's demurring, he was summone before the Court of High Commissio a tribunal which the king on his ow authority re-established. This court ha been formally abolished by two Acts o Parliament. The "High Commission was entrusted with great and undefine

* The duke of Monmouth was a natural son Charles II.

powers, and suspended the bishop of London for his disobedience to the royal orders.

These extraordinary and imprudent measures of the king were viewed with apprehension by the most eminent foreign Roman Catholics of that day. The imperious and unstatesmanlike character of James was well known at Rome and in the cabinets of Europe. In the early days of his reign he was urged to be cautious and prudent, notably by the Pope, Innocent XI., and by the cabinet of the Escurial, the two principal centres of Roman Catholicism. The great Continental Romish statesmen felt that the true interests of the Romanists in England would never be permanently advanced by sudden and sweeping measures in their favour. Such would, they felt, only alarm the great majority of the English, and the reaction, they were well aware, would be terrible. If James II. received no warnings from the third great Romish power, which issued its despatches from Versailles, it was because the relations which had long existed between Louis XIV. and the house of Stuart were of a peculiar and dangerous description, Charles II. and his brother being secretly subsidised by France. Rome and Spain, however, had had long experience of the temper of the English nation; they were well aware of the dread and repulsion felt in the great island kingdom for Roman Catholicism; and the results, which with strange rapidity followed the policy of the Roman Catholic Stuart king, more than justified the wise and statesmanlike cautions which came from both.

At first sight nothing is stranger in history than the expulsion of the Stuarts. It seems incredible that the wonderful reaction which brought about and welcomed with a truly national welcome the return of the royal family in the person of Charles II., could have worn itself out in less than thirty years; incredible that the enthusiasm which received the king in 1661 could have been exchanged for the hatred which culminated in the expulsion of his brother James in 1688—a hatred shared by statesmen and people of all ranks and orders, and so intense that for a brief period it united in one object the triumphant Church of England and the persecuted Nonconformists. It needed, indeed, something of no ordinary force, something which could appeal at once to the reason and passions of Englishmen of all sorts and conditions, to weld into one such apparently discordant elements. But this was supplied by James's wild infatuation, by his imperious determination to re-introduce Romanism as *the* religion of England.

For the last Stuart king was deaf to the temperate warnings of Continental statesmen, as earnest as he was for the advancement of Roman Catholicism, only wiser and more far-seeing; deaf to the prudent advice of his kinsmen, the lords Clarendon and Rochester, who occupied the highest place among his ministers and confidants; deaf to the counsels of tried and veteran Royalists like Ormond. He ignored the opinions of the wisest judges and lawyers; and, more than all, he flouted and hopelessly alienated the most powerful and devoted ally of his royal house, the Church of England, which in its extreme reverence for loyalty to the crown, had long preached

consistently from a thousand pulpits the doctrine of passive obedience. Nothing but the fear of Rome could ever have touched the blind loyalty of men like Clarendon, Rochester, and Ormond, or the conscientious devotion to the throne of ecclesiastics like Sancroft of Canterbury, Compton of London, and Ken of Bath and Wells. But "*Quem Deus vult perdere prius dementat*" ("Whom God has marked for ruin, he first allows to become insane"), and well did James II. exemplify the truth of the saying.

Without relenting he pursued his headlong, ruinous course. In the April of 1687 he published his famous "Declaration of Indulgence." In it he stated his conviction that conscience was not to be forced, that persecution was harmful to commerce, and such like platitudes; and then went on to sweep away by his own sovereign authority, by a dispensing power which he claimed as belonging to the crown, a long series of statutes. By this "Declaration" he suspended all penal laws against Nonconformists, authorising all sects—Independents, Presbyterians, Roman Catholics—publicly to perform their worship according to their own peculiar rites and uses.

The re-establishment of the Court of High Commission, with its vast vague powers, the publication of the Declaration of Indulgence, the arbitrary acts of James in the universities of Oxford and Cambridge—particularly in the former university, showed all thoughtful men what was in the Roman Catholic king's mind, in spite of his protestation that he intended to protect the Church of England in the enjoyment of her legal status and rights. It was evident that he aimed, if not at the destruction, certainly at the degradation of the church so dear to the English nation. At Oxford he had already changed the ancient foundation of University College into a Roman Catholic seminary, while the magnificent Christ Church had been placed under the rule of a Roman Catholic dean. With little pause the king went on with his Oxford changes. He determined to appropriate for his co-religionists the great foundation of Magdalen, at that time perhaps the wealthiest of the Oxford colleges.

This important society, when James II. was king, consisted of a president, of forty fellows, and of a number of scholars, chaplains, and choristers. It was in the March of 1687 that the president of this powerful college died; and by a royal letter James recommended for the vacant headship one Anthony Farmer, a Romanist. According to the statutes of the college Farmer, not being a fellow, was ineligible for the post. Other matters connected with the character of Farmer rendered him also unfit for the headship. The fellows who formed the governing body of electors respectfully remonstrated, begging the king, if he was pleased to recommend them a president, that one might be found whom they could legally elect. James never replied, and the fellows proceeded to elect as president an eminently suitable candidate, who afterwards became well known—John Hough. For this disobedience to the royal wishes, the offending fellows of Magdalen were summoned to appear before the newly-constituted Court of High Commission; and the Commission with an insolent defiance of law and custom, pronounced Hough's election void. A royal letter then recommended D

His Majesties

GRACIOUS

DECLARATION

To all His Loving Subjects for

Liberty of Conscience.

JAMES R.

IT having pleased Almighty God not only to bring Us to the Imperial Crown of these Kingdoms through the greatest Difficulties, but to preserve Us by a more than ordinary Providence upon the Throne of Our Royal Ancestors, There is nothing now that We so earnestly desire, as to Establish Our Government on such a Foundation, as may make Our Subjects happy, and unite them to Us by Inclination as well as Duty; Which We think can be done by no Means so effectually, as by Granting to them the free Exercise of their Religion for the Time to come. and add that to the perfect enjoyment of their Property, which has never been in any Case Invaded by Us since Our coming to the Crown: which being the two Things Men value most, shall ever be preserved

A in

FIRST PAGE OF THE DECLARATION OF INDULGENCE, 1687. (*British Museum.*)

Parker, bishop of Oxford, as president. Parker, if not actually a Romanist, in heart at least was with the Romanist party. He was rejected by the electors on the ground that Hough had been legally elected. Shortly afterwards the king made a progress through a large part of England, and in the course of his progress visited Oxford. The fellows of Magdalen were summoned to meet their king, who in person haughtily required their submission to his expressed wishes in the matter of the election of a president. He was met, much to his surprise, with a direct though courteous refusal. A commission under the High Court, armed with special visitorial powers over Magdalen College, was appointed to deal with the matter; and in the end the president Hough and the body of the fellows were ejected. Bishop Parker dying shortly after, the college became a Roman Catholic seminary under the presidency of the Roman bishop Giffard, twelve Popish fellows bearing rule under him.

This episode is here related with some detail, because none of James's high-handed proceedings so disturbed and disgusted the Church of England, as did this treatment of one of the most famous colleges of the loyal university of Oxford. Every minister of the church, from the vicar of the humblest parish to the highest dignitary of the proudest cathedral, was sensible that his freehold in the church might be any moment taken from him, and given at the arbitary will of the sovereign to a member of another church. James, by his treachery to the Establishment, had justly forfeited the loyalty, and had lost for ever the support, of the powerful church whose devotion to the house of Stuart had been proverbial.

Nor did the king in his mad infatuation by any means limit the sphere of his high-handed arbitrary proceedings to the universities and the church. The great officers of state, who declined to assist him in his determination to restore what he deemed the true religion, were rapidly removed from their positions and replaced by devoted Romanists. Neither the claims of near kinship, nor the traditions of a long and unbroken loyal service, sufficed to maintain the chief servants of the crown in their posts. His brothers-in-law, the earls of Clarendon and Rochester, the one lord lieutenant of Ireland, the other lord treasurer, fell. The Romanist lord Bellasys became first lord of the treasury, no lord treasurer being appointed when Rochester was dismissed. Lord Arundel, another Roman Catholic, became privy seal. Father Petre, a Jesuit, received a seat at the privy council. The nuncio of the Pope was even received in state at Windsor.

A yet more offensive and illegal procedure took place in the case of the lords lieutenant of the counties. These officers were commanded to effect such a "regulation" of the governing body in the boroughs, as would ensure the return of candidates for the House of Commons pledged to the repeal of the Test Act. Many of them at once refused, and these were at once relieved of their offices.

The church, in the person of some of its most famous preachers, now more and more openly inveighed against the errors of Rome. Evelyn in his diary notes how, thanks to the efforts of the church, "by God's providence the Papists made small

rogress among us." The king, in the meantime, apparently emboldened by the absence of any open resistance to his illegal doings, proceeded to an act which at length roused the whole nation to an active resistance—a resistance which brought about the revolution, and precipitated the fate of the Stuart dynasty. In May of 1688 he issued an order directing the famous Declaration of Indulgence, which, as we have seen, among other provisions, suspended all penal enactments in ecclesiastical matters, to be published in all the churches of the kingdom. The bishops were directed to cause the said Declaration "to be sent round and distributed through their dioceses to be read according."

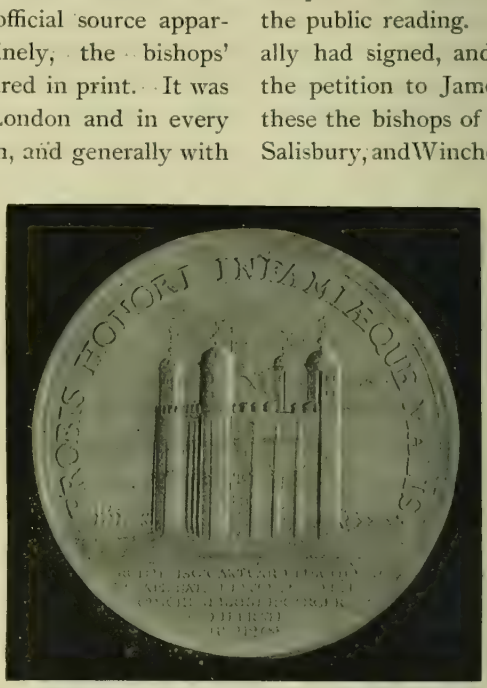
POLITICAL MEDAL STRUCK AT THE TIME OF THE TRIAL OF THE SEVEN BISHOPS, REPRESENTING THE CHURCH BEING UNDERMINED BY A JESUIT AND A MONK BUT SUPPORTED BY A HAND FROM HEAVEN. (*British Museum.*)

The Anglican clergy hesitated to obey. For a brief season it hung in the balance whether or no the king's tyrannical mandate would be complied with. The High Commission Court was a powerful and terrible tribunal, and many an incumbent could naturally hesitate, lest by disobedience to the royal order he might bring himself under its arbitrary powers. At this juncture the leading London clergy came boldly forward, and positively refused to read the royal Declaration. They were supported by the patriotism of the chiefs of the Nonconformists, by such men as Baxter and Howe; who, to their great honour, in this critical juncture stood by the Church of England in defence of the laws of the realm. At a meeting of such of the bishops as could be summoned in haste to Lambeth, and of other eminent divines, a petition to the king was drawn up, in which, while reiterating the fervent loyalty of the church to the crown, earnest protests were made against the illegality of the Declaration of Indulgence, Parliament having both in the present and late reigns pronounced that the sovereign was not competent to dispense with statutes in matters ecclesiastical.

James received the document at the hands of the bishops who had drawn it up with deep anger, saying, "This is a great surprise to me. I did not expect this from your church. This is a standard of rebellion." The saintly Ken of Bath and Wells was prominent in his firm though respectful personal remonstrances to the king. The other prelates present, to the number of seven, were equally firm. James was unyielding. "You are trumpeters of sedition: what do you here?" said the

king. "Go to your dioceses and see that I am obeyed. . . . God has given me the dispensing power, and I will maintain it."*

Not through any official source apparently, but clandestinely, the bishops' petition at once appeared in print. It was read and re-read in London and in every village in the kingdom, and generally with marked sympathy and approval. The Sunday following the presentation of the petition to the king, was the first of the four appointed Sundays for the reading of the celebrated Declaration or Indulgence. The dates were the 20th and 27th May, and the 3rd and 10th of June, 1688. What happened was as follows:—In the city and liberties of London at that time were about a hundred parish churches. In only four of them was the royal order complied with. In Westminster Abbey Dr. Sprat, bishop of Rochester, a creature of the king, officiated as dean. When he began to read the Declaration the congregation rose and left the great choir where the service was being held. The same refusal to read the royal manifesto was again general on the three succeeding appointed Sundays. The provinces followed the example of th metropolis. Not one parish priest in fift complied with the order in council directin the public reading. Seven bishops origi ally had signed, and in person presente the petition to James, but in addition t these the bishops of Norwich, Glouceste Salisbury, and Winchester had subsequentl signed copies of th petition, to sho their full approva of it. As we hav already noticed the leading Non conformists stoutl and bravely sup ported the Churc of England in thi resistance to th unconstitutiona demand of th crown.



OBVERSE OF POLITICAL MEDAL STRUCK AT THE TIME OF THE IMPRISONMENT OF THE SEVEN BISHOPS. REPRESENTS THE BISHOPS (ON THE LEFT) APPROACHING THE TOWER, POPULACE ON THE OTHER SIDE. (*British Museum.*)

The king still in spite of thi strong expressio of the nationa will, refused t yield. The ques tion with him was What action should he take in the case o the seven bishops who, as the first signatories of the petition against the Declaration, had placed themselves at the head of the resistance to the royal will? Several courses were suggested in the council. The more prudent of the royal advisers, aware of the strength of the opposition, were of opinion that the king would best consult his dignity by leaving the bishops for the present alone. The lord chancellor Jeffreys, however, was in favour of a

* *Cf.* Macaulay ("History of England," chap. vii.), who relates the strange scene at length.

lecided course of action, and induced the king to cite the seven before the Court of King's Bench, on a charge of seditious libel. Jeffreys expected they would be convicted, and that the infliction of a ruinous fine and imprisonment would strike terror into the hearts of the less distinguished offenders, who would in the end be content to comply with the king's wishes in the matter of publishing the Declaration. Summoned before the council, the seven bishops were informed of the royal determination. They behaved on this occasion with dignified firmness, and the same day a warrant was made out committing them to the Tower. They were at once conveyed in a royal barge from Whitehall to the historic prison of England.

EVERSE OF POLITICAL MEDAL STRUCK AT THE TIME OF THE TRIAL OF THE SEVEN BISHOPS. IT REPRESENTS SIX OF THE BISHOPS WITH COMPTON, BISHOP OF LONDON, IN THE CENTRE. COMPTON HAD BEEN SUSPENDED BY JAMES (*see p.* 187). (*British Museum.*)

The names of the seven illustrious bishops who had stood forth as the champions of their church and of the constitutional rights of Englishmen were—the primate, archbishop Sancroft, Compton of London, Lloyd of St. Asaph, Turner of Ely, Lake of Chichester, Ken of Bath and Wells,

REVERSE OF POLITICAL MEDAL STRUCK AT THE TIME OF THE TRIAL OF THE SEVEN BISHOPS. IT REPRESENTS THE CHURCH ON A ROCK BUFFETED BY THE FOUR WINDS. (*British Museum.*)

Trelawney of Bristol. The progress of the barge down the river with the seven accused bishops partook of the nature of a triumphal procession. The river was crowded with craft, thousands being anxious to catch a glimpse of the heroes of the hour. Many as they thronged the banks even waded some way out into the stream to get nearer the captive prelates. Their blessing was invoked, and many earnest prayers went up from excited hearts for their safety. A deputation of Nonconformist divines visited the Tower after the bishops were lodged there. Some of these Nonconformists were sent for, and personally rebuked by the king for their unlooked-for disloyalty at such a moment. Their reply was a memorable one. They felt all past disputings should be forgotten, and that their solemn duty was to rally round men who imperilled themselves for the Protestant religion; thus showing that among the Puritans the dread of Rome was a stronger and deeper feeling than even the hope of a complete toleration of their

own forms of religion. Anglicanism they had good cause to dislike, and in its too ready acquiescence in the cruel persecution of Nonconformity, to dread; but Anglicanism, with all its errors, in their eyes was still Protestantism. The triumph of Roman Catholicism would have been, in the eyes of true Puritans like Baxter and Howe, too dear a price to pay even for the toleration of their own cherished form of faith.

The trial of the seven confessors was hurried on. On the 15th June of that same memorable year 1688, they were formally committed for trial at Westminster, and liberated on their own recognisances. On the 29th of the same month the trial took place. The crowds outside the hall of justice, choking up all the approaches, were remarkable; but within "such an auditory had never before and has never since been assembled in the Court of King's Bench. Thirty-four temporal peers of the realm were counted in the crowd."* Three at least of the four judges on the bench were obsequious servants of the king. The most eminent counsel of the day either conducted the prosecution or were retained for the defence. The jury were mostly composed of persons of good station, several of them of high rank. There was at first some difference of opinion among them, a minority pressing for a conviction. They consulted for a whole night, and when in the morning the verdict of acquittal was pronounced, the rejoicings not only in the metropolis but also in the remote districts of the country were loud and deep. It was a signal victory over a carefully considered attempt on the part of the Stuart king absolutism; but it was, too—and that peculiarly what interests us in our histo —a signal victory of the Church of Englan The attempt of the Roman Catholic ki to degrade that church had utterly faile and the result was that she stood higher the estimation of the people than ever.

REVERSE OF POLITICAL MEDAL STRUCK IN 168 SHOWING PAPAL EMBLEMS BEING BURNT LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS. THE WEST SIDE SEEN WITH THE PORTUGUESE CHAPEL IN DUK STREET IN RUINS. (*British Museum.*)

Among the general rejoicings which fo lowed the acquittal of the bishops, on significant incident deserves mention. I several parts of the metropolis the Pop was burnt in effigy: in more than on instance the effigy was surrounded by train of cardinals and Jesuits. No seriou Churchman for a moment would approv such a wild exhibition of popular anger but it serves to show what, after tw centuries and a half of freedom from th weight of the dead hand of Rome, were th feelings of the populace towards the hate

*See Macaulay's "History," chap. viii. His "story of the seven bishops and their trial" is wonderfully graphic, though somewhat drawn out.

espotism. More than two centuries have lapsed since that attempt of James II., and ne times have changed: new thoughts, ghts, and scenes are presented to the gaze f those who live in the last years of the ineteenth century. But the same feeling owards Rome lives still, and is as strong s ever in the hearts of the English people. Thus in 1688, James II. had succeeded n alienating well-nigh all his subjects. ords and Commons were alike in bitter pposition to his government. He had eeply affronted all parties, all sects. His ne end and aim was the exaltation of is church, and that church was regarded ith feelings of intense mistrust by most nglishmen. To advance its interests he ad recklessly trampled upon the con-itution, and had claimed for the crown rerogatives which had in the days of his ther, Charles I., stirred up the fires of the reat Civil War. Above all, he had reck-ssly quarrelled with the Anglican com-union, ever devotedly loyal to his house ren in the most hopeless days of the great ebellion. All might, however, still have en endured, and James II. might have ne down to the grave as king of Eng-nd, so fervid was the feeling of loyalty the crown, and so intense was the neral dread of another civil war and a ssible renewal of Puritan tyranny, had not been for an event which happened t at the moment when all England was us stirred with indignation by the arrest the seven bishops who were the special jects of the king's wrath. That event s the unlooked-for birth of a male heir the Stuart dynasty.*

The prince of Wales, subsequently known as James III., or the Old Pretender, was born on June 10th, 1688, and the birth of a male heir to the throne brought on the final crisis. The boy would naturally be brought up in the religion of his father and mother. A Roman Catholic dynasty would probably be established in England; and the prospect of a line of Romish kings similar to James II. on the throne, disregarding, for the sake of a religion detested by the majority of Englishmen, all Parliamentary and legal restraints, determined the leaders of the several parties, united by a common national danger, to invite William of Orange, who had married James's eldest daughter, Mary (until the birth of the prince looked upon as the future queen), "to intervene in arms for the restoration of English liberty and the protection of the Protestant religion." The invitation, signed by a group of representative men, was sent from London to the prince of Orange (the Stadtholder), the chief magistrate of the great Dutch Republic, on the day after the acquittal of the bishops, at the end of June, 1688.

The events which followed, known as the Revolution of 1688–89, were crowded into the short space of a few months, and we can only most briefly recapitulate them. The invitation from the English leaders of different parties was accepted by William of Orange, who prepared for the expedition. He was, however, delayed by the presence of a French invading army which threatened the Spanish Netherlands, who were then allied with Holland. Again

* James II. had two daughters: Mary, afterwards een, married to William of Orange (William III.), and Anne, afterwards queen. When in 1688 the prince was born, five years had elapsed since the last pregnancy of James's queen, Mary of Modena.

James II.'s infatuated conduct was his worst enemy. He rejected somewhat rudely the proffered assistance of Louis XIV., who immediately withdrew his invading force from the frontiers of William's dominions, thus leaving the prince of Orange free. Early in November the Dutch prince landed with his troops at the

OBVERSE OF POLITICAL MEDAL STRUCK TO COMMEMORATE THE FLIGHT OF JAMES IN 1689. THE BEAR WEARING ROSARY REPRESENTS JAMES, THE THREE HIVES THE UNITED KINGDOM, AND THE BEES THE VOTE OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS JAN. 28, 1689, DECLARING THE THRONE VACANT. (*British Museum.*)

haven of Brixham in Torbay, and marched at once upon London. He was joined by great numbers of the gentry of the counties he passed through on his march, while a great rising in the midlands and in the north emphatically showed how deep was the feeling against the Roman Catholic king.

In the meanwhile James made concessions; abolishing the High Commission Court, restoring the expelled fellows of Magdalen, etc., but it was all too late to restore confidence. He marched to meet the invaders, and had reached Salisbur when the great majority of his force many of his courtiers, and his daughte the princess Anne, and her husband, prin George, deserted him. Left thus almo alone, he returned hurriedly to Londo Feeling all was well-nigh lost, he secret sent away his wife, queen Mary of Moden and his infant son, to France. This w in December. Almost directly he follow them, but was arrested in his flight some fishermen at Sheerness. For a bri moment all was in confusion; we read riots in London and the sacking by t mob of the Roman Catholic chape Accompanied, as such riots too often a when religious fury has been excited, acts of sacrilege abhorrent to all earne and devout minds, sacred pictures, image and even crucifixes were carried along t streets in a vulgar triumph, with wild a exultant cries of "No Popery!" T house of the Spanish ambassador w singled out especially by the rude crow and burnt, as peculiarly connected with t country of the Inquisition and with Phil II., who equipped the Armada. Jam again attempted to fly the country—t time successfully and with the connivan of the Dutch prince, whose plans wou have been interrupted by the presence James.

After consultation with the House Lords, William summoned an assembly, be composed of the House of Lords a men who had sat in any of the Parliamen of Charles II., together with the alderme and common councillors of London. Th assembly advised William to summon Convention Parliament, taking upon hi self the provisional government of t

JAMES II. IN HIS PALACE AT WHITEHALL RECEIVING THE NEWS OF THE LANDING OF THE PRINCE OF ORANGE IN 1688.
(From the picture by E. M. Ward, R.A., in the National Gallery of British Art, Millbank.)

kingdom. Letters were forthwith sent out to the electors of towns and counties, to send up representatives to the Convention Parliament. This met in the January of 1689. No question was seriously raised by any party as to opening any communication with the discredited king. More than one device, however, was suggested for the settlement of the future government —notably that of archbishop Sancroft, who, with some of his suffragans and other influential personages, conscientiously objected to break their oath of allegiance to king James. Sancroft suggested that James should be pronounced unfit to rule, but that he should continue king in name, while Parliament should choose a regent who should exercise the royal power. The Convention Parliament, however, at once rejected any such device, and declared the throne vacant. Two grounds were alleged—the one, that king James II., by the advice of Jesuits and other wicked persons, had violated the fundamental laws; the other, that having withdra himself out of the kingdom, the soverei had abdicated the government. A D claration of Rights was prepared, wh condemned the dispensing power as cently exercised, together with ot illegal acts of James.

The throne was then offered to a accepted by the prince and princess Orange as joint sovereigns. William, accepting the crown in his own and Mar name, expressed the resolve of both maintain the laws and to govern by adv of Parliament as representing the nati The scene of the singular and importa ceremony of offering the vacant throne William and Mary was the well-kno Banqueting-house of the palace of Whi hall, built by Inigo Jones. Outside one its great windows had been erected t scaffold for Charles I. The stately bui ing is with us still, and, with its ma memories, is the only relic of the palace of the kings of England.

REVERSE OF POLITICAL MEDAL EXECUTED AT NUREMBERG TO COMMEMORATE THE PASSING OF T TOLERATION ACT. BRITANNIA CROWNED AND TRAMPLING ON CHAINS GRASPING WILLIAM'S RIG HAND AND ACCOMPANIED BY RELIGION WITH THE BIBLE AND CROSS, AND LIBERTY WITH SCRO INSCRIBED "TEST."; BEHIND WILLIAM THE BELGIC LION. (*British Museum.*)

CHAPTER LXIX.

LAST PURITAN ATTEMPT TO REVISE THE PRAYER BOOK. THE NON-JURORS AND LATITUDINARIANS.

Connection of William III. with the Stuart Dynasty—His Character—Religious Views and Sympathies—The Toleration Act—Bill for Religious Union—Opposed by the Clergy—Commission appointed for Revising the Prayer Book, so as to embrace the Nonconformists—Extent of such Changes and their Failure—Scruples of many Anglicans Concerning the Divine Right of James II.—The Non-Jurors—Dangers of a Schism—The Latitudinarian Party in the Church—Its Character and Aims—Robert Nelson and other Influential Anglican Laymen—Bishop Ken—Other Eminent Anglican Divines—Religious Activity of this Period.

WILLIAM, Prince of Orange, subsequently known in England as king William III., stadtholder and chief magistrate of the Dutch Republic, was great-grandson of the illustrious William the Silent, Prince of Orange, who in the last half of the sixteenth century had successfully combated the vast power of Spain, under the most famous commanders of Philip II., and succeeded in founding the confederation of provinces known as the Dutch Republic, a confederation that for a time was mistress of the seas, and the principal commercial state in the world. The prince, who after the deposition of James II., mainly through the hereditary claims of his wife Mary, the eldest daughter of the deposed Stuart king, was called to assume the crown of England, was himself also closely connected with the Stuart dynasty, being a grandson through his mother, another Mary, of king Charles I.

The following little tables will show the connection of William of Orange with the royal house of England, and the claim of his wife Mary to the English crown. (William and Mary were, as will be seen in reference to the tables, first cousins.)

Charles I.

Charles II. MARY=William II. of Orange. James II.

William of Orange (William III.).

Charles I.

Charles II. Mary. JAMES II.=Anne Hyde.

MARY=William of Orange. ANNE (Queen).
(William III.)

A brief description of this prince seems called for, as through his work and influence the present strong though constitutional position of the crown was established, while at the same time the status of the Church of England was consolidated, and large measures of toleration of other Protestant sects were also conceded.

King William III., to give him the title which, a very few months after the events already recorded, became his with the almost unanimous consent of the nation, although far from being a popular or beloved prince, was one of the ablest and wisest men who ever sat on the throne of Alfred and William the Conqueror. Early left an orphan, his was a desolate and loveless childhood and boyhood. Carefully trained in statecraft, he found himself at the early age of twenty-one in the position of chief

magistrate of the Dutch Republic. By the time he was twenty-three years old he was already famous among the great ones of Europe, alike as a soldier and a statesman. In his marriage, politically as well as socially, he was singularly fortunate. Mary, the eldest daughter of James II., and the heiress to the English crown until the birth of the ill-fated boy-prince whose advent precipitated the crisis which led to the exile of the English sovereign, was not only beautiful, but distinguished for all the womanly virtues and qualities which constitute a great princess. Brought up, too, in the doctrines and traditions of the Church of England, she largely made up for what was lacking in the religious training of her husband William. A devoted wife, she won by degrees the passionate love of the cold and somewhat self-absorbed William, who subsequently mourned her too early death (she died of malignant small-pox, then ravaging England, in 1694) with a mourning singular for its intensity.

Our great statesman and warrior-king had much to contend with. Gifted with few of the graceful and pleasant qualifications which so often win popularity even for the most worthless, he also suffered all through his work-filled life from wearing and distressing ill-health. Alike in the field and in the cabinet, his was one long struggle against pain and sickness. As a politician, we need not dwell here on his undisputable merits. Ample justice has been done to his distinguished career in the pages of the many histories we possess of his times. Sufficient it is for us to say, that in his reign and in that of his sister-in-law and successor, queen Anne, England more than recovered the position among the countries of Europe which it had l during the reigns of Charles II. and Jam II., while the same period saw the fall France from the lofty pinnacle of pow she temporarily occupied during a lar part of the reign of Louis XIV.

The religious views and sympathies William are more important to us he The Prince of Orange, as might have be expected in the chief magistrate of Hollan was himself a follower of Calvin. But he his statesmanship modified his views. accepted episcopacy as a reasonable a lawful form of church government, b accepted it, of course, without enthusias or zeal. To him, although a Calvinist, t ritual of the English Book of Comm Prayer was no offence, though perhaps t much inclined, he probably thought, Romish superstitions, which he abhorr with the temper of a Calvinist and t feelings of a politician, the life-long ener of the powerful France and her ambitio and aggressive Roman Catholic monarc Louis XIV. Such a wise ruler as w William III., even with his Calvinis bias, proved no enemy to the church the nation over which he was called rule. The Toleration Act, which, owi to his influence, was accepted general really assisted the church, as it took aw from the other Protestant sects most if n all of the causes which placed them an attitude of hostility to Anglican while under his wise foresight t Bill for "Union," which included ma proposals for drastic changes in the Pray book, was dropped at once, when Willia clearly discerned the strong opposition the church to its provisions.

Prominently in the public "declaratio

published in Holland by the Prince of Orange, justifying his armed intervention, was expressed his intention to provide for the security of the Protestant religion, and of two important bills: one for "Toleration" and a second for "Union." An attempt was also made to do away with the Test Act; but this last project was

WILLIAM SANCROFT, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.
(From a contemporary print by Robert White.)

establish a good agreement between the Church of England and Protestant Dissent. Following out this purpose, one of the first proceedings of the advisers of the crown in the Convention which had become a Parliament, was the introduction almost at once negatived in the House of Lords.

The Toleration Bill went through both Houses with little debate. All parties in the church and state were generally anxious for this righteous measure. The time had

passed now when men could calmly acquiesce in the persecution of the Nonconformist bodies for simply worshipping with rites received from their Puritan fathers. The Toleration Act, passed in 1689, gave to Dissenters the legal right to worship publicly on complying with certain not very onerous formalities; but from this freedom to worship as they thought fit, Roman Catholics and Unitarians were excluded. The act was almost universally accepted and welcomed by churchmen and Nonconformists alike, and thus the chief cause of religious strife was removed.

The second of these bills, however, met, and rightly met, with the gravest opposition on the part of the majority of churchmen, and after considerable discussion was allowed to drop. The opposition in the first instance came from the House of Commons. Burnet tells us "they were much offended with the bill for Union or Comprehension, as containing matters relating to the church, in which the representative body of the clergy (Convocation) had not been so much as advised with." The Comprehension Bill thus wisely rejected by the Commons on the plea that Convocation had not considered it, contained provisions which, had they become law, would have seriously changed the character of the Elizabethan settlement. Its most drastic changes included clauses dispensing with the necessity of subscribing the Thirty-nine Articles, allowing the use or not of the surplice, save in a few churches of peculiar dignity, as the clergyman thought fit; sanctioning the omission of the sign of the cross in baptism; permitting the reception of the Eucharist by persons who had a scruple, sitting and not kneeling; and partially recognising the validity o Presbyterian orders, on condition of th Presbyterian ministers submitting to th imposition of the hands of a bishop befor being admitted to the privileges of a prie of the established church.*

On the failure of the "Comprehension or "Union" Bill,† a commission was issue to ten bishops and twenty divines to pr pare for Convocation suggestions for such revision of the Book of Common Prayer a would be necessary for the comprehensio of Nonconformists, this revision whe formulated to be presented for considera tion to Convocation. Among the com missioners were several most able an learned men, such as Tillotson, the dean o St. Paul's; Tenison, afterwards primate Stillingfleet, bishop of Worcester; Patrick bishop of Chichester; and other well-know latitudinarian divines. It was no secre that the king wished them well, and woul have gladly welcomed the success of thei labours; and it says much for the far sighted wisdom of William III. that h acquiesced in dropping the whole schem of the comprehension project, as soon as h clearly saw that the alterations propose were utterly distasteful to the majority o the church.

As this was the last serious attempt t bring the Puritan sects within the pale o the Church of England, it will be well ver briefly to summarise the principal altera tions deemed necessary to effect this object bearing in mind that the scheme of thes

* *Cf.* Macaulay: "History of England," chap. x

† *Cf.* here Procter: "History of the Book o Common Prayer," who gives a lengthy and ex haustive account of the work of this commissio in appendices, p. 141 and p. 425.

alterations was drafted, no doubt after consultation with the Nonconformist leaders, but still by the hand of Anglicans themselves; thus the alterations in question may be fairly accepted as the minimum of what would be required for any union.

In number the alterations were very numerous; they have been computed as about six hundred. But the principal were the following:—Chanting to be discontinued; the use of the sign of the cross in baptism to be omitted altogether when desired; the Eucharist to be administered to persons who might object to kneeling; the word "minister" to be substituted for "priest"; the rubric enjoining the daily reading or hearing of Common Prayer to be changed into an exhortation; sponsors in baptism to be disused; the names of saints which have not a service, and the table of vigils, etc., to be struck out; considerable latitude in the use of the surplice; a complete and extensive revision of all the collects, scarcely one to remain without some change; large facilities for the reception of men into Anglican orders who had only been ordained by presbyters. Had the Prayer-book of the Church of England undergone the process of change sketched out in this scheme, the grand continuity of the Anglican services with the services of the pre-Reformation church, so carefully preserved by the wise Edwardian, Elizabethan, and Caroline divines, would have been indeed hopelessly lost.

But the scheme came to nought. Happily, upon the throne at this juncture sat a king who, although a Presbyterian by training and associations, was too wise and far-seeing to wish to impose upon a church like the Anglican communion changes evidently in the highest degree distasteful to the majority of those who were the best exponents of its principles. When Convocation met, its temper was speedily shown by the choice of a prolocutor. Two candidates were put forward—Tillotson, the able dean of St. Paul's, subsequently primate, and Jane, Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, the dean of Gloucester. Tillotson was well known as the "Latitudinarian" leader who had been a principal mover in the Comprehension scheme, which proposed the sweeping revision of the Prayer-book; Jane, the dean of Gloucester, had openly taken the other side. The latter was elected by a majority of two to one. In his address to Compton, the bishop of London, who was acting as president, he extolled the excellency of the Church of England, as established by law, above all other Christian communities, and ended with the significant words—"*Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari*" ("We are opposed to any change in the laws of England"), thus signifying his intention to oppose all changes in the established ritual and practice of his church.

Then followed some disputing between the Upper and Lower Houses as to the terms of the address of Convocation to the king. The Upper House, sorely weakened by the absence of the nine non-juring bishops (of whom we must speak directly), gave way here to the wishes of the Lower House. So emphatically had that Lower House shown its feeling in the matter of the Comprehension scheme of alterations in the ritual and liturgy, that its advocates thought it prudent never to introduce the

scheme in question formally into that assembly.

The spirit with which the last real attempt to change materially the ritual and liturgy of the Church of England had been quietly but firmly resisted by the country as represented by the House of Commons, and by the clergy as represented by the Lower House of Convocation, is an index to the position occupied by the established church in this country towards the close of the seventeenth century. The opinion of Tillotson, dean of St. Paul's, who was largely concerned in the framing of the alterations suggested by the commission, is thus summarised by a contemporary: "When he observed with what resolution the body of them (*i.e.* the members of Convocation) from the very first declared against any alterations, . . . he was convinced that the method he had been for, was really impracticable as things then stood, and therefore was not for repeating the dangerous experiment, or having any more to do with Convocation all the while he continued archbishop." *

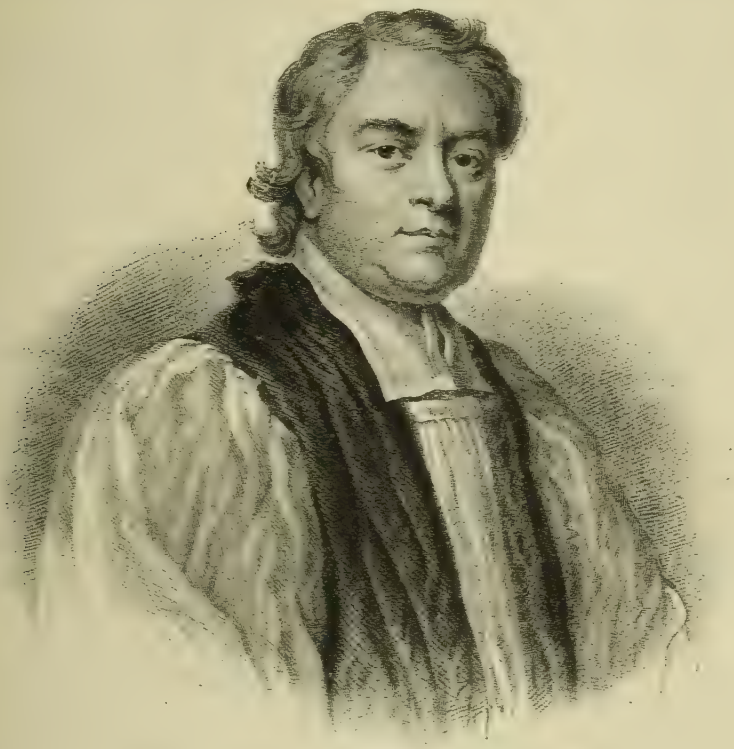
A graver and most unexpected danger, however, threatened the power and influence of the church at this epoch of the bloodless Revolution of 1688–89. The feeling of loyalty to the crown was deeply ingrained in her. The lessons of the great teachers, Andrewes and Laud, had sunk deep into the hearts of churchmen. Many of the most earnest and devout among the bishops and clergy, among whom were the primate Sancroft and the universally revered bishop of Bath and Wells, the saintly Ken, shrank from taking a fresh oath of allegiance to William and Mary wh king James was still living, still claimi the rights of kingship. These good, ev though mistaken men, after long and pai ful consideration, made up their min that so indelible was the sacred office king, no exercise of Parliamentary auth ity could touch it. In vain was it argu that James, by leaving the country, h abdicated. They could not persuade the selves that this was the case. They a knowledged that by his deliberate breaki of the laws he had forfeited the right rule; but they held he was still kin They clung to the theory of a regen which should continue during his lifetin but they could not bring themselves take the oath of allegiance to another ki of England.

When, therefore, the new oath of alle ance was proffered, nine bishops refused A considerable time of grace was allow them to change their minds, but they h firm to their resolve, and submitted to deprived of their sees. Three of th number died before the term of gra expired, but in the end six bishops, inclu ing the primate and bishop Ken, as well four hundred beneficed clergy, were eject from their positions. These martyrs their conscientious scruples are known history as the Non-jurors. They were a body, distinguished for their learni piety, and devotion, and the wound whi their deprivation inflicted upon the chu was a deep one, and was long felt.

But besides the injury which the chu sustained by the sudden loss of so ma devoted and conscientious men, not a f of whom were scholars and persons of c spicuous ability, there was the danger,

* Calamy's "Autobiography."

no means a groundless one, of a schism n the hitherto un-rent church itself. There was a strong feeling, no doubt argely made up of earthly motives, on the part of some of the leading Non-jurors, that or acted pastorally in their dioceses, and were merely consecrated for the purpose of continuing the non-juring succession ; but both Ken of Bath and Wells, and Frampton of Gloucester, gravely disapproved of



JOHN TILLOTSON, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.
(After the portrait by Sir Godfrey Kneller.)

hey and they only represented the Church f England, while all others were apostates nd time-servers. Clandestinely three of ne number of non-juring bishops went so ır as to consecrate two other clergymen the episcopate, as suffragans to the nonuring bishop of Norwich. Thetford and pswich were taken as the titles of their ces. These never claimed any authority such a step. These great and good men foresaw the evil of a perpetuated schism, and recognised that on the other side, among the great majority who conscientiously took the oath of allegiance to William and Mary, there were many men of equal holiness and of equal loyalty to the Church of England with themselves. But the mischief, in spite of the opposition of

Ken and Frampton, was done, and the schism became an accomplished fact. Fortunately it never took any firm root in the church, though it continued for many years. In the small number of non-jurors, before the end of the first quarter of the eighteenth century, a separation took place, one party among them desiring to revive the use of the First Prayer-book of Edward VI. These adopted the name of "Usagers," and formulated a new Communion office. But before the eighteenth century had run its course, the non-juring schism had finally died out, and was no more heard of.

Strongly favoured by king William III., and under the powerful hand of court favour, after the Revolution of 1688 arose a party in the Church of England which has considerably influenced much of her subsequent teaching. The title of Latitudinarian, which was given to this section of churchmen, inaccurately designates men, not a few of whom were among the most distinguished ecclesiastics of that day. With them, amongst others, Stillingfleet and Burnet, Tillotson and Tenison, were reckoned. The name of "Latitudinarian" suggests to us the idea of indifference, if not of unorthodoxy, in the person so designated. It would be the grossest injustice which could charge such a typical Latitudinarian as Burnet with indifference, or Tillotson with want of orthodoxy. The episcopal life of Burnet, with its tireless pastoral efforts, is the best answer to the first charge of indifference; the sermons and works of archbishop Tillotson, still read by us, testify abundantly to the falseness of the second, that of unorthodoxy.

Some half a century before the days of William III., this Latitudinarian party h become somewhat conspicuous, more pe haps owing to the ability and position th to the numbers of its members. It includ such names as lord Falkland, and th William Chillingworth whose writings a career we have already noticed. In t troublous times of the Commonwealth th virtually disappeared, and became reckon in the ranks of the persecuted churchme the Puritan tyranny of Presbyterian a Independent in the days of their suprema being peculiarly hateful to the Latitu narians. Under the protection and favo of William of Orange, after 1688 t Latitudinarians became a great power in t church, and for many years the majority the chief posts in the hierarchy were fill with men openly professing, or at lea inclined to, their peculiar views. Th were especially distinguished in the yea that followed the Revolution of 1688 their efforts, not always wise efforts, as w have seen, on behalf of ecclesiastical co prehension and union.

They advocated in matters of belief a practice, within certain limits, considerab latitude, both for individuals and f churches; hence their name. They accept and taught that episcopacy was the mo venerable as well as the best form of chur government; but they hesitated in pressin its divine character, as did the high churc men of the school of Andrewes and Lau and even of Hooker. On sacrament doctrine, again, they were less definit than were the recognised Anglican leader but on these points they erred rather b their silence than by any direct teachin The Latitudinarians of the reign of Willia III., and, somewhat later, are often general

classed as "low churchmen," in contradistinction to the high Anglican school. But such an appellation is misleading in the highest degree; because the Evangelicals of a later period, to whom the name of low churchmen is usually appropriated, belong to a very different school of thought from Latitudinarians like Burnet, Tillotson, Stillingfleet, and Tenison. These very terms, "high church" and "low church," first appear in the course of the reign of William III. and Mary.

It may be remarked in passing, that the influence of the queen Mary during her lifetime in some degree modified the strong and even exaggerated latitudinarian tendencies of the king. Party spirit was extremely high in those days, and much political rancour was infused into theological disputes. There were many churchmen who, in spite of the conduct of James II. to the Anglican communion, for a long while looked with regret, mingled perhaps with some hope of a future restoration, upon the exiled court of St. Germains. The Latitudinarians were ever closely identified with James's supplanter, William of Orange; and this probably intensified the dislike with which the high church party regarded them. They did not hesitate to charge them with Arianism and infidelity; and even in the letters of the earnest and gentle Ken, we come upon such an expression of opinion as the following, in a letter dated February 21st, 1703, from Ken to his dear friend Dr. Lloyd, the non-juring bishop of Norwich, on the occasion of the appointment of Dr. Hooper to Ken's former see of Bath and Wells, after the death of Dr. Kidder, whom Ken had ever regarded as an intruder:—"You cannot imagine," wrote Ken, "the universal satisfaction expressed for Dr. Hooper's coming to my see: and I make no doubt but that he will rescue the diocese from the apostasy from the 'faith once delivered to the saints,' which at present threatens us, and from the *spirit of latitudinarianism, which is a common sewer of all heresies imaginable.*" This is a fair specimen of the polemical rancour of the day. Such expressions, coming from one like him, so deservedly held in the highest honour, indicate the feeling towards the Latitudinarians which at the time lived in the hearts of the high Anglicans.

Such words as those of Ken's above quoted were, however, utterly undeserved. The Latitudinarian leaders were far from being the heretics and false teachers of the pictures painted by Ken and his school of Anglican thought. Archbishop Tillotson, their acknowledged leader, has been well described lately by a distinguished scholar and divine* of a school of thought very alien to that of the Latitudinarians, of a school in sympathy with Ken rather than with Tillotson, as a "true preacher of righteousness," as "an orthodox believer;" as one who "with sound practical sense, with pure unaffected piety, in unadorned but persuasive language, gave utterance to religious ideas which to a wide extent satisfied the reason and came home to the conscience of his age." And Tillotson, who was thus described, was looked on by all parties as the type of a "Latitude man."

That much of their teaching, perhaps, as we have hinted, owing to their silence rather than their voices, was erroneous, is

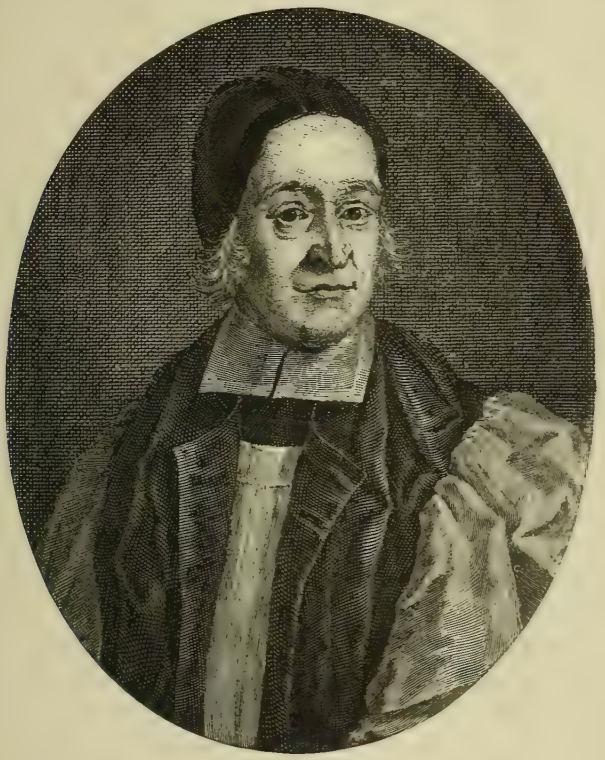
* Mr. Abbey, Fellow of University College, Oxford.

clear; but the estimate of posterity, ever fairer than the estimate of contemporaries, because calmer, and farther removed from the din and dust of heated controversy, has done them more justice, and recognised the true nobility of their aims and purpose, in their earnest, even passionate longing to compass a union and to effect a comprehension of opposing schools of thought. They failed, as we have seen, in their efforts at union, and justly failed, for the task was an impossible one, and the differences were too great, and demanded sacrifices which no true churchman could ever dream of making.

The result of the determined opposition of the Lower House of Convocation to the scheme of comprehension and union, which would have involved such sweeping changes in the Book of Common Prayer, determined the Latitudinarian prelates to have nothing further to do with Convocation. During the primacy of Tillotson (1691–1694), who succeeded the non-juror Sancroft, Convocation, though summoned by writ, was not permitted to meet and to discuss ecclesiastical affairs. This same state of things continued during the first six or seven years of the rule of his successor in the arch-see of Canterbury, Dr. Tenison. Much discontent was aroused in the church by this strange and arbitrary policy of the Latitudinarian prelates, who during the reign of William III. were in power. What is known as the Convocation controversy, the consequence of this singular policy, was chiefly carried on by published letters issuing from both parties in the church, High Church and Latitudinarians, in which various arguments were adduced by laymen and ecclesiastics, attacking or defending the legitimacy of the policy of silencing th constitutional assembly of the church i England. The best known of these onc celebrated letters and pamphlets, some c which were of a portentous length, wer Sir Bartholomew Shower's (somewhil recorder of London) "Letter to a Convoca tion Man," and the reply of Dr. Wak afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, wh arguing from the Latitudinarian point c view, maintained that Convocation ha only a right to meet, and when assemble to debate, when the king issued his licence Francis Atterbury, a well-known scholar replied to this curious pronouncement The controversy was continued by bisho Burnet, Wake, and others. In 1701 arch bishop Tenison, who followed Tillotson i the chair of St. Augustine, a prelate c Latitudinarian views, thought it prudent in view of the growing dissatisfaction c churchmen, after an interval of eleven years, again to summon the long silenced Convocation. This Convocation met, and was especially memorable for the dispute between the Upper and Lower House o certain privileges of independence claimed by the Lower House. These strange and un fortunate disputes were closed by the death of William III., which put an end to the life of this Convocation of the clergy in 1702.

But such dull broils in Convocation painful and regrettable enough, little affected the inner life of the Church o England. The story of the work and influence of the church during the latter years of the seventeenth and earlier years of the eighteenth century is a strangely bright episode, coming as it does before a period of comparative dulness and apathy.

A rare group of scholars and divines, with a few devoted laymen, cast a lustre upon the church; and their work, literary as well as practical, has left an enduring mark upon the national life. Of such laymen the quiet and unassuming career that his example has been followed, consciously or unconsciously, by an almost countless number of others, and much of the splendid work in the fields of philanthropy and religion during the last two centuries in England, has been done by



THOMAS KEN, BISHOP OF BATH AND WELLS.
(*From a contemporary print.*)

Robert Nelson is an admirable example. Undistinguished either by conspicuous rank or fortune, unendowed with any striking abilities or scholarship, Nelson has left behind him an enduring reputation, and may deservedly be quoted as an instance of the good and noble work which may be effected by a God-fearing English gentleman. It is not too much to say Christian men of various schools of thought in the church, largely laymen, who have trodden in the footsteps of this true man of God, who flourished in the reigns of William III. and queen Anne; roughly, between the years 1688 and 1714.

Robert Nelson was born in 1656, when Oliver the Protector was supreme. He had the rare advantage of being long the

pupil of Mr. Bull, who in late life became bishop of St. David's; but Bull is better known as one of the most profound and learned of the many theologians who have adorned the Church of England; and no doubt Nelson's life-long interest in ecclesiastical and religious matters was greatly owing to his early training under such a master. When still, comparatively speaking, a young man, he became the intimate friend of Tillotson, with whose Latitudinarian views he had little sympathy; but the friendship was a life-long one, and archbishop Tillotson literally died in the arms of his friend, who was ever a consistent high churchman of the noble type of Ken and Beveridge. Nelson was for many years a non-juror; but, ever moderate in his opinions and gentle in his judgment of others, he worked loyally in his many philanthropic schemes with Conformists like Tillotson, and even with Dissenters. He was the centre of that illustrious band of servants of God who in the reigns of William III. and Anne were busy in those noble works which have made that period so famous for practical religious movements.

We have already alluded to the deplorable laxity of morals and to the general dissoluteness in society which prevailed after the Restoration, and which long disgraced the society of that age. To check this fatal and too general laxity, "societies for the reformation of manners" were formed as early as the year 1678. These were, as years went on, developed by Robert Nelson and his circle of friends, who also had been largely instrumental in forming these noble associations, to which English society has indeed been deeply indebted. From this faithful band of churchmen, too, sprang those compani which have since done such true and us ful religious work in the country—t "Society for Promoting Christian Kno ledge" and the "Society for the Propag tion of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," t former of which was formally constitut in 1699 and the latter in 1701. Rou this quiet, undistinguished Robert Nels were gathered, as we have said, a lit circle of friends of very different characte but whose spirit has strangely influenc the Church of England long after the m themselves had fallen asleep.

First and foremost was Ken, the perfe type of the Anglican high churchma perhaps one of the purest souls ecclesi tical history ever tells us of. Preach scholar, theologian, all schools of thoug delight to do him honour; he was favourite with kings and princes, as wi the poor and unlettered. The courtly bi grapher tells with wonderment how t fearless divine indignantly refused to allo the beloved royal favourite, Nell Gwyn, enter his house at Winchester, and repea the well-known words of the gay a thoughtless king Charles II.: "I must and hear little Ken tell me of my faults Another of his biographers finds in Ke copy of Grotius's "*De Veritate*" the wor of the prophet Jeremiah, which the stude made his own when favours were bei thickly showered on him, "*Et tu quæ tibi grandia? Noli quærere*" ("Seek thou great things for thyself? Seek the not"). Without reluctance he accepte the mitre of Bath and Wells; with th same readiness he vacated palace an dignity rather than against his conscien take the oath of allegiance to William

Orange, whom he honoured, while he considered himself bound to James II., whom he feared and distrusted. So little did he care for place and power, that in later days, after James's death, when he might without wounding his conscience have resumed his position as an Anglican bishop, he declined all honours and dignity; preferring his life in poverty, as the quiet humble friend and counsellor of all good and pious souls, to any episcopal throne. To uncounted thousands of the English-speaking peoples is Ken known as the writer of the beautiful morning and evening hymns—at least, in the abridged forms found in every hymn-book. But few among all these thousands who have sung or listened to the well-loved "Awake, my soul," and "Glory to Thee, my God, this night," are conscious that in the writer of the oft-sung hymns we possess the truest and noblest type of the high churchman, to whom the Anglican communion owes so deep a debt. Ken, the great example of the school, exemplified what some consider its shortcomings as he did its virtues. To him the Church of England was the faithful copy of the Anti-Nicene church—the church of the first three centuries. Free from the errors alike of Rome and Geneva, it possessed an apostolical succession, with the sacred privileges attached to it. It rejoiced in the treasure of the primitive truth, unalloyed and untarnished with mediæval superstition. It was indeed, thought the saintly non-juring bishop, a church for which earnest and devout Christians could live and die. The misfortune of Ken's school lay in the fact that it left them "unable to understand the merits of any form of faith which rejected, or treated as a thing indifferent, what they regarded as all but essential."* The school of Ken, with all its undoubted virtues and intense spirituality, had something to learn from the Latitudinarianism of men of the high type of Tillotson.

Closely linked with Ken in that noble group, was Dodwell, somewhile Camden Professor of History, one of the most profoundly learned men in Europe; and Hickes, the non-juring dean of Worcester, also a renowned scholar; and, perhaps more eminent than these, Kettlewell, who assisted Nelson in the work on "Festivals and Fasts" which will ever be connected with his name. It is this Kettlewell whom Ken once described, after he had passed away, as "that holy man who is now with God." But these men, great and good though they were, were inferior to Ken in that gentle saintliness which has made the bishop of Bath and Wells so justly famed among our churchmen.

Another of this famous group of friends was Beveridge, bishop of St. Asaph, also a learned scholar and divine, whose conscience, however, less susceptible than Ken's, suffered him to take the oath of allegiance to William III. and Mary. The writings of Beveridge, though nigh two centuries have passed since they appeared, are still read with delight and profit by our divines. Nelson, in his life of bishop Bull, writes of Beveridge as "a pattern of true primitive piety," as one whose way of gaining people's hearts and touching their consciences bore some resemblance to the apostolical age.

Sharp, archbishop of York, was another distinguished member of the group which

* "The English Church in the Eighteenth Century": Abbey and Overton, chap. ii.

did so much to strengthen the Church of England at the close of the seventeenth and in the early years of the eighteenth centuries. He, too, like Beveridge, took the oath of allegiance to William III., and did much by his wise and sympathetic influence to heal the breach between jurors and non-jurors, which at one time threatened to divide the church by a permanent schism.

One more of this group of scholars and divines must be mentioned: we have reserved him to the last. Never will the name of George Bull, the tutor and life-long friend of Nelson, be forgotten, whenever the roll of those distinguished men who have adorned, loved, and defended the Anglican church, is rehearsed in the ears of its faithful sons. For some seven-and-twenty years, in a little remote parish in the Gloucestershire Cotswolds, Bull faithfully discharged the humble undistinguished duties of a parish priest. But in those years the then unknown scholar composed that masterly and exhaustive treatise on the "Defence of the Nicæan Creed" *(Defensio Fidei Nicænæ)*,* which for lucidity, learning, and accurate research, is perhaps the most famous work extant among Christian apologetics. So great was it that, although written by a Protestant divine, it was deemed worthy of the public thanks of the whole Gallican (Roman Catholic) Church. This unique expression of gratitude from a hostile communion was communicated to the unknown Anglican clergyman through Bossuet, the illustrious bishop of Meaux. The words of Bossuet, contained in a letter of Nels written in the year 1700, are worth quotin as they show the estimation in which t Protestant divine was held by the mo illustrious of the Roman Catholic prelat of the day, and by his brethren of t Gallican Church—"Quant à l'ouvrage docteur Bullus (Bull) . . . il est adm able et le matière qu'il traite ne pouv être expliquée plus savamment et pl á fond. C'est ce que je vous supp de vouloir bien luy faire savoir, en mesme temps les sincereres co gratulations de tout le clergé de Fran assemblé en cette ville (St. Germain en La pour le service qu'il rend à l'Eglise Cath lique."* Bossuet goes on in the sa letter to express his surprise that so grea man (un si grand homme), who could wr so nobly of the church, could remain ou side the Roman obedience. His own co munion but tardily did him justice. At t age of seventy he was raised to the bisho ric of St. David's, but although he su vived his well-merited promotion some fo short years, his life-work was virtually do before his elevation to the episcopat He died in 1709.

These are only a few typical churchm of that age, which roughly includes th reigns of William III. and queen Anne, distinguished for the number of its di tinguished churchmen—famous alike f their scholarship, as for their zeal

* The catalogue of Bull's works is a long one, but the "Defence of the Nicæan Creed" is certainly the most important.

* (Trans.) "As for the work of Dr. Bull, it simply admirable; and the subject-matter of t treatise could not by any possibility be mo learnedly or exhaustively handled. I would b you to express this to him, and at the same ti convey to him the sincere congratulations of t whole body of the Clergy of France assembled this town (St. Germain en Laye) for the service is doing the Catholic Church."

promoting useful and philanthropic work. As usual, London possessed the most prominent among the clergy. Nor was this general religious movement by any means confined to ecclesiastics. Not a few laymen

GILBERT BURNET, BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

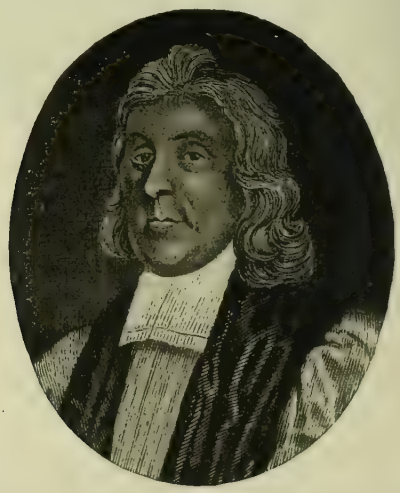
of the type of Robert Nelson, for the most part loyal sons of the Church of England, were equally zealous in all these good and true movements, and bore a conspicuous part in the newly-formed guilds for the reformation of manners and morals, as well as in the recently constituted church societies, missionary and otherwise, and in those other endeavours to improve the condition of the people, of which we are about to speak briefly.

The leading Anglican clergy, some of the more prominent of whom we have been writing about, were, it will be observed, of no one school of thought. They were made up of jurors and non-jurors; of high churchmen like Ken and Hickes; of Latitudinarians such as Tillotson, Burnet and Tenison; of moderate men like archbishop Sharp and bishops Beveridge and Bull. As might have been reasonably expected, under the influence of so many devout and learned leaders, a growing religious move-

ment was the result. Besides the formation of the important religious societies known now familiarly among us as the S.P.G. and the S.P.C.K., and the guilds and brotherhoods for the reformation of morals, many of which at this time were formed in London and in the provinces, we hear of fresh missions being set on foot, new churches being built, systematic education, in which religious teaching formed a special element, being taken seriously in hand by the same earnest and religious men. Under these influences schools known as "charity schools" sprang up in various localities; in eight years some five hundred of them were founded. These schools for the poor were watched with interest in foreign lands, and even imitated.

A distinct revival in church life was also perceptible in a vast number of centres. The administration of the holy communion in churches became more frequent; in ma of the London churches daily service w said; more ceremonial observance in t reception of the Eucharist became gene We read that "some would not go to th seats in church until they had kneeled a prayed at the rails of the communi table." An even exaggerated reveren was observable in certain church "Services with choral accompanimen were preferred to sermons, and ev pictures about the altar began to be t books of the vulgar."* But this religio revival, so noticeable in the last decade the seventeenth and in the earlier ye of the eighteenth century, gradually fad as that group of eminent men and th whom they had inspired with their ferv and zeal passed away, leaving no successo

* Compare Canon Perry's "History of English Church," and references, chap. xxxix.



THOMAS TENISON, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

CHAPTER LXX.

THE PERIOD OF CONTROVERSY AND SPIRITUAL DECAY.

Renewed Persecution of Nonconformists under queen Anne—Dissensions in Convocation, which is indefinitely Prorogued—Prosecution of Dr. Sacheverell—Stagnation in Spiritual Life—Its Causes—The Deistical Controversy—Shaftesbury, Collins, and Woolston—Tindal and Bolingbroke—Bishop Butler and his "Analogy of Religion"—Dr. Warburton and "The Divine Legation of Moses"—Bishops Sherlock and Berkeley—John Locke—The Arian Controversy—Produces the Treatises of Waterland—Subsequent History of the Unitarian Heresy—Absence of Earnest Religious Teachers during this Period—Suppression of Convocation—Influence of Walpole—Pluralities in the Church—Degraded Position of the Poorer Clergy—Goldsmith's Dr. Primrose—Bishop Butler's Picture of the State of Religious Opinion—Neglect of Sunday Observance and of Public Worship—State of the Universities—The Eve of the Great Revival.

AT the death of William III. there seemed every prospect of the church increasing in usefulness d influence; but the story of the first lf of the eighteenth century is, on the ntrary, in every way a disappointing cital. The record of what took place Parliament and Convocation, even during e reign of queen Anne, is a gloomy one; d although progress, especially during e earlier years of her reign, went on some extent, the action of churchmen nerally in both of these assemblies, with ier causes we are about to detail, gradu- produced a paralysing effect on all urch life.

The Nonconformists, including all the ious sects of dissenters from the ablished church, had become very potent and uninfluential in England. ey seemed to be in a hopeless minority; though in a minority and as a rule popular, they were still numerous and to be reckoned with. Instead of king attempts at even a partial recon- ition, instead of making efforts to heal terrible wounds inflicted by the storation policy of repression and even of persecution, the High Church party, in the first parliamentary session of queen Anne, set themselves to make the condition of all Nonconformists yet more intolerable. In this unhappy policy, they were strengthened by the queen's evidently strong church feeling. The cruel and unwise provisions of the Test Act, to which we have already alluded, were very often partially evaded, by Nonconformists consenting to receive once the Lord's Supper according to the use of the Church of England, and thus qualifying according to the provisions of the Test Act, as it were, for office of various kinds, and after this one reception going on as before with their dissenting worship. To put a stop to this practice, a bill was introduced in 1702, and warmly supported by a majority in the House of Commons, known as the "Bill for preventing occasional Conformity." It contained some most severe provisions, such as exacting heavy fines from any officials who should attend a conventicle; and holding any incapable of office, until by the reception of the Holy Communion *three times* in the year they had qualified themselves. This bill was, however, lost

in the Lords, mainly through the opposition of the majority of the Latitudinarian bishops, among whom Burnet, bishop of Salisbury, was the most conspicuous. The queen, however, openly manifested her wishes in favour of the cruel measure.

In 1703, with slight modifications, the bill

Oratory Chapel
Politicks & Divinity
It is written my house shall be called ye house of prayer but ye have made it a den of thieves.
Repaired and Beautified by
Subjects to no
ye Battle of Dettingen
& ye Bishops
Heaven with Butchers plac'd thy Priestly stall · Poor humble Faith to mangle hack & maul. price 6
W Hogarth fec.

(From a print by Hogarth.)

was again introduced and passed by the Commons, and again rejected, owing to similar influences, by the Lords. A similar effort was made in 1704, with like results. Powerful arguments were used on both sides in the course of this bitter contest. The church party, and even strict dissenters, spoke of the practice of receiving the Holy Communion once after the use of the Church of England, in qualification for office, as a scandalous evasion of the law; while others considered it as an of partial allegiance to the national worsh perfectly allowable. Archbishop Tenis a Latitudinarian, but by no means a viol partisan, said: "I think the practice occasional conformity is so far from serving the title of a vile hypocrisy, t

it is the duty of all moderate dissent upon their own principles, to do it." Bish Burnet and others of the Latitudinar party argued in like spirit; the la (Burnet) quoting his own practice in for days, when abroad in the service of Will and Mary, before they had been called assume the English crown. He had b accustomed, he said, to communicate w Protestant communions abroad in Holl and in Geneva; so here in England

ssenters were perfectly right in communicating with the church of the nation. he contest, however, was kept alive year ter year with exceeding bitterness, and rely to the detriment of all spiritual life the church and nation.

In Convocation, too, a similar bitter irit was manifested, the Lower House ntaining a majority of high churchmen, e Upper consisting largely of Latitunarian bishops. The fierce disputes, to nich we have already alluded as occurring the Convocation under William III., ntinued, the Lower House insisting upon independence of the Upper. So bitter ere the disputes between the two Houses, at in 1706 queen Anne, in spite of her gh church sympathies, was induced to nction an indefinite prorogation of the wer House by archbishop Tenison. As ght have been expected, many of the rgy were infected with this spirit of ntroversy and bitterness, which gradually w in intensity in the Parliament and nvocation. Violent sermons and addsses were constantly heard. The unpularity of the Latitudinarian bishops very general, and a cry that "the rch was in danger" became a general throughout the country.

n the year 1709, a Whig ministry posed to the high church feeling of the ority of the clergy being in power, the ernment singled out and determined to ecute a certain clergyman who had, by a riously violent sermon, made himself picuous among the ranks of the more eme of the high church ecclesiastics. was one Dr. Sacheverell, a fellow Magdalen College, Oxford, a divine e celebrated for his wordy eloquence than for his learning or prudence; he had preached before the lord mayor and aldermen of the city of London a sermon which obtained a marvellous popularity. It is said that in a few days the sale of it reached the enormous number of 40,000. It was from the text "*In perils among false brethren*" (2 Cor. xi. 26). The imagery which the eloquent but shallow preacher employed on this occasion was

DR. SACHEVERELL.

singular. He compared the Church of England to the city of Troy, into which the Latitudinarian bishops and the queen's present advisers, the false brethren of his text, had treacherously admitted her deadly enemies, the nonconformists, concealed in the wooden horse of the old story. These foes thus admitted would endanger the very existence of the holy city—the church. Sacheverell was attacked in the House of Commons for using violent and treasonable language, and the House voted that he should be impeached before the House of Lords for crime and misdemeanour. Early in 1710 he was

tried in Westminster Hall and condemned, a majority of the bishops voting against him; but the comparatively light sentence amounted virtually to an acquittal on the graver charge; it was simply that he should be suspended for three years. The populace sided with the preacher. A wild riot ensued, the mob calling upon every passer-by to shout for high church and Sacheverell; even the queen's sedan-chair was surrounded, and she was summoned to join in the foolish cry. Rich preferment was given to the idol of the hour, and the next election saw again a majority of high churchmen in the House of Commons. Sacheverell was but a sorry hero at best; his enormous popularity, however, was an index of the feeling of attachment to the church on the part of the masses.

It is a saddening record which tells us of the rapid deterioration of the church, in the latter years of the seventeenth and and in the early years of the eighteenth century so full of vigorous life, and which contained at that time so many men of piety and ability. Various causes, besides the spirit of unrest which lived in the Houses of Convocation, led to this deterioration. The group of eminent men of whom we have been lately speaking, and who inspired the church with high thoughts and noble purpose, passed away in quick succession. Tillotson died in 1694, Kettlewell in 1695, Beveridge in 1707, Bull in 1719, Ken and Dodwell in 1711. Queen Anne, ever a devoted daughter of the church, died in 1714, and Tenison, the archbishop, the year following. These and men of like mind with them had no real successors. As one by one they passed away, no new men supply their places arose. The splen energy, and the ceaseless endeavour to p mote true religion and philanthropy, noticeable at the beginning of the centu after a very few years was less and observable; a lower tone generally vailed; abuses—and they were, alas! numerous in the church—were defend not reformed. The energies of chur men were expended rather in bar theological discussions than in works piety and usefulness; and a long perio comparative stagnation and apathy set

Various other causes, direct and indir were at work, especially during the half of the eighteenth century, wh contributed to bring about that age dulness and stagnation in the establis church which has so perplexed m students of ecclesiastical history; succe ing as it did to a period which, tho short, was peculiarly fruitful in spiri fervour and in practical benevolent wo and which was adorned, as we have s with a group of profound scholars, sai thinkers, and practical able workers. will rapidly enumerate the principa these causes.

First, *within* the church it was an this first half of the eighteenth centu of barren controversies, of speculati utterly unpractical, advanced by who, under a guise of specious frien ness, were as a rule hostile to all reve religion, and who, while loudly asser their friendly feeling to real Christian carefully eliminated from their teach every doctrine which the Cath Church, from the first century onwa

has considered fundamental. There were two groups of these controversialists who in the eighteenth century exercised a baleful and paralysing influence over the English church; absorbing interests and consuming time which should have been devoted to higher ends and more practical purposes, alienating many from the true orthodox faith which had been firmly held by millions during the Christian centuries, and adding to the immorality of the age by weakening the restraints which Christianity imposed upon the passions and lusts of men.

The earlier group is that connected with the "Deistical" controversy, the name by which the first of these unfortunate disputings is generally known. This included in its meshes large numbers of known and unknown men who were, some in sympathy with, others in bitter antagonism to, its teachings and suggestions. The church historian has sorrowfully to record the effect of these disputations upon the clergy of the Establishment. Practical subjects concerning faith and life were in too many instances neglected. The absorbing question of the hour had little bearing upon the every-day existence of toiling men and women. The sermons of the Anglican divines began to be filled with refutations of this or that heretic, famous for a day and then forgotten; the weightier questions which live along the inspired pages of the Gospels and Epistles, were too often neglected. The bitter saying, often quoted, of an Irish peer, who, when asked why he was no longer seen in his accustomed place in church, replied that in church "once he heard something of his Saviour Jesus Christ, but now all the discourse was about one John Toland,"* reflected with fair accuracy the feelings of many plain English churchmen. The result of all this argument and disputing was unmistakably a rapid declension in the spiritual earnestness of the church.

A very brief summary of the literature which worked such havoc among men, by absorbing them in aimless discussions, to the sore detriment of good and practical work, will be interesting. With most among us now the very names of the disputants are largely forgotten; only the memory of the evil, which for many years they wrought among us, still lives. It was as early as the year 1696 that the wordy war may be said to have begun, by the publication in Dublin of a tractate of inconsiderable length, entitled "Christianity not Mysterious," by an Irishman of dubious religious principles who had once been a Roman Catholic. It was a speculative essay, and tended to show that the mysteries, as we understand the expression, in the New Testament, were introduced into Christianity partly by Judaising Christians, and partly by heathen converts. The little work excited an attention far above its real importance. It was preached against, written against, and eventually burnt publicly in Dublin by the hangman.

A little later, appeared a collection of essays by lord Shaftesbury, subsequently known as "Characteristics of Men and Manners." It was scarcely a polemical work in the ordinary sense of the word; but while professing himself an orthodox

* *Toland* was a young Irish writer who as early as 1696 had published a Deistical tractate, which had in its day extraordinary success and popularity.

Christian, Shaftesbury handled with a clever but hostile hand the most sacred mysteries of our faith, the nature of the Christian miracles, the character of our blessed Lord, the Old Testament presentment of the Eternal. With the practised

THE THIRD EARL OF SHAFTESBURY.
(*From a portrait at St. Giles'.*)

easy grace of a courtier and man of the world, he advises men to float with the stream of popular opinion, smiling all the while at the tales of priests. The book and its contents had a wide and dangerous effect on the society of the time. Pope told Warburton later, that to his knowledge "The Characteristics" of Lord Shaftesbury had done more harm to revealed religion in England, than all the works of infidelity put together. The work in a collected form appeared in 1713.

Almost simultaneously with the collected edition of "The Characteristics" appeared "A Discourse on Freethinking" by one Anthony Collins, in which the necessity of free thought on all matters pertaining to religion was urged, as the only remedy for the acknowledged evil of superstition. The various objections urged against free thinking are dealt with, and a list of noble and eminent men whom the author was pleased to consider freethinkers, nineteen in number, is given. This book, of no great size, but taking and popular in its style, was enormously read and extensively circulated. Its author proceeded to put forth other works showing the same anti-Christian bias. To his most famous book published in 1724, entitled "A Discourse on the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion," it is said that some thirty-five answers and refutations appeared within two years of its appearance.

Shortly after Collins's weightiest book a yet more famous "Deist" or free-thinking production was published by one Woolston. In it the author throws off all the veneer of restraint which had hitherto generally characterised the outburst of anti-Christian literature in the first thirty years of the century, and openly rails at the beliefs of Christianity. Its title was "Six Discourses on the Miracles," but its fame seems to have been principally gained owing to the persecution to which its ill-starred composer was unwisely subjected. It was indisputably a blasphemous writing, and its author was condemned in the King's Bench for each of the six unhappy discourses separately. Fined and imprisoned,

nd unable to pay the fine, he lan-uished in confinement until his death, hich happened in 1731. As many as irty thousand copies of this product of is ill-directed pen are said to have been

Our brief catalogue of the chief writers of this cheerless school will close with two more names—that of Tindal, and of the far more famous Henry St. John, viscount Bolingbroke. Matthew Tindal, fellow of

HENRY ST. JOHN, VISCOUNT BOLINGBROKE.

ld. No fewer than sixty refutations ve been enumerated of this freethinking ort of Collins's. The bishop of London the day even thought fit to make it the eme of several of his pastoral letters to diocese.

All Souls' College, Oxford, was the author of the once well-known "Christianity as old as the Creation." He had passed through various religious phases. Once a Roman Catholic, then a member of the Anglican communion, Tindal had lived

Presbyterian, but in comparatively early life he conformed to the Church of England. He was, when still young, appointed preacher at the Rolls, and subsequently obtained very lucrative preferment in the north of England. His studies in the Deistical question, which eventuated in the production of his famous treatise, seem to have commenced as early as the year 1718, and much of the substance of the "Analogy" probably formed part of his sermons in London when preacher at the Rolls. The famous book itself appeared in 1736. He was appointed bishop of Bristol in 1738, and in 1740 the deanery of St. Paul's in addition was conferred upon him. In 1750 Butler was translated to the great northern bishopric of Durham; but he only survived his translation two years, dying in 1752, at the comparatively early age of sixty.

His "Analogy" still holds its place, and that a prominent place, among our principal English classics. It is perhaps a solitary exception; out of all the mass of literature, Deistical and anti-Deistical, which appeared in the first fifty years of the eighteenth century, the profound and brilliant treatise of Butler is alone really read and generally studied in our own day and time. If anything, its popularity even increases as time advances, nor are its luminous and attractive pages only the food of our scholars and thinkers; there are few cultured Englishmen who have not read them with more or less interest and delight, and who either in early or late life have not been sensible of their peculiar charm.

Another monumental work evoked by the Deistical conflict, the name of which at least has survived, and may be said to be well known amongst us, is "The Divine Legation of Moses," by Dr. Warburton. The first volume of this most learned and powerful treatise appeared in 1738. It was a strange and absolutely new argument, which Warburton himself stated as follows:—"Whatsoever religion and society have no future state for their support, must be supported by an extraordinary Providence." It therefore followed that as the Jews had no such future state held out before them, that their religion and society were supported by an extraordinary Providence. Warburton's massive treatise was, so far as the first book was concerned, quaintly dedicated to the freethinkers, thus:—"Gentlemen, as the following discourse was written for your use, you have the best right to the address." The learning and research of the "Divine Legation" is enormous: the arrangement, however, is cumbrous, and lacks lucidity. Bentley's cynical comment was partly deserved: he wrote of Warburton as "a man of monstrous appetite, but of bad digestion." Gibbon in his sarcastic way alludes to it as "a monument, already crumbling in the dust, of the vigour and weakness of the human mind." It is far from "crumbling in the dust," although long years have passed since Gibbon wrote; but while all have been ready to acknowledge the vigour and ability and freshness of the book, the argument is misliked by not a few Christian students of the Old Testament; the assertion that no future state was set before the Hebrews being open at least to grave question. The "Divine

SCENE FROM "THE RAKE'S PROGRESS," BY HOGARTH, SHOWING THE STATE OF MARY-LE BONE CHURCH AT THE TIME.

Legation" may, however, still be considered as a classic and enduring work in Anglican theology, although it is perhaps little read by students of our day. And without, perhaps, endorsing the perfervid admiration expressed on the little marble slab in the solemn Norman nave of Gloucester, where the scholar bishop is called "a prelate of the most sublime genius and exquisite learning," the Anglican communion will ever hold in honour the name and memory of Warburton of Gloucester, as one of her goodly company of defenders of the Catholic faith.

Two other names once famous in the long controversy as able and doughty champions of orthodoxy, but over whose writings the dust of forgetfulness has gathered thickly, are those of Sherlock and Berkeley. The first of these, Sherlock, a popular divine of ability and power, such a one as men ever delight to honour, was successively master of the Temple, dean of Chichester, bishop of Bangor, Salisbury, and London. The primacy he declined. In the great controversy of the day he played a distinguished part, and his "Tryal of the Witnesses of the Resurrection of Jesus" was deemed a masterly production. But it can scarcely, in spite of its once well-deserved fame, be deemed an English classic. Its name and reputation, but only these, have survived to our times. Bishop Berkeley of Cloyne, whose "Alciphron, or the Minute Philosopher" once charmed a multitude of readers interested in the long drawn-out discussions, was one of the most self-denying and philanthropic of the divines of that somewhat lifeless age. A zealous missionary, he sacrificed his bright prospects at home to devote himself preaching his Master's Gospel to the dians of the American continent; thou his noble efforts in missionary enterp bore no fruit at the time, owing to dead hand of the minister, Sir Rob Walpole, being laid upon his earnest devoted schemes. The "Minute Ph sopher" and its gifted and amiable auth

JOHN LOCKE.
(*From the portrait prefixed to his works in* 1703.)

to us now are but the shadows of o illustrious names.

In this brief summary of the Deis controversy, which, though now well-ni forgotten, occupied so large a space on t canvas of the picture of the church of t eighteenth century, the name of Jo Locke must just be mentioned. He d in 1704, some time before the great disp had become a national calamity. Lo is well known in letters as the father modern inductive philosophy; and one his many writings, the essay "Concern

Human Understanding," still certainly anks as a European classic. Out of Locke's works, both the Deist and the lefender of the orthodox faith culled argu- nents in support of their opinions. Both chools chose to claim him as "one of hem." Locke, however, in spite of certain passages in his writings which seemed to avour what we should now term Ration- listic views, was a devout Christian at eart, and a firm adherent of the Christian aith. When dying, this eminent philo- opher told the clergyman from whom he eceived the blessed sacrament before he assed away, that he was "in perfect harity with all men, and in communion ith the church of Christ, by whatever ame it was called." Locke went out from mong us into that other and grander orld, with that serene confidence which he Christian, and only the Christian, is stified in feeling, while the first mutter- ngs of the mighty storm which for so any years convulsed religious England, ere being heard. With some confidence e may assert that had his life been pro- nged, his devout mind would have been ocked at the deductions which some of he Deistical writers chose to draw from me of his perhaps too bold speculations. With greater reason, the Deists claim at the noblest poet of the century was ne of them. But if Pope was a Deist at eart, which is after all very doubtful, nphatically may we maintain that he id no sympathy whatever with the de- tructive theories put forth by the men of hom we have been lately speaking as the ading teachers of the unhappy school. hat he was the intimate friend and the ssionate admirer of the brilliant and versatile Bolingbroke, who, we read, wept over the poet's death-bed, there is no doubt. Henry St. John during many years largely swayed his poet-friend, and to him the sad silences of Pope in the "Essay on Man" and in the "Universal Prayer," in respect to Christianity, are no doubt due. The apostrophe to his dearest friend in the opening lines of the "Essay

ALEXANDER POPE.
(*From a contemporary portrait.*)

on Man," graven on all our memories, reminds us of this close intimacy:

> "Awake, my St. John! leave all meaner things
> To low ambition and the pride of kings.
> Let us (since life can little more supply
> Than just to look about us and to die)
> Expatiate free o'er all this scene of man.
> A mighty maze, but not without a plan."

And in the no less grand peroration of the same deathless song, he again turns to that winning but sinister personality, to whom he clung, to use his own words, as his "guide, philosopher, and friend," closing with—

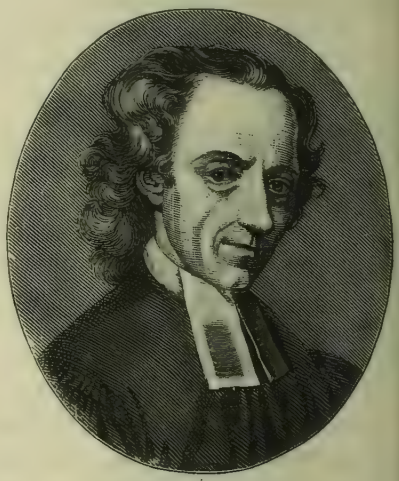
" Come then, my friend! my genius! come along!
A master of the poet, and the song!
* * * * * *
Teach me, like thee, in various nature wise,
To fall with dignity, with temper rise,
Formed by thy converse . . ."

But Pope, in spite of the assertion of the Deists, with all his doubts and hesitances, was no unbeliever, still less a scoffer and an infidel; and with his last dying effort, we read of his receiving the sacred memorials of his Lord's dying love from the hands of a priest of his own Roman Catholic communion.

Another controversy of this century, which had less immediate but more far-reaching consequences than the Deistical, must regretfully be alluded to. The Trinitarian disputes, which also belong especially to this period, important though the points disputed were to the belief and life of the church, excited fewer minds than those so-called Deistical questions of which we have been speaking. The Trinitarian questioning of the eighteenth century was indeed an old foe under a new face. Very early in the story of the Christian church, the relation of the Three Persons of the ever-blessed Trinity to each other had been fiercely disputed; indeed, the question may be said to have been the chief cause of most of the early divisions in the church. Under the general title of Arianism,* the principal tenet of which was the denial of the Saviour's Godhead, the adversaries of the Trinitarians were mostly known. Repeatedly condemned by church councils, Arianism was ever regarded as the bitter foe of the Catholic

* So named from a famous popular teacher, Arius, who lived in the early part of the fourth century.

Church. It was a widespread heresy, an occasionally coloured the Christianity whole nations: for example, it was n until the sixth century that Spain becam Catholic and orthodox. It lived, indee all through the Middle Ages; b mediæval Christianity was principal occupied with other questions, and w hear comparatively little of the gre controversy which rent asunder the ear

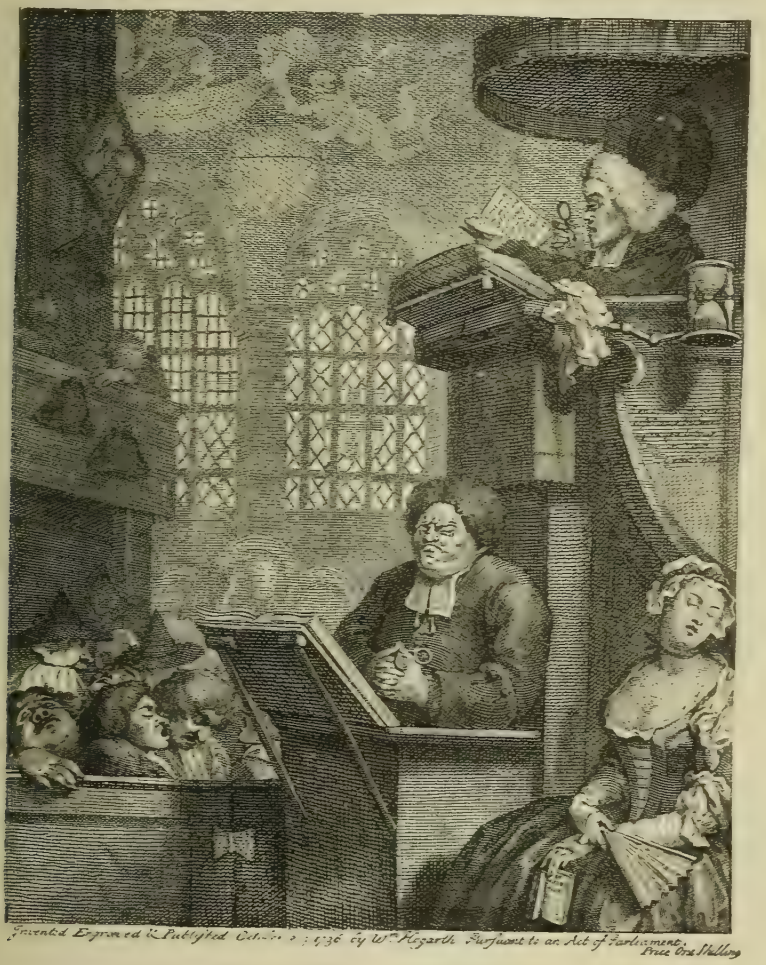


WILLIAM WHISTON.

church. The heresy, however, was nev stamped out, and it appeared a reappeared in different Christian centr at various periods.

Towards the latter part of the seve teenth century, the question seems have been agitated in England. Th special causes of the recrudescence of th ancient heresy among us, it is difficult no to trace. That it existed in a somewh dangerous form is clear, for it called o the great work of Bull, of which we ha already spoken somewhat at length. H " Defence of the Nicene Creed," it is tru

nly touched a portion of the Arian ontention, but it was a most important ortion, and dealt, as it had never been assume formidable proportions. In 1708 William Whiston, a widely-read but eccentric scholar, put forth a writing



THE SLEEPING CONGREGATION.
(From a print by Hogarth.)

mpted before, with the views of the e-Nicene Fathers* on the subject of Trinity. In the early years of the nteenth century, the question began to claiming for the "Apostolical Constitutions"—a work generally held to be a forgery—a value equal to that of the four Gospels. His strange views, strongly tinctured with Arianism, caused his rejection by the Royal Society, then under

* That is, roughly, with the writings of the hers before the year 325.

the presidency of Sir Isaac Newton. Whiston was a voluminous writer, and was widely read in his day.

Of still greater importance in the history of the theologic thought of the period was Whiston's friend Dr. Samuel Clarke, a theologian of very considerable reputation. Clarke has been generally considered the practical introducer of Arianism into England, and his book, "The Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity," was long used as the treasury whence the modern Arian drew his principal weapons of attack and defence.

As in the case of the more generally popular "Deistical" controversy, which drew forth the great classic works of Butler and of Warburton, the "Analogy" and the "Divine Legation of Moses;" so here, the agitation of the Trinitarian question resulted in the great Catholic treatises of Waterland. This eminent scholar and divine, born in 1683, at the somewhat unusually early age of thirty became master of his college (Magdalen, Cambridge). The theological question concerning the Trinity, which was especially agitating the minds of scholars when Waterland was a young and ardent student, had a peculiar attraction for him. The study of the points at issue became his life work. Successively there appeared his "Queries in Vindication of Christ's Divinity," his "History of the Athanasian Creed," "The Importance of the Doctrine of the Trinity Asserted"—monumental works which must ever form part of the equipment of every Anglican theological scholar. Following on the profound and exhaustive writings of bishop Butler, the treatises of Waterland may be said to have really extinguished Arianism as a power in England. Waterland received var acknowledgments in high quarters of merits. He became canon of Wind archdeacon of Middlesex, etc., and doubt he would have risen to yet hig dignity in the church he served so v had not his somewhat premature de removed him from the earthly scene of activities. He died from gangrene, a what seemed an unimportant operatio the comparatively early age of fifty-se in the year 1740.

But although Waterland may be to have put an end to Arianism as a power in England, the doctrine lived amongst us, as it had done in so m churches all along the Christian centu Under the more familiar names Socinianism and Unitarianism, it is with us, and in most of the more consi able cities of our land it is still represe by a congregation, but generally speak small in numbers. Owing, in g measure, to the clear and powerful te ing of Bull at the close of the se teenth, and of Waterland in the co of the first thirty or forty years of century following, the boundary line tween the Church of England and Ar ism, in any form and under any nam sharply drawn, and the slightest wande *here* from the path hewn out by Nicene fathers and followed so unde ingly by the Catholic Church, on the of any Anglican teacher, is at once ste checked. No tampering with this g fundamental doctrine, which asserts true Godhead and distinct personalit the Second and Third Persons of the e blessed Trinity, is ever countenance the Church of England.

Among the Protestant Nonconformist bodies in England and on the Continent his deadly heresy, with its insidious arguments, has been, and is still, a greater source of danger than among Anglicans. The liturgy of the Church of England, with its constantly-repeated creeds, with its Catholic prayers and collects—above all, with its solemn litany, is an ever-present safeguard against loose and indefinite expressions of worship.* This safeguard is not possessed by those religious communities who prefer to trust mainly to extemporaneous utterances, rather than to liturgical forms of prayer and praise derived from an immemorial Catholic tradition. Not a few earnest Protestant Nonconformists are sadly conscious of this peril, and bitterly regret that in their communions the line of demarcation is not more strictly drawn between those who believe and those who do not believe in the true Godhead and distinct personality of the Redeemer.†

Thus, while it is undeniable that the effect of these great and long drawn-out controversies had, on the whole, a paralysing influence on the church, drawing away many from more practical work, distracting the energies of the clergy, inducing them to devote their teaching rather to the questions of abstruse theology which were then especially agitating men's minds, than to the more practical questions of simple faith and daily duty; it is equally clear that in the providence of God out of what was an acknowledged evil, came a real and permanent advantage to the Church of England. Had it not been for these interminable contests, never would those distinguished theologians have arisen who have by their writings so materially strengthened not only the Anglican communion, but the whole Catholic Church. And while we mourn over the lower standard of spiritual life and the declension of practical work which is so sadly perceptible in our church at this period of her history, we cannot regard the age as altogether barren which produced the "Defence of the Nicene Creed" of Bull, the "Analogy" of Butler, the "Divine Legation" of Warburton, and the massive works of Waterland.

Although, however, the first half of this century was confessedly an age of distracting controversies, other causes, perhaps more indirect but none the less real, were also at work, which we can now see affected gravely the spirit of devoted earnestness, and sorely hindered the practical usefulness of the church, and for a long time retarded the splendid promise of progress which we have already noticed. Among these other causes may be noticed especially the dearth of distinguished churchmen; the absence of devoted and earnest leaders who could inspire the rank and file with the spirit of enthusiasm and of self-devotion and sacrifice. Butler and Warburton, Bull and Waterland, were profound scholars and great thinkers; but enduring though their work has proved to be, they were toilers for God in the closet and study rather than

* Compare Canon Liddon's Bampton Lectures "Our Lord's Divinity" (Lectures I.–IV. and Lecture VIII.), where this thought is expanded.

† For a more detailed account of these two great controversies, which so largely occupied the Church during the first half of the eighteenth century, see Overton and Abbey: "The English Church in the Eighteenth Century," chapters iii. and vi.

in the broad field of active practical life. They were not men who inspired their contemporaries with living, burning zeal. In this comparatively dull and lifeless age no Latimer arose to fire men's hearts with his burning words; no Jewel whose practical life illustrated his teaching; no Andrewes whose saintliness inspired thousands to struggle after some faint imitation of his fair life; no Laud whose far-reaching energy and ceaseless work infused fresh life, and suggested high aims and new purpose to an entire church; no Ken whose singleness of heart and purity of purpose supplied a pattern life to uncounted holy and humble men, who were content to live and to labour unnoticed and unrewarded. A curious absence of such leaders of men is painfully observable in this somewhat sluggish period.

And not only for a long term of years was the Church of England without leaders practical and able, without men of high thoughts and tireless purpose, capable too of inspiring others with something of their own spirit and power; but through the greater part of this century there was no Convocation of the clergy to debate and to plan, to check excesses, and to originate new departures in useful church work. For the first time, save during the troubles of the Civil War, was the voice of the church, expressed through her representatives, hushed. The immediate cause of the arbitrary closing of Convocation by the government of the day was the presenting to the Upper House by the Lower of a report gravely condemnatory of the doctrines preached by Dr. Hoadley, bishop of Bangor, as being calculated to subvert all government and discipline in the church of Christ, as well as to impe the royal supremacy. The ministers George I., rightly or wrongly, looked this action of the Lower House of Con cation as a political act, considered formal pronouncement as an attack on Whig ministry of the day, and orde an immediate prorogation. Convocati thus silenced, was never suffered to m again until comparatively modern times

As some justification for this hi handed, arbitrary act on the part of government, it was alleged, and with so reason, that for a considerable time only in the reign of George I., but e more conspicuously in the preceding re of queen Anne, Convocation had been scene of unseemly disputes between Upper and Lower Houses, and had ten by its fierce wranglings to prom disorder in the church and state. these disputes, painful though they we were after all ephemeral, nor did they any means represent the real work of official church assembly. Convocat during the reign of queen Anne and earlier years of George I.—the ye immediately preceding its being silenced had been singularly busy with the c sideration of many good and use measures, had been occupied with promotion of works philanthropic a highly beneficial to the people; such as re-constitution of the office of rural dea the establishment and maintenance charity schools for the people, the foun tion of parochial charities, the increase church accommodation; and last but least, with the inescapable duty of Christian people to forward and encourage Christian missions in all

rapidly growing colonies, as well as among the heathen world beyond the seas, a world daily widening owing to the rapid spread of English commercial enterprise.

We must just allude to one more of years of it. For nearly fifty years Sir Robert Walpole and his policy may be said to have discouraged, if not actively opposed, all religious activity. As early as 1710, Walpole had been appointed

TARTUFF'S BANQUET.

Were all obligid to practise what they teach,
Some warm sleek Clerks would still more seldom preach.
Shall-fed TARTUFF reclining in his Seat,
High heapid his Board, himself brimfull of Meat,
Yawning with Pain thus sleepy Silence broke,
And to his meagre Curates Safely spoke,
My loving Brethren, we should rest content
With the small Pittance gracious Heav'n has sent.

'Tis better much to want, than much abound;
Hunger and Thirst hereafter will be crownid.
If we're Prunella, which will hang together,
Like the good Baptist, girt about with Leather;
And Bread and Water, we should ne er complain.
Here, John, give me as — Bumper of Champagne.

Seasonable Reproof.

Pub. by Act of Parliament by Ja. Gillray & Messrs. head in Fleet Street 1796.

Ne Quid Nimis — Horat. Ser. I. 1. 2.

Disputet me Scholiast, at mihi plaudo —

(From a print after Hogarth.)

he causes which led to the deadness nd stagnation so marked a feature in e life of the church of a considerable rt of the eighteenth century, notably the period which lay between the end the first decade, and the middle one of the chief persons in the matter of the impeachment of Sacheverell; and the disturbing political consequences of that process, it is supposed, permanently influenced his future policy towards the church. Without being positively unfriendly, he

discouraged all religious activity, and especially in any foreign missionary effort. The influence of the powerful minister's policy of discouragement weighed on the church long after his fall.

There was much in the inner life of the church, at the period on which we are dwelling, that was ugly, and urgently called for the hand of the reformer. There were many abuses which needed correction, much more which sorely needed quickening. There was a general lack of enthusiasm of any kind; everywhere, in cities and in rural districts, a dead level of uniform dulness prevailed. Two reasons have been suggested* for this. The dread of Romanism, always present in England, but recently awakened by the tyrannical acts of James II., induced many of the clergy to avoid anything which might savour of the services and ritual of Rome. Symbolism of all kinds, elaborate and beautiful services, were unpopular with not a few; even frequent services and many communions, were looked upon with some suspicion. In an opposite direction, everything in divine worship which suggested Puritanism was disliked. Fervid and impassioned sermons were avoided, as partaking too much of the kind of religion in vogue in the hated days of the Commonwealth, when Oliver reigned. The result was too often a bald, unlovely service, followed by a dry, dull sermon, bearing too much upon the somewhat abstruse theological controversies of the day, and dealing too little wit every-day life, its trials and temptation its sorrows and joys.

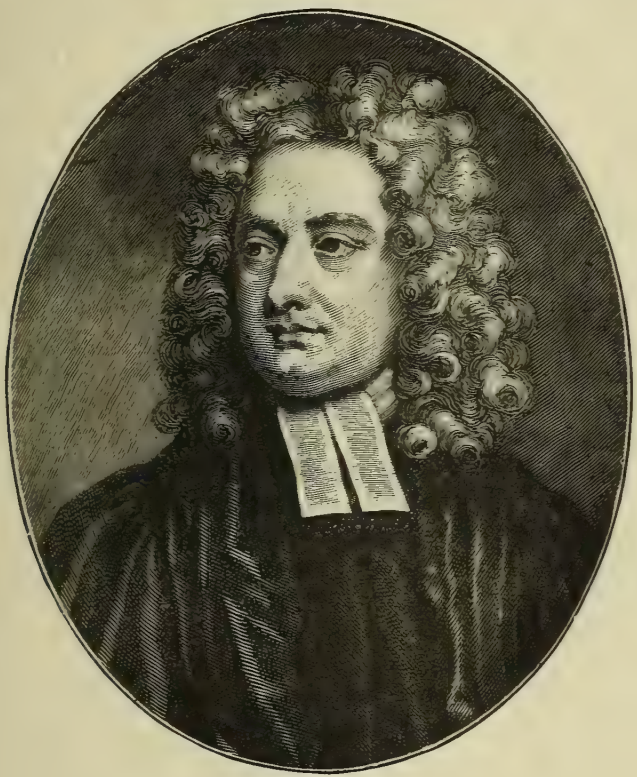
And among the clergy themselves the was much that called aloud for reformatio A great gulf parted the few who held hig and lucrative employment, and the mar who were living in extreme povert The scandal of pluralities and no residence was a conspicuous blot in churc life. The bishops and leading men in th hierarchy were curiously insensible of th cruel wrong which this evil syste perpetuated. Even the earnest and real devoted looked upon such abuses calml and accepted this state of things witho any effort to amend it. Bishops who record in other respects is singularly whi and blameless, often held with the bishopric a deanery and even a lucrativ benefice.* Pluralists were common, an the richest posts in the church were hel by a comparatively few men. On th other hand, the rank and file of the clerg in numberless cases were exposed to re poverty. The ordinary stipend of a curat was about £30 a year, or even less. vast number of benefices in all parts England were wretchedly endowed.† Th social position of these ill-paid clerg was often not higher than that of tradesman in a town, while in the rura districts the status of the poor curate and the yet poorer incumbents was tha of the smaller farmers and yeomen.

* Compare Abbey and Overton: "English Church in the Eighteenth Century," chap. viii. While from some pulpits morality was preached without any reference at all to religion, still there were, as we shall point out, many noble exceptions.

* In the case of some of the sees the incom was so small that it was really necessary to supple ment it from another source; hence this regrettabl practice.

† The reason of the poverty of many of thes "livings" has already been alluded to, in th account of the confiscation of the abbey lands.

Not only the nobility, but very many f the country squires attached a young evite, as he was commonly termed, to he household, but this clergyman occupied n his patron's family a subordinate posi- ion. He dined, it is true, at the master's



DEAN SWIFT.

ble, but was expected to leave long fore the repast was concluded. Various m to have been the services required m him, in addition to his spiritual ties. Among these especially was his sence and assistance at the various nes then in vogue, such as bowls in garden and cards in the house. Not an gether unfavourable specimen of one of se chaplains is painted in the well-known parson Sampson, in the "Virginians" of Thackeray. Swift, in his caustic writings, gives us several sad and painful contemporary sketches of the lives led by too many of these representatives of the clergy of his time. That great and unhappy man in his own early career had personal experience of such a life, when in the household of Sir William Temple.* Swift

* "It was at Shene and Moor Park, with a salary of twenty pounds and a dinner at the upper servants' table, that this great and lonely Swift passed a ten years' apprenticeship, wore a cassock that was only not a livery, bent down a knee as proud as Lucifer's to supplicate my lady's good graces, or ran on his honour's errands, swallowing scorn, and submitting with a stealthy rage to his position."—Thackeray: "English Humourists."

tells us of one of these Anglican clergy, for instance, who was admitted as chaplain to a noble family, where his sister was a waiting-woman, and how this chaplain would shake the butler by the hand and teach the page his catechism; how sometimes as a favour he was admitted to dine at the steward's table. His revenue (besides vails) amounted to about thirty pounds a year. Another clergyman whose life he depicts, he tells us, although a man of considerable parts and scholarship, accepted a curacy of thirty pounds a year, and, when he was five-and-forty, had the great felicity to be preferred to a vicarage worth annually sixty pounds. He describes how his spirits quite sank in disappointment, and eventually this scholar married a farmer's widow.*

In another paper† the great dean of St. Patrick's describes the life of a country vicar. After stating that his stipend was forty pounds a year, he went on to say, "he hath a house and barn in repair, a field or two to graze his cows, with a garden and orchard. No guest expects more from him than a pot of ale; he lives like an honest plain farmer, as his wife is dressed but little better than Goody. He is sometimes graciously invited by the squire, when he sits at an humble distance; if he gets the love of his people, they often make him little useful presents. He is happy by being born to no higher expectation, for he is usually the son of some ordinary tradesman. His learning is much of a size with his birth and education; no more of either than what a poor hung servitor can be expected to bring with h from his college." Our great penc satirist tells us the same story, and t five caricatures* by Hogarth which illu trate this chapter, show us public opini in regard to both the standing and t shortcomings of many of the clergy that period.

On the whole, in the eighteenth centu the clergy, especially those working country places, were regarded as a plebei class. Very few, comparatively, of t higher ranks in society took orders, un about the middle of the century, when change gradually took place, partly throu increase in the value of the benefices, b far more owing to the new spirit whi passed over the Church of England, whi we are about presently to relate. Bish Warburton, for instance, in a letter dat 1752, thus writes: "Our grandees ha at last found their way back into t church. I only wonder they have been long about it, but be assured that nothi but a new religious revolution to swe away the fragments that Henry VIII. l after banqueting his courtiers, will dri them out again." Warburton, when wrote this, was scarcely conscious what change for the better was already passi over the church.†

Degraded, however, and insignifica though the position in society of vast proportion of the Anglican cler undoubtedly was, at a time when t country attorney and the count

* "Essay on the Fates of Clergy," where other saddening details are given.

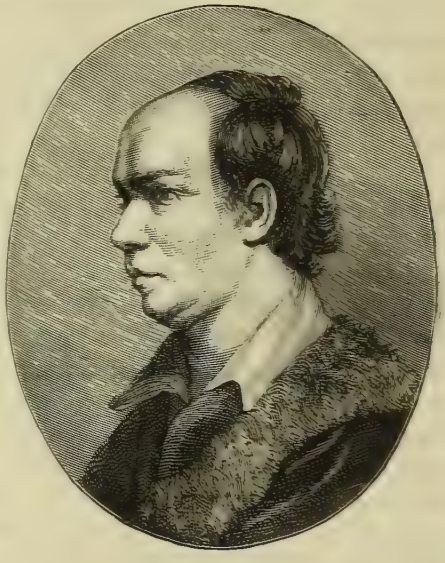
† "Considerations upon Two Bills—relating to the Clergy," written in the year 1731.

* It must not be forgotten that they *are*, p fessedly, caricatures.

† See Macaulay: "History of England," ch iii., where a painful though vivid picture is dra of the state of the clergy at this time.

apothecary looked down with disdain on the country parson, their influence, even during the period when these melancholy pictures of their position were painted, was immense, especially over the lower orders of the people in the rural districts. We must be careful not to exaggerate, or to allow a false impression to be left from, these quotations and references from Swift and Goldsmith and other brilliant satirists and writers of the period. While accepting, on the whole, their description of the lives led by many of the Anglican clergy as fairly accurate, we must remember that there were many among the order of a very different calibre. The London clergy, for instance, were always spoken of as a class apart; not a few of them were even men of high culture, and possessing no little eloquence and real learning. In the universities, too, were many scholars and divines of high reputation. Attached to the cathedrals, again, were ever found, even in the gloomiest years of this period, theologians and men of high attainments. It should also be remembered that in an age peculiarly notable for laxity in living and for gross immorality, singularly few charges of this kind seem ever to have been brought against the Anglican clergy.

Bishop Burnet, who was severe in his strictures on the faults and errors of his order, especially tells us that he had found the greatest part of the clergy leading exemplary lives. Archbishop Wake, in a letter dated 1726, while lamenting the infidelity and iniquity so generally prevalent, expressed his deliberate opinion that no care was wanting in the clergy to defend the Christian faith. Smollett, a most popular writer (1721–1771) and a vivid and picturesque painter of contemporary manners and customs, declares that in the reign of George II. (1727-1760) the clergy were generally pious and exemplary. Bentley, with some exaggeration, even ventures the statement (in 1713) that the whole clergy of England "were the light and glory of Christianity."



OLIVER GOLDSMITH.

Goldsmith's description of Dr. Primrose in the "Vicar of Wakefield" (1764) gives us a singularly interesting and no doubt faithful picture of the simplicity and goodness of some at least of these poor and suffering parsons; and the beautiful lines in his "Deserted Village" paint the life and influence of the parson of "Auburn" in glowing colours:—

"At church with meek and unaffected grace
His looks adorn'd the venerable place;
Truth from his lips prevailed with double sway,
And fools, who came to scoff, remained to pray.
The service past, around the pious man
With steady zeal each honest rustic ran,

E'en children followed with endearing wile,
And plucked his gown to share the good man's smile.
His ready smile a parent's warmth expressed,
Their welfare pleased him, and their cares distrest;
To them his heart, his love, his griefs were given,
But all his serious thoughts had rest in heaven." *

Goethe (1749–1832), the great German poet, gives us the following striking and beautiful impressions of an English clergyman of that period, derived from Goldsmith's "Vicar of Wakefield" (published in 1764).

"Now Herder came," says Goethe in his interesting autobiography, relating his first acquaintance with Goldsmith's masterpiece, "and told us of the "Vicar of Wakefield," an excellent work, with the German translation of which he would make us acquainted by reading it aloud to us himself. . . . A Protestant country clergyman is perhaps the most beautiful subject for a modern idyll; he appears like Melchizedek, as priest and king in one person. To the most innocent situation which can be imagined on earth, to that of a husbandman, he is, for the most part, united by similarity of occupation as well as by equality in family relationships; he is a father, a master of a family, an agriculturist, and thus perfectly a member of the community. On this pure, beautiful, earthly foundation rests his higher calling; to him is it given to guide men through life, to take care of their spiritual education, to bless them at all the leading epochs of their existence, to strengthen, to console them, and if consolation is not sufficient for the present to call up and guarantee the hope of a happier future. . . . Dr. Goldsmith can thankfully acknowledge that he is an Englishman, and reckon highly the advantages which his country and his nation afford him. The family, with the delineation of which he occupies himself, stands upon one of the last steps of citizen comfort, and yet comes in contact with the highest; its narrow circle, which becomes still more contracted touches upon the great world through the natural and civil course of things; this little skiff floats on the agitated waves of English life, and in weal or woe it has to expect injury or help from the vast fleet which sails around it." *

While, however, from these contemporary notices and pictures painted by eminent writers, poets, romancists and satirists, it is evident that even among the ranks of the numerous poor clergy there were many earnest and devoted men, who kept burning the torch of true piety and goodness among their flocks in the darkest days of this period, there is no doubt that a death-like torpor had stolen over our church, a torpor that was by no means confined to Anglicanism. In 1730 the Nonconformist Edward Calamy grieved over this dulness and want of spirituality and life, both in the church and out of it. Dr. Watts, the celebrated hymnologist (1674–1748), also a Dissenter, bears similar testimony when he tells us how

* Goldsmith published his great poem in 1770, and probably the "revival" of spiritual life had already been felt far and wide. But this striking portrait, no doubt, was of one who had lived years before the date of the poem.

* "Truth and Poetry, from my own Life." Quoted by Thackeray in "The English Humourists of the Eighteenth Century," Sterne and Goldsmith.

n his day "there was a general decay of vital religion in the hearts and lives of men." This wide-spread decay or torpor in vital religion in England, testified to from so many unimpeachable sources, was gradually spreading over the church, in spite of many examples of earnest piety among the humbler clergy, and of the brilliant school of divines who maintained the great Catholic doctrines with such conspicuous ability and scholarship.

There was, indeed, a sad contrast between the religious condition of England in the early years of the seventeenth century, and its religious state in the period now considered, covered roughly by the first forty or more years of the eighteenth. We have already noticed how the intense interest in, and warm sympathy for religion in the first of these periods was so marked, that the attention and wonderment of distinguished foreign scholars like Grotius and Casaubon was excited. In the second period the change was so evident, and the declension of all interest and sympathy in religion so painfully apparent, that Butler, in the preface to his "Analogy," wrote that it had come to be taken for granted that Christianity is not so much as a subject of inquiry, but that it is now at length discovered to be fictitious"; and in his charge delivered to the clergy of the diocese of Durham (1751) the same prelate alludes sorrowfully to "the general decay of religion in this nation, which is now observed by everyone, and has been for some time the complaint of all serious persons. . . . The influence of it [religion] is more and more wearing out of the minds of men, even of those who do not pretend to enter into speculations upon the subject; but the number of those who do, and who profess themselves unbelievers, increases, and with their numbers their zeal." Addison tells us that "there was less appearance of religion in England than in any neighbouring state or kingdom, whether it be Protestant or Catholic." Sir John Barnard* asserted that it "really seems to be the fashion for a man to declare himself of no religion." Montesquieu,† the famous French writer, who was well acquainted with English life, went so far as to say "that there was no religion in England," and epigrammatically summed up his view with the words:—"In France I am considered as caring too little about religion; in England men say I care too much."

Such testimonies respecting the lack of religion in England, are borne out by the formal complaint of the Upper House of Convocation in 1711, that Sunday was generally neglected by the upper classes. For instance, under Charles II. hackney coaches were not allowed to appear in the streets on Sunday. Under William and Mary one hundred and seventy-five out of seven hundred of these hired carriages of London were suffered to ply for hire; and before the close of queen Anne's reign the law restraining the remainder of them passed into disuse. In 1757 it was even

* Sir John Barnard was a celebrated lord mayor and alderman of the city of London, and one of its ablest representatives in Parliament. He was lord mayor in 1737; M.P. for London, 1751; he died in 1764.

† Montesquieu (1689–1755) was one of the great French writers on history and law of the eighteenth century. He was a fellow of our Royal Society. During his stay in England queen Anne treated him with peculiar distinction.

proposed that the militia should be exercised on Sundays; but popular indignation prevented this desecration of a day, the sanctity of which among the lower classes of the people was still jealously guarded. At the same time societies of tradesmen were arranged, whose duty it was to denounce to the magistrates all bakers who ventured to bake or sell bread on the holy day. But among the upper classes in the metropolis, Sunday became more and more disregarded. We have already quoted Evelyn's sorrowful dismay, when he remembered the inexpressible profanity, the gaming, the immorality, and, as it were, total forgetfulness of God, of which he was an eye-witness, in the stately gallery of the Whitehall Palace, the eve of the fatal seizure of king Charles II.* This gradually gained ground in the years succeeding Evelyn's grave criticism. We read of cabinet councils and cabinet dinners being constantly held on that day. Sunday concerts, and even Sunday card-parties, became more and more the fashion. Sunday levées were introduced and became usual, the court setting here the example of striking irreverence by the practice of entertaining Sunday card-parties.

As might be expected from this open disregard of the sanctity of the immemorial holy day among the upper classes, a general neglect of public worship was sadly noticeable. Leland, the Dissenting scholar, whose able account of the Deistical writers of the period we have already quoted, calls attention to this. The words of archbishop Secker† also are remarkable: "People of fashion, especially of that sex which a cribes to itself most knowledge, ha nearly thrown off all observation of t Lord's day, . . . and if to avoid scand they sometimes vouchsafe their attendan on Divine worship in the country, th seldom or never do it in town." In t "Spectator" we come repeatedly on all sions to irreverent behaviour in chur on the part of fashionable congregatio "bows, winks, curtesies, whispering, smil nods, with other familiar arts of salut tion," being common and usual.*

In the universities, a consensus of co temporary writers bears witness to the l state into which the ancient seats of lear ing had fallen at this time. College d cipline was relaxed; public examinatio save in the cases of candidates for fellowsh were unknown. The tutors and professo alike slurred over their duties, while r ligious instruction seems to have be utterly neglected. To this state of utt inefficiency in the universities of Oxfo and Cambridge writers of various scho of thought, of very different positions the world, give their testimony. Reviva ists, men of letters, scholars, essayists, agree here. It is one voice which pr ceeds from John Wesley and Johnso Swift and Defoe, Gray and Gibbon, lo Chesterfield, and, a little later, lord Eld and Simeon.

But a sudden and startling religious r vival was at hand; a revival which spra from a strange and unexpected source, a which in a marvellous way affected t religious history of England. "Althoug

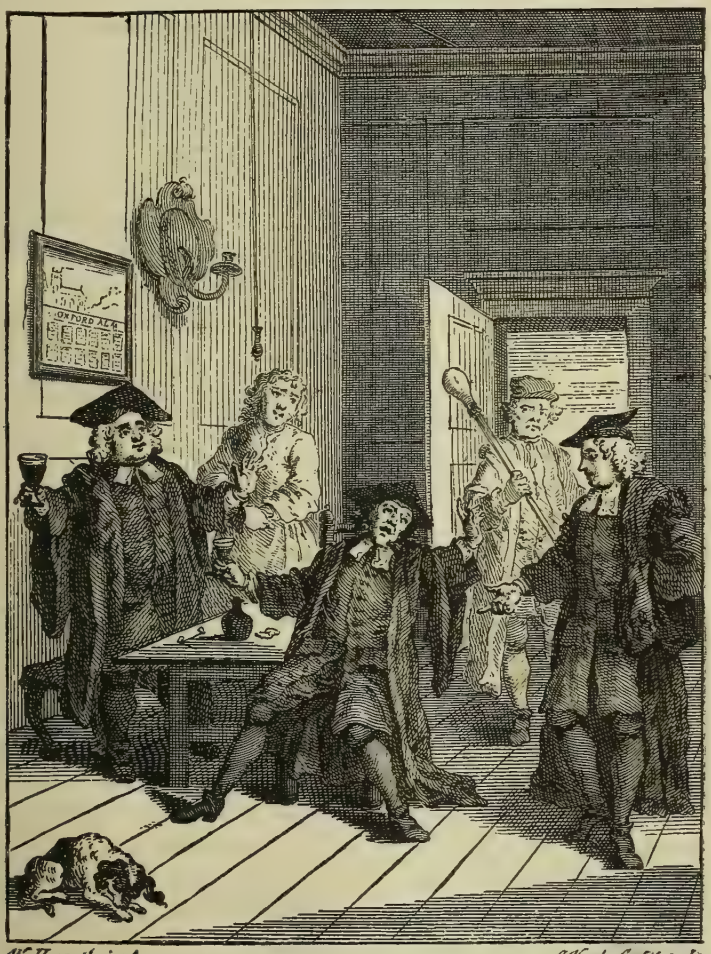
* Evelyn's Diary (1685).

† Secker was successively bishop of Bristol, Oxford, and dean of St. Paul's, then archbishop of Canterbury between the years 1729 and 1768.

* Compare Lecky: "History of England in t Eighteenth Century," chap. ix., who gives ma contemporary references to the profane negle of this time.

e career of the elder Pitt and the splendid ctories by land and sea that were won ring his ministry, form unquestionably e most dazzling episodes in the reign of eorge II., they must yield in real im- rtance to that religious revolution which ortly before had been begun in England ving to the preaching of the Wesleys and Whitefield. The creation of a power- l and active sect, extending over both hemispheres and numbering many millions of souls, was but one of its consequences. It also exercised a profound and lasting influence upon the spirit of the established church, upon the amount and distribution of the moral forces of the nation, and even upon the course of its political history."*

* Lecky: "History of England in the Eighteenth Century," chap. ix.



FRONTISPIECE TO THE "HUMOURS OF OXFORD."
(*From the print by Hogarth.*)

CHAPTER LXXI.

WESLEY, WHITEFIELD, AND THE METHODISTS.

Behmen and the Mystics—William Law—The Society at Oxford and its Character—The We and Whitefield—Influence of the Moravians upon Wesley—His "Conversion"—The Organisation—Open-air Preaching—Wesley's Connection with the Church, and the Breach—George Whitefield—Power of his Preaching—Dislike and Opposition to it—Ch Wesley—Secession of the Calvinistic Methodists—Severance of the Wesleyans from Church of England.

DURING the first quarter of the seventeenth century (1612–1624) the writings of a German mystic, Jacob Behmen, became widely read, and exercised a considerable influence on religious thought all through Europe. To Behmen the work and office of the Holy Spirit was an intense reality. He felt that the Third Person of the Blessed Trinity was indeed the Lord and Giver of Life, who teaches all things and leads into all truth; and that to him who longs after righteousness, and whose heart is pure, will heavenly wisdom be granted, and all things will become full of meaning. Such mystics felt, perhaps as few others felt, the vast capabilities of human nature, though so disfigured by sin and earthly longings and passions. Much, however, that the great German mystic wrote was confused, and his meaning was often hard to unravel; and such clear and lucid thinkers as Warburton spoke of his writings with some contempt. Warburton's estimate was, however, by no means generally shared; and not a few earnest religious scholars, wearied with the dry speculative theology of the time, found a wonderful fascination in the writings of Behmen, which taught the possibility of a direct communion of the soul with God.

In England the most conspicuous stud of the mystic teacher was one Will Law. This remarkable man, the teacher of the great evangelical sch whose rise and widespread influence are about to relate, was born in 1686. fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambri he forfeited this fellowship by his ref to take the oath of allegiance to Georg and for the remainder of his life live retirement. He spent his days in st the results of which he gave to the w in a series of works which were read and wide. Law was a high churchman ascetic, and a solitary, and for long a d student of Behmen and the mystic sch of thought. The theories of his ma were reproduced by him with extraordi force, and with a lucidity never posse by Behmen. Law taught in languag strange power, that human nature corrupted and fallen, and soiled earthly passions, but that in spite of fallen state, in every human soul dwelt the fire and light and love of The grand object of all life was to pu by means of self-denial and mortifica the soiled soul, and so to remove all drance to the enlightening power of Holy Spirit.

But Law was no mere contempl

ologian. His teaching inculcated the st practical virtues. Among his many troversial and devotional works, one ecially stands out, which evidently sup- d a soul-need; for it was enormously d, and its holy influence was felt for ny years far and wide. The "Serious l to a Devout and Holy Life," which eared in 1729, was pronounced by Dr. nson "the finest piece of hortatory ology in our language"; Gibbon ad- ed it; and Warburton tells us that its hor was the father of Methodism. For ong period the "Serious Call" was standard devotional treatise, alike in sonages and in the houses of pious lay- n. "It is indeed one of the most mn and most powerful works of its d in any literature. . . . It is in- led to demonstrate the necessity of a Christian separating himself altogether fe and feelings from the world that is ut him; to show how profoundly the les of life, the aims, the ambitions, the sements, the popular types of character ociety, are repugnant to the precepts ideals of the Gospel; to prove that all dly attainments, whether of greatness, om, or bravery, are but empty words."* he exalted mysticism of Law led to no owing tendency in his teaching; he ed home to men what he believed to he truth, and showed them how to e their souls a temple fit for the

ecky: "England in the Eighteenth Century," ix. See also the sketch of Law's writings by Stephen in "History of English Thought in ighteenth Century," and also Abbey and on's "English Church in the Eighteenth ry," where in chapter vii., on "Enthusiasm," inating picture is drawn of the mysticism of en and of his follower, William Law.

presence of the Holy Spirit; yet he could admire and reverence great teachers of very different schools of Christian thought from his own. He elected to live and die in the communion of the Anglican Church; but he felt at the same time that he was one in spirit with holy and righteous men in other churches, even though those men were called by the names of Ignatius Loyola, or John Bunyan, or George Fox. His words on "Rome" are remarkable, and worthy of the noble charity of a later age:—"The more we believe or know of the corruptions and hindrances to true piety in the Church of Rome, the more we should rejoice to hear that in every age so many eminent spirits, great saints, have appeared in it, whom we should thankfully behold as so many great lights hung out by God to show the true way to heaven."

At the same time as the "Serious Call" of Law was published (1729), a little band of religious students at Oxford were in the habit of meeting together for the purpose of mutual edification. They were unknown in 1729, but a very few years afterwards, the names of some of them rang through England and her colonial possessions across the sea, as the all-powerful leaders of a new and rapidly spreading school of thought. John Wesley and his brother Charles, and their friend George Whitefield, were the principal figures in this little Oxford coterie. We have noticed already how lax and inefficient had become the student life in the universities, how careless in all religious observances. This little band did nothing specially to attract notice; but their strict lives, their endeavours to observe the rules

of the Church of England, their regular attendance Sunday by Sunday at St. Mary's to receive the Holy Communion, called down upon them the ridicule and adverse criticism of many of the easy-going and careless, if not godless residents in the once religious university. They were surnamed in derision the Holy Club, the Godly Club, the Reformers, the Sacramentarians; and in the end the sobriquet was attached to them which afterwards became so famous, of the Methodists; this last title being applied to the little society from their strict adherence to *method*, from their care in keeping the appointed festivals and fasts of the church, from the regularity and strictness of their lives, and the *methodical* observance of their religious duties.

In their meetings they would read together; now the classics—they were some of them good scholars—now the Greek Testament. Nor did they, in their devotion to the ritual observance of their church, in their constant conferences, in their meetings for study and for prayer, neglect the practical duties enjoined by the Christianity they loved so well. These men were diligent visitors among the poor and needy of the city, and even among the sadly neglected prisoners in the gaol. The spring which moved them, the influence which determined them thus to consecrate their young lives to God and their neighbour, seems to have been the teaching and the writings of that strange and remarkable mystic, something of whose theology we have just been trying to sketch—William Law; the text book, so to speak, which they loved to use being especially the "Serious Call." But they did more than read his burning wri they came also under his personal infl They would now and again see presence in his retirement, and as counsel. Years after the Oxford John Wesley wrote in his journal, in that "Mr. Law, whom I love and reve now, was once a kind of oracle to me.

There is nothing remarkable to rel the early life-story of these subsequ famous men. The brothers Charle John Wesley were sons of an exem clergyman who was rector of Epwor Lincolnshire; their mother was daughter of an eminent Nonconfo minister, and was a woman of great n power, of intense piety. No doub training, and the religious influen the Epworth home, did much to and strengthen the character of the brothers. They both were scholars o siderable attainments, and John be a fellow of Lincoln College. The st society already alluded to, and attained so singular a notoriety in Oxford of their day, never seems to numbered more than fifteen men The originator of it was the elder br Charles, afterwards celebrated as the of the movement. Charles becam eloquent and winning preacher, although overshadowed by the surpa talents of his greater brother, for exercised a powerful and happy infl in the sect. Another well-known na this saintly Oxford group was th Harvey, whose writings, in the which followed, obtained an enor popularity. The "Meditations," hi known work, went through seve editions in as many years; of his "T

JOHN WESLEY AND HIS FRIENDS AT OXFORD.
(*From the picture by Marshall Claxton in the Salford Art Gallery.*)

and Aspasia," the very name of which is hardly now remembered, as many as ten thousand copies were sold in nine months. Harvey in the sequel became a leader in the Calvinistic division of the Methodists, and a bitter opponent of his old college friend and leader, John Wesley.

There was one more member of the little group, however, whose name afterwards became famous in all the churches as the greatest of English preachers —George Whitefield. Born in 1714 in the "Bell Inn" at Gloucester, of which his mother was landlady, the boy George was employed in his early days as tapster and in other menial occupations. His boyhood was a wild and stormy one, his surroundings somewhat degrading and debasing; alternately an earnest student and a somewhat dissolute hanger-on at his mother's inn, he became a servitor-scholar at Pembroke College, Oxford, and there, happily for himself, fell under the influence of the Wesleys, and became a well-known member of the "Society of Oxford Methodists." Returning to Gloucester from Oxford with considerable reputation as a promising preacher and scholar, the bishop of the diocese, Dr. Benson, became his friend and patron, and ordained him, admitting him to holy orders even before the canonical age of twenty-three. At once he sprang into fame as a preacher of rare and exceptional power. In his own words he tells us, how he preached his first sermon to a crowded congregation in his native city, with as much freedom as if he had been a preacher for years.

In 1735 the Oxford society was broken up, its principal members, for different reasons, leaving the university. The Wesleys, on the invitation of Gen Oglethorpe, the founder of the tr Atlantic settlement, sailed for the col of Georgia. On his voyage out J Wesley first met some Moravians,* was strangely fascinated by their sim earnest life. Much, too, in their pecu teaching was based upon that mystic of Behmen which, as we have seen, the foundation of the theology of Wesl loved master, Law. The work We proposed to himself in the colony Georgia was to act partly as ministe the English settlers there, partly to lab as missionary to the native Ameri Indians. But his career in Georgia, wh lasted some three years, was not by means a success. At this period of life he was a high churchman, and tempted to enforce rigorously the r and rubrics of the church in this new somewhat disorderly colony. Grave sensions arose between him and his flo and the result was that Wesley and brother returned to England, disappoin and somewhat disillusioned.

Again on the return voyage (1738) fell in with Moravians, and passed m and more under their influence. At of their meetings, in the same year,

* The Moravian community traced their ori back to John Huss. In the seventeenth cent we hear of them as a sect of some importa after the wave of mystic piety, of which Behr was the conspicuous apostle and teacher, passed over Germany. The society endeavou to lead a Christian life after the primitive mo and, avoiding controversy, invited all sects Protestants to join them without giving up t distinctive tenets. They were ever earnest devoted missionaries. Schleiermacher wrote them as the truest Christian community wh he believed existed in the outward world.

ndon, he tells us how he experienced that ange in his heart, known as conversion. felt," he writes, "my heart strangely rmed. I felt I did trust in Christ—rist alone for salvation, and an assurance s given me that He had taken away my s." Closer and closer now was he ached to the Moravian brotherhood. Herrnhut* he spent a short happy son, "exceedingly strengthened," to his own words, "and comforted by conversation of this lowly people." ere was a famous Moravian teacher, ter Böhler, who was Wesley's guide at s period of his life; and although the at founder of Methodism subsequently arated himself from the Moravian com-nity, not a little of what he had rned from Böhler ever remained among doctrinal teaching peculiar to the thodist sect.†

Wesley gives the day and the moment when this assurance of his salvation was given him. His brother, Charles Wesley, with fervour adopted the Moravian theory. Whitefield, with slight modifications, took the same view as the basis of his teaching. So intensely did Wesley feel that he had attained to the right conception of "saving faith," that he positively upbraided his old master, Law, for not having given him "the light." But, in spite of this strange reproof, the loving and grateful nature of Wesley eventually regained the mastery, and, although he never swerved from this the great fundamental doctrine of his teaching, which he had derived from the Moravian Böhler, he continued ever to bear repeated testimony to the power and usefulness of the "Serious Call" and other of his old master's writings.

Very rapidly now the framework of a new organisation was formed. There was no formal separation from the Anglican Church, but much irregular evangelisation was undertaken, which naturally gave great umbrage to many of the clergy of the Church of England. The company of Wesley grew rapidly. Societies were formed somewhat after the pattern of the original little Oxford society, which we have already described as the cradle of the mighty movement. In these "societies" the primitive Christian *agapæ* or love feasts were revived.* We read of the associates passing whole nights in earnest prayer, confessing one to another their various shortcomings, and submitting to a severe examination, not only as to their

† The famous Moravian settlement in Germany.

"From Böhler he first learned to believe that ry man, no matter how moral, how pious, or orthodox he may be, is in a state of damna- until, by a supernatural and instantaneous cess wholly unlike that of human reasoning, conviction flashes upon his mind that the rifice of Christ has been applied to and has ated his sins; that this supernatural and per-l conviction or illumination is what is meant aving faith, and that it is inseparably accom-ed by an absolute assurance of salvation and complete dominion over sin. It cannot exist n there is not a sense of the pardon of all past of freedom from present sins. It is impossible he who has experienced it should be in us or lasting doubt as to the fact, for its fruits 'constant peace—not one uneasy thought,' dom from sin—not one unholy desire.' Re-ance and fruits meet for repentance, such as forgiveness of those who have offended us, ng from evil and doing good, may precede faith, but good works in the theological sense ne term spring from, and therefore can only w faith."—Lecky: "England in the Eigh-h Century," vol. ii., chap. ix., pp. 556–7.

* These meetings, taken from the Moravians, are an interesting and abiding memorial of John Wesley's former close intimacy with that body.

deeds, but as to their very thoughts. Field-preaching, on the suggestion of Whitefield, was at first reluctantly adopted, but was soon generally made use of as the best means of reaching the masses, to whom they considered themselves sent. The preaching of Whitefield —shortly to be described—had a wonderful effect in popular dissemination of the new thought, and has been well described as the very backbone of Methodism. A passionate enthusiasm was thus evoked far and wide. Still, no open hostility to the church was avowed, and their chapels were represented as simply supplementary to the churches.

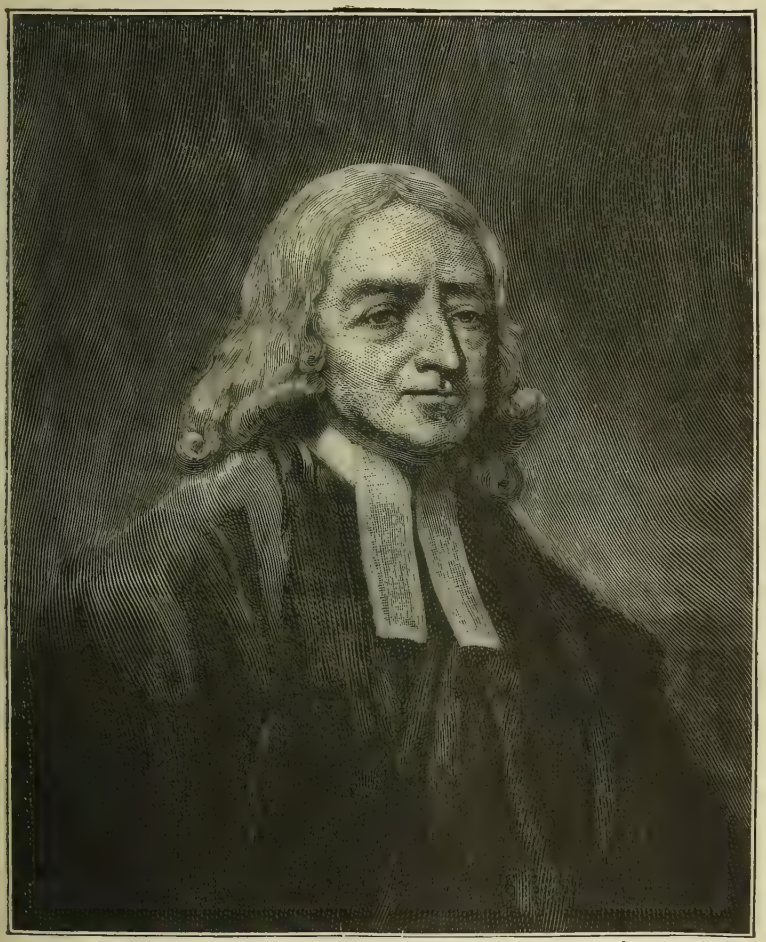
The close alliance between Wesley and the Moravian Brethren was dissolved in 1740. Certain points in the Moravian system were disliked by the English evangelist. Against these Wesley preached and taught openly. He even wrote to the Moravian teachers in Germany, complaining of various doctrinal points insisted upon by them ; and the breach was never healed.

A more serious dissension sprang up in 1740–1, between himself and Whitefield. After the breach they were, and continued to be, dear friends; but Whitefield's teaching was strongly tinctured with Calvinism, which was opposed to all Wesley's teaching, and the Calvinism of the great preacher grew more pronounced as time went on. The two friends separated, and eventually, after Whitefield's death, there were two distinct parties in the Methodist community, the followers of Whitefield being known as Calvinistic Methodists. A touching anecdote is remembered of the two, separated though they were by grave doctrinal differen One of Whitefield's followers asked h if he thought they would see Wesley heaven. "I fear not," said the gre hearted preacher, "he (Wesley) will so near the Throne, and we shall be a great a distance, we shall scarcely ge sight of him."

In spite, however, of this extens schism, the Methodist movement c tinued to gather strength. Vast numb of the people were stirred and influen by the preachers who were sent out by leaders of the sect. The difficulty finding ordained men to carry on the w was met by the institution of preachers ; and the reluctance of the cle to allow the followers of Wesley Whitefield to occupy their pulpits, met by the building of many chapels various centres, in large towns and e in smaller country places.

All this time Wesley still profe himself a loyal and even a devo adherent of the Church of Engl Indeed, his relations to the church many years were confused and perple The Methodists and their leader held doctrines contained in the Thirty-n Articles and in the Homilies, and We firmly maintained that the Church England, with all her blemishes, nearer the Scriptural plan than any o church in Europe. "Be Church England men still," he once said; not cast away the peculiar glory wh God hath put upon you." But position which Wesley had taken up an untenable one for a clergyman. only did he send out his many mis preachers into all parts of England;

y did he build his many chapels for se to preach in, utterly disregarding all ochial and episcopal authority; but he



JOHN WESLEY.
(*From the portrait by G. Romney.*)

guilty of many other grave irregu- ies, such as preaching in Dissenting eting-houses, and receiving communion Dissenters. Even his rash act of ining superintendents and elders for erica in 1784 resulted in no formal

breach with the Church of England at home, and the separation of the Methodists from the Church of England did not take place till after their great founder's death. But the "parting of the ways" was inevitable.

Widely different from John Wesley was his famous fellow-evangelist, Whitefield.

Although an illustrious group of assistants, both in the Church of England and outside its pale, took up and developed the work, it is not too much to say that the religious revival of the eighteenth century, which has produced such remarkable results, was really due, so far as mere earthly instruments are concerned, to these two men. Nor would the one have brought about the great "revival" without the other. Wesley, able and fervid though he undoubtedly was, would never have kindled the enthusiasm of the masses. Whitefield, on the other hand, with all his burning zeal and unrivalled power as an orator, a power which never seems to have been equalled by a preacher in any age, possessed no organising gifts. His mighty influence would have died with him. His eighteen thousand sermons would have been speedily forgotten, and only an interesting historical memory would have been left behind. Yet Whitefield in many respects was a more interesting personality than his far abler coadjutor Wesley, and evidently impressed the minds of his contemporaries in a way never reached by the real founder of the world-wide sect of Methodists.

What, then, is the explanation of the unrivalled power of this remarkable man, who for some thirty or more years exercised so strange a sway over tens of thousands of his fellows, whose influence counted for so much in the development of the vast Methodist communion, whose enthusiasm indirectly awoke a new and nobler spirit in our Church of England? What was his secret? Whence came that marvellous fascination which charmed for thirty years at least all sorts and conditions of men—the rough colliers of the Bristol and Midland coalfields, the peasant Gloucestershire and Wales, the str crowds who make up the populatio the metropolis? Polished sceptics Hume and Bolingbroke, men of fas and men of pleasure, all more or less under the mighty spell of the wi burning words of the homely, unscho preacher.

The magician himself was, as all acknowledge, a plain, simple man, wi heart all aflame with love for his fell devoid of all earthly ambitions, he possessed by one master and all-absor thought—how best to press home to o the religion he loved and believed in. *save souls* was all that Whitefield for. From the day of his ordinatio bishop Benson in the stately cath at Gloucester, till the hour of his d in a humble American lodging thirty-four years later, worn out with cessant labours, he had no other thou no other desire. This longing was paramount; and in good truth the wis that great, loving heart was granted an extent few earthly longings ever been.

It is not easy now for us to grasp secret of the spell he threw over so m Of those eighteen thousand sermons w he is traditionally said to have prea (the number is probably exaggerat very few have come down to us; and perusal of these few leaves a feelin disappointment on the reader. As lite compositions they are somewhat fe He was aided, it is true, by a magnifi voice, so musical and far-reaching tha may well be considered as matchless. man, too, was a born orator of the hig

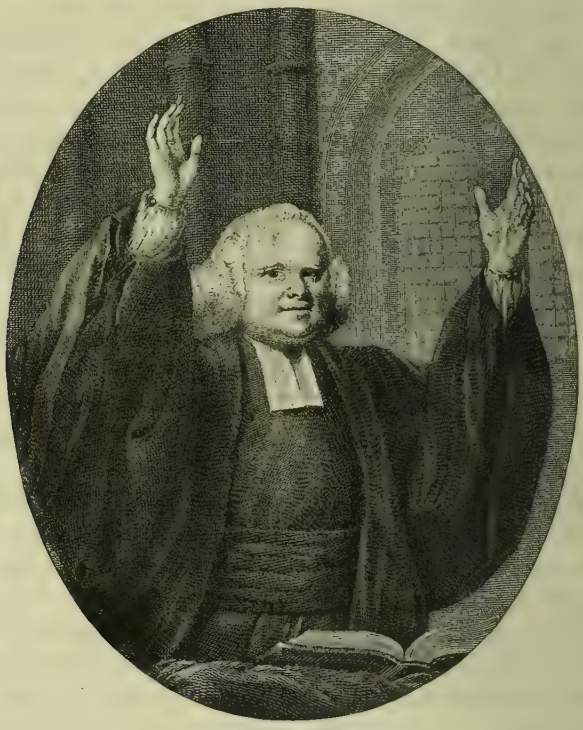
der, and a consummate actor likewise, ing the word "actor" in its highest and blest sense. We may dwell a little upon ese sermons, for they worked a work on e religious life of England, and upon her tablished church, the blessed effect of nich is still felt among us, though more an a century has passed since that nning voice was hushed in death. "O," once said, "that I could flee from pole pole preaching the everlasting Gospel." gain and again, with only slight variations ggested often by the immediate sur- ndings, he seems to have repeated the ne sermon. Amazing numbers thronged hear him year after year as he preached the open fields round Bristol; in grave- ds, as at Cheltenham; in the vast open ces of London, as in Moorfields and at nnington, or on Blackheath; in the rylebone fields, then open country, and Newington and Hackney; around the is mouth in the Black Country; on kshire heaths and moorlands; now in gland, now in Wales or in Scotland— e often in the growing American onies. Records meet us again and in in that restless, work-filled life, of ten usand, fifteen thousand, twenty thou- l, even more, who gathered round the t orator, and listened spell-bound to clear-cut utterances which fell from lips, and penetrated to the farthest ges of these mighty concourses.

his amazing popularity, in England as as in the distant American settlements, re he spent a very considerable portion is life, never seems to have waned all ugh the thirty years and more of his er; it was maintained to the last. The before his death the dying evangelist preached his last sermon at Exeter in New England. An eye-witness tells us how an immense multitude assembled on this last occasion. "Let me," he is reported to have said, "Lord Jesus, go and speak for Thee once more in the fields, seal Thy truth, and come home and die!" At first he was unable to utter a word. Then his mind kindled, and his lion-like voice roared to the extremities of his audience. Speaking of the uselessness of works to merit salvation, he suddenly exclaimed in a voice of thunder: "Works! a man get to heaven by works! I would as soon think of climbing to the moon on a rope of sand." The sermon was of inordinate length, lasting about two hours. On the night following he passed away.

His unrivalled power as a preacher, to which no parallel in any age can be adduced, was evidently owing rather to his marvellous voice, and to his skill as an actor—though, while a consummate actor, he was ever intensely in earnest—than to the matter of his discourses, which rarely, if ever, rose above the commonplace. But he was ever intensely convinced of the truth of his words, and he succeeded in making his auditors share his own confidence. He ever preached "as a dying man to dying men." Some few of his most telling exhortations are well remembered; a few illustrations will give us some faint idea of the train of thought by which he fired the hearts of so many thousands in England, and in the yet greater England then fast growing up beyond the seas. Heaven and hell, the future lot of the lost, the judgment which awaits us, all were favourite topics with him. These grave subjects he handled

with a strange familiarity—a familiarity which sometimes shocks our sense of reverence ; but Whitefield presented them as though these awful scenes were before his gaze, and his real oratorical power would

the judgment of the great day, for complying with the precept of the (Matt. xviii. 8, 9). . . . Think you they imagine Jesus Christ to be a hard mas or rather think you not, they would



GEORGE WHITEFIELD.
(*From an engraving.*)

thrill his listeners, would move sin-hardened men and women again and again to tears.

"Think often," he said in one of his earlier efforts, "on the pains of hell. Consider whether it is not better to cut off a right hand or foot or pluck out a right eye if they cause us to sin, rather than be cast into hell. . . . Think how many thousands there are now reserved with damned spirits in chains of darkness unto

ten thousand times ten thousand wo could they but return to life again, and Christ's easy yoke upon them? And *we* dwell in everlasting burnings more t they? . . . Often meditate upon the of heaven. Think with what unspeak glory those happy souls are now encir who when on earth were called to themselves, and were not disobedien the call. Hark! methinks I hear t

WHITEFIELD PREACHING IN MOORFIELDS.

(From the picture by Eyre Crowe, A.R.A., by permission of the artist.)

chanting their everlasting hallelujahs, and spending an eternal day in echoing triumphant songs of joy. And do not *you* long to join the heavenly choir? Do not your hearts burn within you?" *

In a notable sermon on the fashionable amusements of the day, † on the words "They thrust him out of the city," we find the following:—"If you were of the world, if you would conform to the ways, manners, and customs of the world, if you would go to a play, or ball, or masquerade, the world then would love you . . . but because you despise these polite entertainments, and go to hear a sermon in a field, . . . they esteem you as methodically mad, and fit only for Bedlam. If you would frequent horse-racing, assemblies, and cock-fighting, then you would be caressed and admired by our gay gentlemen; but you despising these innocent diversions (as the world calls them) makes them esteem you as a parcel of rabble of no taste, who are going to destroy yourselves by being over-righteous. . . . Indeed, our polite gentry would like religion very well, if it did but countenance an assembly, or allow them to read novels, plays and romances, if they might go a-visiting on Sundays, or to a play or ball when they pleased. In short, they would like to lead a fashionable polite life, to take their full swing of pleasure, and go to heaven when they die. But if they were admitted to heaven without a purification of heart and life, they would be unhappy there. It would be a hell to them. Angels and all good men would be esteemed enthusiasts and madm Heaven might be agreeable, if there w the same polite entertainments there, they seem so much pleased with here, there is never a horse-course or cock all over heaven."

He delighted in imagery, someti drawn from some passing scene. On occasion, preaching to a vast throng, told them "How in a few days we sho all meet at the judgment-seat of Christ, shall all form a part of that vast assem which will gather before His thro Every eye will behold the Judge. Wit voice whose call you must abide answer, He will inquire whether on ea you strove to enter in at the strait g . . . My blood turns cold when I th how many of you will seek to enter in shall not be able. O, what plea can make before the Judge? . . . No, must answer, 'I made myself easy in world, by flattering myself that all wo end well, but I have deceived my own s and am lost.' . . . O sinner, by all y hopes of happiness, I beseech you repent! Let not the wrath of God awakened! Let not the fires of eter be kindled against you. See there," the impassioned orator (he was preach in the open air), pointing to a flash lightning: "it is a glance from the an eye of Jehovah! Hark," he went raising his finger in a listening attitude the thunder broke in a tremendous cra "it was the voice of the Almighty as passed by in His anger." As the sou died away, went on the narrative of moving scene, Whitefield covered his with his hands and fell on his kn apparently lost in prayer. The st

* Preached first at St. Andrew's, Holborn, 1737.

† Preached, among other places, on Blackheath to about 20,000 listeners, 1739.

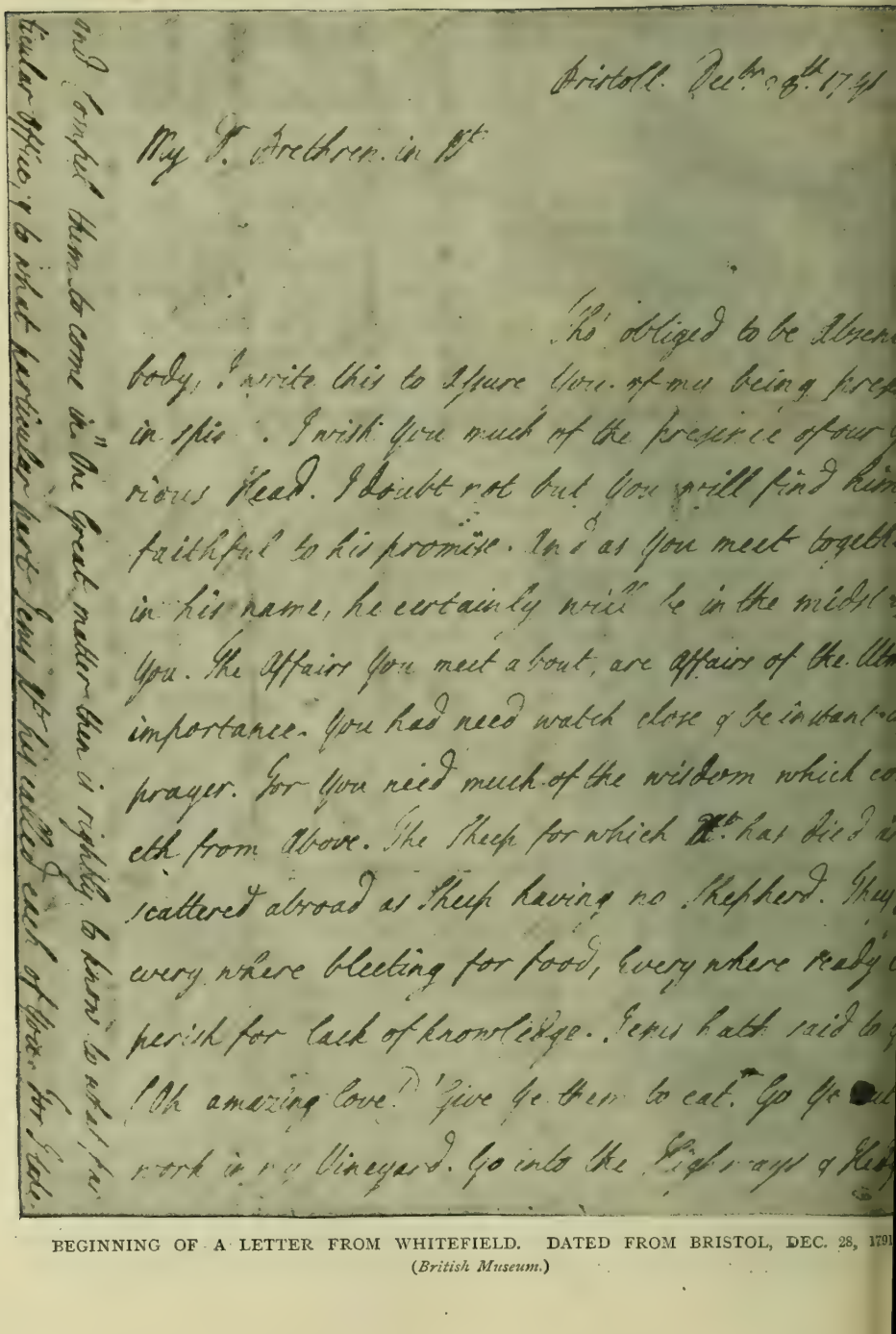
sed rapidly, and the sun bursting forth, ew across the heavens the magnificent n of peace. Rising and pointing to it, preacher cried, "Look on the rainbow, beautiful it is; the hands of the Most h have bended it."

His imagery was often very varied and ngely vivid. Once, illustrating the peril sinners, he painted an old blind man erted by his dog, stumbling fearfully r a desolate moor, feeling his way ly with his staff, and gradually drawing r the edge of a dizzy precipice, arriving on the verge. Lord Chesterfield, who among the listeners to this sermon, all command of himself, and cried out: ood God, he is gone!" On another sion, preaching before a great company ailors, he described the oncoming of a ible storm. "Hark!" cried Whitefield, n't you hear the thunder pealing? 't you see those blinding flashes of ning? Every man to his post! Mark e waves rising and dashing over the It is growing darker, the tempest s, the masts are gone, the ship is on beam ends—what next?" "The long ! take to the long boat!" shouted the ed sailor listeners.

another time he would describe the n scene of a court of justice, and would paint the condemnation scene. eyes brimming over with tears, with ce tremulous with pity, after a solemn he would pull out the black cap he prepared ready to his hand, and, ng it on, would proceed: "Sinner, *st* do it, I *must* pronounce sentence you." Then, with a sudden change ice, he thundered forth: "Depart me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire!"

Tears were ever ready with this strange man. He has been heard to apologise thus for his emotion: "You blame me for weeping, but how can I help it when you will not weep for yourselves, though your immortal souls are on the verge of destruction, and for aught you know you are hearing your last sermon?" The cold sceptic, Hume, has described a whole assembly, listening to Whitefield's burning impassioned words, as weeping. To David Hume this preaching seemed to possess a strange fascination. He describes one of these impassioned scenes thus:—The attendant angel, Whitefield told us, is just about to leave the threshold of this sanctuary and ascend to heaven. "And shall he ascend," cried the preacher, "and not bear with him the news of one sinner among all this multitude, reclaimed from the error of his ways?" Then Whitefield stamped his foot, and, lifting up hands and eyes to heaven, cried aloud: "Stop, Gabriel, stop, ere you enter the sacred portals, and yet carry with you the news of one sinner converted to God!"

Peter—his fall and conversion—was a favourite topic with the great evangelist. "Methinks I see him wringing his hands, rending his garments, smiting his breast," he would say. "See how it heaves. Oh what piteous sighs and groans are those which come from the bottom of his heart! Alas! it is too big to speak, but his tears, his bitter repenting tears, bespeak this to be the language of his repenting soul: Alas! where have I been? What have I done? With whom have I been conversing? Denied the Lord of Glory with oaths and curses, denied that I ever knew him—and now whither shall I go?"



Bristoll. Dec.r 28.th 1791

My D. Brethren in Xt

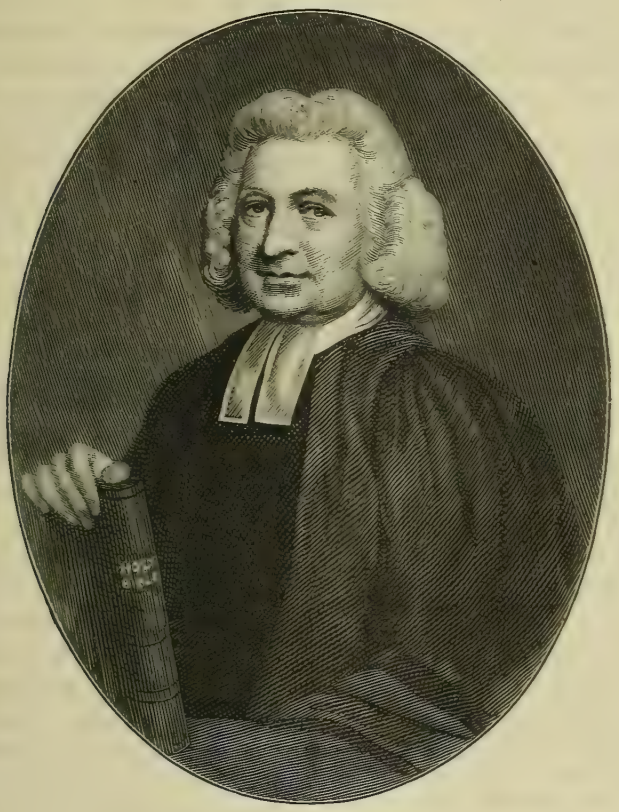
I'm obliged to be Absent
body. I write this to assure You of me being pres
in spir. I wish You much of the presence of our
rious Head. I doubt not but You will find him
faithful to his promise. In as You meet togeth
in his name, he certainly will be in the midst
You. The Affairs You meet about, are affairs of the Utm
importance. You had need watch close & be instant
prayer. For You need much of the wisdom which co
eth from above. The Sheep for which Xt has died
scattered abroad as Sheep having no Shepherd. They
every where bleeting for food, every where ready
perish for Lack of knowledge. Jesus hath said to
Oh amazing Love! Give ye them to eat. Go ye
work in my Vineyard. Go into the Highways & Hed

and Compel them to come in." No Greater matter than is rightly to discharge this particular office; & what heartfelt Love, Zeal, Diligence & Care of Souls

BEGINNING OF A LETTER FROM WHITEFIELD. DATED FROM BRISTOL, DEC. 28, 1791
(*British Museum.*)

Then Whitefield would pause and hide his face in a fold of his mantle, and a great hush would come over the awe-struck congregation.*

It was natural that such a man, who during so many years was the chief instrument in the great religious revival of the century, who stirred up among so many



CHARLES WESLEY.
(From an engraving.)

* Considering the enormous number of sermons preached by Whitefield during his thirty-four years of active work, it is strange how very few of these have been preserved; for the *last thirty-one years* of his career only thirty-five of these discourses are extant. Of the sermons of the first three years we have some rare reports. Extracts from the more famous of all these are given in Mr. Tyerman's "Life of Whitefield," the latest and best account of the great evangelist. The second edition was published in 1890. A sympathetic sketch of the life and work of Whitefield is given in Mr. Lecky's "History of England in the Eighteenth Century" (vol. ii., chap. ix.)—"The Religious Revival," in which the eminent writer does not think it beneath the dignity of his "serious" history to insert considerable extracts from the few published sermons, so important did he deem the influence of the great preacher upon the religious life of the century. The essay on the "Evangelical Succession" in Sir James Stephen's "Ecclesiastical Essays" dwells at some length on Whitefield's career. The chapter which deals with Whitefield in Abbey and Overton's "English Church in the Eighteenth Century," though interesting, gives scarcely sufficient prominence to his work and influence.

thousands a passion of devotion, would excite much opposition, would be vilified and criticised, would be intensely hated as well as ardently loved. Cowper, who in a well-known poem describes the great revivalist in moving, eloquent language, alludes to this when he writes of him as one who—

"Stood pilloried on infamy's high stage
And bore the pelting scorn of half an age,
The very butt of slander, and the blot
For every dart that malice ever shot.
The man that mentioned *him* at once dismissed
All mercy from his lips, and sneered and hissed.
His aim was mischief, and his zeal pretence,
His speech rebellion against common sense." *

But the sarcasm and the gibes, the false accusations and the lampoons, are now forgotten, and only the mighty work for God and his neighbour, which this strange gifted man worked among us, is remembered. Well did Cowper express the fairer verdict of posterity in the beautiful lines of the same striking poem:

"Now, Truth, perform thine office; waft aside
The curtain drawn by ignorance and pride,
Reveal (the man is dead) to wondering eyes
This more than monster in his proper guise.
He loved the world that hated him; the tear
That dropped upon his Bible was sincere.
Assailed by scandal and the tongue of strife,
His only answer was a blameless life.
* * * * * *
Blush, Calumny, and write upon his tomb,
If honest eulogy can spare the room,
Thy deep repentance of thy thousand lies,
Which, aimed at him, have pierced the offended skies;
And say, Blot out my sin, confessed, deplored,
Against Thine image in Thy saint, O Lord!" †

The third of the great evangelical revival chiefs who may be reckoned in the Methodist camp, is John Wesley's brother, Charles. At a great distance from the incomparable preacher of the movement —Whitefield, and the master spirit wh organised the vast sect and gave it i constitution—his brother John, Charl Wesley played no inconsiderable part i the development of the revival. A preache of real power, an able and devoted an higher still, a saintly man, he will ever b remembered in the eventful story of th rise and progress of evangelicalism as th song-man of the party. Music and sacre song has ever played, will ever play a ver influential part in all religious worshi And the hymnology of the period when th Wesleys began to teach and Whitefield t preach was sorely in need of an adaptatio to popular worship. Charles Wesley, in high degree, emphatically possessed th gift of sacred poetry. The effect of h soul-stirring compositions not a little co tributed to the success of those va gatherings for which the days of White field and the Wesleys will be ever memo able in the religious story of England.

An enormous number of hymns a attributed to his prolific pen. Some these have become "classical" in o language, and are found in all the hymna of the Church of England, as well as those specially used by the Nonconformi bodies, and are among the most loved an popular of our English sacred song His hymns are loved alike in the simp service of the village church, in th youthful gatherings of the crowde Sunday-schools, in the solemn praise the great cathedral. We would instan the beautiful hymns, "Jesu, lover of m soul"; "Lo! He comes, with clou descending"; "Soldiers of Christ, arise" "Hark, the herald angels sing"; among the best known of the compositio

* Cowper: "Hope." † *Ibid.*

hich the church owes to the saintly poet
f the evangelical revival of the eighteenth
entury.

In the annals specially devoted to the
istory of that world-wide Methodist sect
hich owes its popular title of "Wesleyan"
o its illustrious founder, more space than
e can give here would naturally be
evoted to the memorable split in the
Methodist camp, which dated from 1740.
n the preceding year, 1739, Wesley
reached at Bristol, and subsequently
ublished his famous sermon on "Free
Grace," in which the doctrine of repro-
ation—the terrible Calvinistic teaching,
hich asserts that by virtue of an eternal,
nchangeable decree of God, one part of
nankind are saved and the rest infallibly
amned—was condemned in the severest
nguage. Charles Wesley composed a
ymn which was affixed to his brother's
ermon, in which some strong anti-
alvinistic lines occur, such as—

"He calls as many souls as breathe,
And all *may* hear the call.
* * * * *
We all *may* find the lowly way,
And call the living Saviour ours.
* * * * *
Come freely, come whoever will,
And living water take."

losing with the strong anti-Calvinistic
pression—

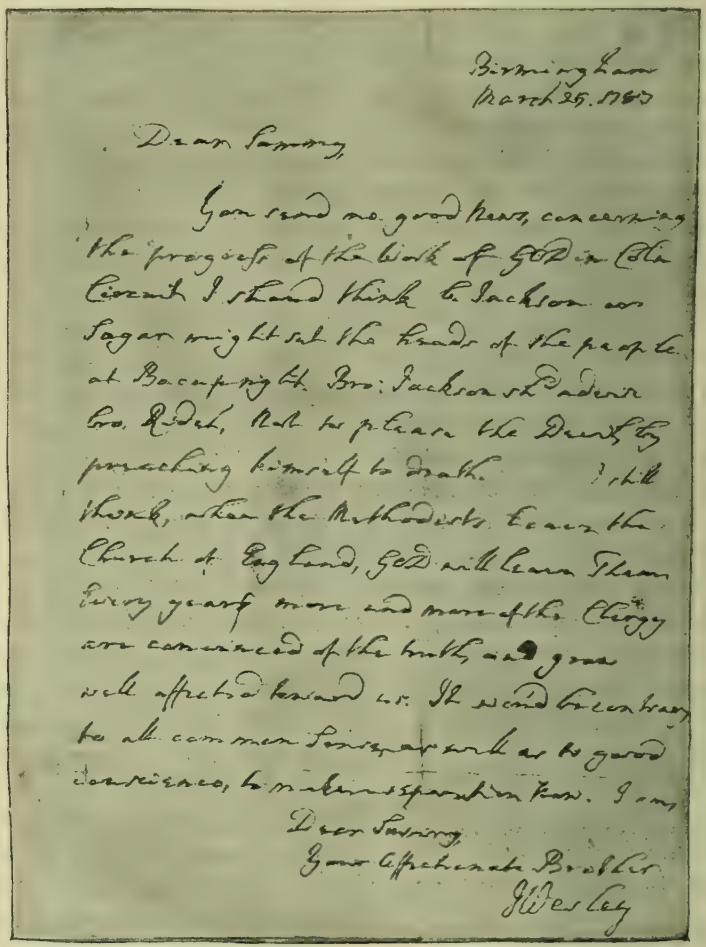
"No, Lord, Thine inmost bowels cry
Against the dire decree."

Whitefield, who was ever a Calvinist,
lied, and early in 1741 wrote to the
esleys: "My dear, dear brothers, why
you throw out the bone of contention?
hy did you print that sermon against
destination? Why did you, dear bro-
r Charles, affix your hymn [above quoted]?" But the die was cast; the leaders of the revival had embraced the views which have since distinguished the two great schools of Methodism. Gradually the two camps were formed. The friends remained dear friends till death overtook them, and carried them into that country where these holy and humble men would find the true solution of the hard questions which divided them on earth. But the schism was perpetuated, and Calvinistic Methodism was established as a separate communion, with its body of ministers and its separate chapels, the followers of Wesley (the Wesleyan Methodists), however, far outnumbering their Calvinistic opponents. We need not trace the result of this great schism any further, the impulse given to the evangelistic revival by Wesley and Whitefield, and their followers, being quite independent of any internal divisions among the Methodists themselves. What sank into the hearts of the English people were the evangelical doctrines revived by the great Methodist preachers and their school; doctrines which through the institution of field-preaching and the marvellous power of Whitefield, and, at a great distance from Whitefield, by Wesley and his disciples, were brought home to vast multitudes attracted by the magic of their oratory, and the practical, homely theology of the new teaching.

More important far to the Church of England was the final separation of the Methodists as a communion from the Established Church. The Wesley brothers —we have dwelt already on this—during their whole public career regarded themselves as clergymen of the Church of England. In early life John Wesley was

even a high churchman, and believed in the apostolic succession; and to the last he professed a warm attachment to the

of England, and outside, if not in op opposition to, her canons and disciplir The lay preachers, who were so promine



Birmingham
March 29. 1760

Dear Sammy,

You send me good news, concerning the progress of the Work of God in the Circuit. I shall think to Jackson as Sagar might ask the heads of the people at Bacup, Rt. Bro: Jackson & Andrew Bro. Redish, Not to please the Devil by preaching himself to death. I still think, when the Methodists leave the Church of England, God will leave them. Every year more and more of the Clergy are convinced of the truth, and grow well affected toward us. It would be contrary to all common Sense, as well as to good conscience, to make a separation now. I am

Dear Sammy,
Your affectionate Brother
J. Wesley

LETTER FROM JOHN WESLEY CONTAINING THE WORDS "I STILL THINK, WHEN THE METHODISTS LE THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, GOD WILL LEAVE THEM." (*British Museum.*)

Establishment. Many circumstances, however, as the revival movement developed, contributed to the final separation. From a very early stage the elaborate and skilfully constructed Methodist organisation existed a thing apart from the Church

a feature in it, were an order unkn to the Church of England, and wor absolutely independently of her cont Some of them (without the consent Wesley) even administered the sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

Time passed on, the movement every year gathering strength. Wesley gradually convinced himself* that bishops and presbyters were of the same order, and that the right of ordaining belonged to him, as well as to the apostolically descended episcopal order. It is difficult to gauge what was in his mind when, so late as 1783, he said:—"In every possible way I have advised the Methodists to keep to the church. They that do this must prosper best in their souls. I have observed it long. If ever the Methodists leave the church, I must leave them." And yet in 1784 he ordained superintendents and elders for America, and in the following year for Scotland! It is true that his growing work in the colonies sorely needed ordained ministers; but such a proceeding as the one he deliberately adopted, could only be regarded, from the standpoint of the church to which he professed to be so ardently attached, as schismatic. Its inevitable result was that complete separation which so many earnest and devoted Christians unfeignedly mourn, though many have since deplored the inelasticity of the organisation of the Church of England, which failed to find a place for the somewhat irregular enthusiasm of Wesley and his disciples. These think, not perhaps without reason, that the last and fatal act, which finally separated his followers from that Anglican communion which Wesley ever professed to love with a changeless love, might have been avoided had the English hierarchy, in the earlier developments of the movement, shown greater sympathy with the enthusiasm which fired so many dulled hearts with a fervent love for the religion of the Crucified.

* Compare Lecky's "England in Eighteenth Century," chap. ix., and Abbey and Overton's "English Church in the Eighteenth Century," chap. ix. It was in 1784 that Wesley took the decisive step which finally severed the Methodists from the Church of England, when he ordained Coke and Ashbury to be superintendents (Lecky adds "or bishops") of the American Methodists, and Whatcoat and Vasey to be elders. In the year following he ordained ministers for Scotland.

WESLEY'S MOVEABLE PULPIT.

CHAPTER LXXII.

THE EVANGELICAL REVIVAL IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

Influence of the Methodists in the Church itself—Its Gradual but Extensive Spread—Grimshaw and Berridge—James Harvey and his Works—William Romaine—Henry Venn—John Newton of Olney—Thomas Scott—Value of his Commentary—Joseph and Isaac Milner—John Fletcher of Madeley—Richard Cecil—Influence of the Evangelical Party at the close of the Century—Their Cardinal Doctrine of Conversion—Their Defect in Sacramental Teaching—Career of William Wilberforce—Abolition of Slavery—Work of Philanthropy—The "Clapham Sect"—Foundation and Growth of Religious Societies—The Church Missionary, Religious Tract, and Bible Societies—Growth of Sunday Schools—Opposition to Methodist Fervour—The Hierarchy Opposed to Methodism—But Influenced by it Nevertheless—Testimony of Secker, Warburton, and Paley.

THE effect of the evangelical revival under the leadership of Whitefield and the two Wesleys was incontestably very great. The passionate, soul-stirring preaching of Whitefield, the more thoughtful but no less earnest efforts of John Wesley and his brother Charles and others, before many years had reached the hearts of uncounted thousands. Gradually, in spite of a distrust which not unnaturally this somewhat novel presentment of Christianity awoke in the minds of many of the clergy, and of an opposition which was the result of the distrust, the doctrine and teaching of the Methodists gained ground in the Church of England itself.

Many devout men in the church recognised that a new and living piety was being kindled among the people. For many years after the names of the great Methodists had become household words in England and the new and greater Britain which was growing up beyond the seas, nothing in the doctrinal teaching of the fervid evangelists seriously conflicted with the doctrines of the Thirty-nine Articles, nothing was urged by them which in any way impugned the fundamental doctrines ever held by the Catholic Church. No serious fault could be found with their field-preaching, which was for years the great engine of the religious movement. The utmost that could for a long while be urged against them, was a somewhat loose submission to the discipline of the Established Church. The grave points of divergence from church order, which, alas, in the end led to separation, only arose after many years; and when the parting of Methodism from Anglicanism became a recognised necessity, the work which the great movement had worked in the Church of England had been done; the new influence had already permeated it far and wide.

A sketch of the lives of a few among the more prominent of the English clergy who were gradually touched by the new spirit aroused by the Methodist evangelists will give some idea of the novel influence which after the years 1738–39 slowly but surely spread among many of the Anglican ministers, and influenced to an enormous degree their work and teaching. It was at first, as we have said, very gradual; no sudden and sharp "revival" can be

marked; and it was well that it should have been so, for such sudden outbursts of religious fervour too often die down and leave behind them no real fruit. But it gathered strength as time went on. Romaine, one of the earliest of the Anglicans who became (about 1748) in real earnest a disciple of Wesley's school of thought, said he could then only reckon up six or seven evangelical clergymen in England. Several years before he died in 1795, there were more than five hundred who were reckoned as closely attached to the evangelical school. In 1764, when Wesley tried to form a union of these men, only some fifty names were suggested as probable adherents.

Among the earliest of the more notorious Anglican followers of Wesley and Whitefield, were William Grimshaw and John Berridge. The names of these two early evangelists are coupled together, as examples of English clergymen who imitated the founders of Methodism in the practice of constantly itinerating through large districts. William Grimshaw, the first of the two (1708–1763), was the intimate friend of the Wesleys and of the leading Methodists, and became a fervid admirer of their ways of working. His Calvinistic views he shared with Whitefield. Throughout his career he continued his duties as a parish priest, which, however, he varied by constant preaching or missionary journeys through Lancashire, Cheshire, and Derbyshire. His own parish, where for many years he laboured with extraordinary assiduity, was Haworth, which in later days acquired a widespread fame as being the home of the author of "Jane Eyre" and her sisters. So world-wide, indeed, is the name of the Brontë family, that Haworth at once suggests memories connected with them, while the name of the once great evangelical teacher is utterly forgotten. But Grimshaw in his day was a real power, and his teaching and life of ceaseless work did much to popularise the new movement in the wide district where he worked. To give one instance of his influence: when he first came to Haworth, it was a desolate and careless parish of that wild Yorkshire county, its roll of communicants scarcely mustering twelve. Before he died the twelve had grown to nigh twelve hundred.

The other name, which we have coupled with that of Grimshaw, was that of John Berridge (1716–1793). He, too, was a follower of Whitefield, not only in his Calvinistic teaching, but in his success in itinerating as a missionary preacher all through the eastern counties. Berridge was rector of Everton in Bedfordshire. This early disciple of evangelicalism made a deep and lasting impression over the wide area (including several counties) embraced by his labours.

Another of these earlier converts to the new school of thought, who have left behind them a considerable reputation as evangelical pioneers, was a man of a very different type from the two fervid though somewhat erratic and eccentric teachers whose careers we have been sketching. James Harvey (1714–1758), a college pupil and the spiritual son of John Wesley, later the parson of Weston Favell in Northamptonshire, was one of the original band of Oxford Methodists, and ranks among the earliest of the evangelicals. His fame was owing to his pen rather than to his

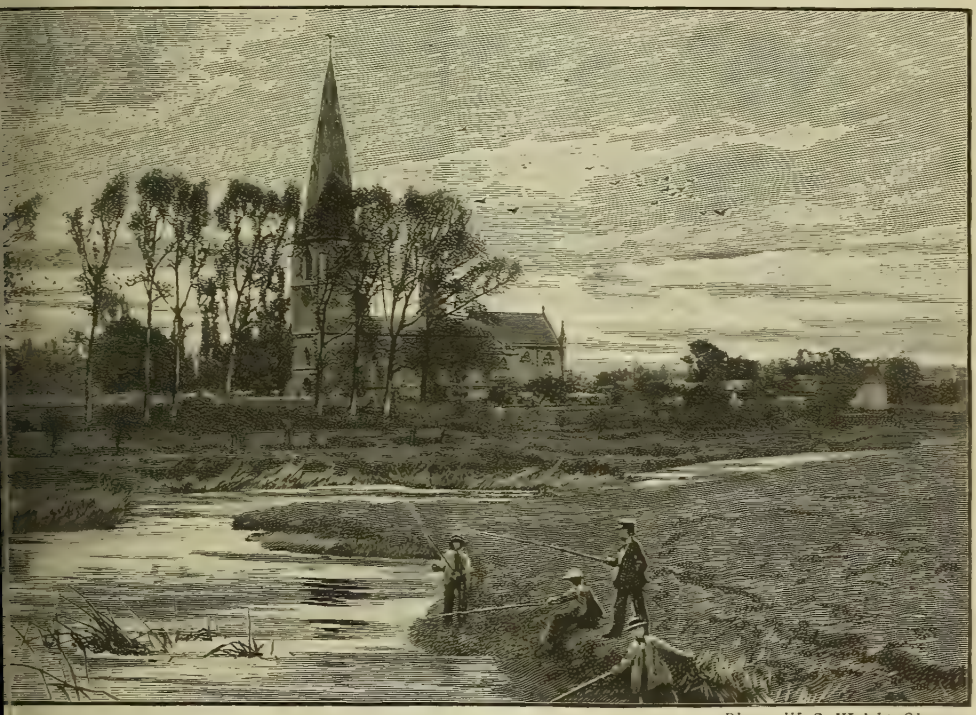
preaching; and his "Meditations," and the subsequently composed "Theron and Aspasia," attained a vast popularity in his day and time. It seems strange to us now that the curiously bombastic and seemingly affected style of his writings could ever have been popular; and yet they were translated into several foreign languages, and were long considered as standard works of divinity. The influence of Harvey through his writings, in the early years of the movement was very great.

THE COUNTESS OF HUNTINGDON.

William Romaine (1714–1795) represented a very different order among the evangelical pioneers who had been stirred by the Methodist fervour. A scholar of no mean acquirements, he held for a time, though with no great distinction, the Gresham professorship of astronomy. As a painstaking Hebraist, and editor of the Hebrew Dictionary and Concordance of Calasio, he obtained considerable distinction in the learned world; but it was as a preacher of singular power and attractiveness that he acquired his great reputation. Most of his middle and later life was spent in London, where he was successively assistant preacher at St. George's, Hanover Square, and St. Dunstan's-in-the-West. He obtained n preferment in the church of which he wa so distinguished an ornament until he wa fifty-two years of age, when he was ap pointed to the rectory of St. Anne' Blackfriars; his well-known loyalty an devotion to the Methodist cause, viewe with suspicion an distrust by th government and b the hierarchy of th church long after had won its wa among the lowe and middle classe effectually pre vented his wel merited advanc ment. Romaine wa the chaplain an intimate adviser lady Huntingdo the well-known p troness and devote friend of Whitefiel until the open sece sion of 1781. F many years he w one of the mo generally respect and influential of the evangelical leaders.

Henry Venn (1724–1797) was anoth of the more remarkable among t Anglican clergy who threw in his lot wi the earlier Methodists. During his elev years' incumbency of the important vic age of Huddersfield, he made his gre reputation as a preacher. In the bu Yorkshire town, and far and wide the central districts of England, he w famed also for his successful pasto

ork, and the noble example he set a devoted parish priest. When ill-ealth compelled him to resign his usy town sphere, he retired into a ountry living, where in something like tirement he spent the last quarter of has been styled* with some truth "one of the four great evangelists of the Church of England in these latter days," the others being John Newton, Thomas Scott, and Joseph Milner, and Venn occupying the first place among the



OLNEY

Photo: W. S. Wright, Olney.

century of his life. Great, however, was the influence of Venn as a eacher and pastor upon the life of e church, his title to posthumous fame inly rests upon his literary work. s devotional work, the "Complete ty of Man," will ever hold a very h place among such serious treatises; is by no means forgotten yet, and still read and admired. Henry Venn evangelicals as the systematic teacher of the whole Christian institutes.

The second of these four, John Newton (1725–1807), "held himself forth and was celebrated by others, as the great living example of the regenerating efficacy of the principles of his school." † His was

* Sir James Stephen's Essays on Ecclesiastical Biography: "The Evangelical Succession."

† *Ibid.*

indeed a strange career. A stormy and dissolute youth and early manhood was spent as a sailor, and subsequently as a slave-dealer. In the American colonies he became acquainted with George Whitefield, and under the mighty influence of the Methodist preacher, the once profane and vicious man was changed into the "Newton of Olney," whose religious fervour and humble earnestness became a household word among those whose piety and self-devotion has wrought so mighty a work in England and her colonies. At the age of thirty-nine he received ordination in the Church of England, and became the curate of Olney, in Buckinghamshire ; this was in the year 1764. His one life's romance was his enduring love for Mary Cattley. It began when she was a girl of fourteen. After seven years of waiting, he married her. The passionate attachment endured till her death, and beyond her death. Among his many writings, which unveiled the inmost thoughts of his soul, he tells us how he watched her die ; how, fearful of brooding over his loss, he preached three times while she lay dead in the house ; and then delivered her funeral sermon.

Newton's published letters, especially one collection, to which he gave the title of "Cardiphonia," had a wide circulation, and found their way into innumerable hearts. The wild and wicked early life was succeeded by half a century of bright Christian endeavour. His sermons, his published letters, his close intimacy with the poet Cowper, his quiet but boundless influence over most of the evangelical leaders of the age, have placed John Newton among the foremost of the makers of the Evangelical school. No one of th great men, perhaps, has succeeded li Newton in convincing sinners where a how they might be saved ; no o perhaps, has with equal force set forth t simple evangelical gospel. He told out the men of his generation what he h been, as "the willing slave of every evil, the seducer of others, as big with misch as ever shunned and despised as a wick man even by the savages among whom once lived ;" and then he showed how ev such a prince among evil men as he h long been, could be saved by looking u Christ, by throwing himself on His me as the mighty, all-powerful Saviour. the new strength thus acquired, showed how the once hardened sin could live a life, if not of happiness, least of blessedness. Men may mock Newton ; may cynically question his ta in thus laying bare the secrets of his hea but few men have swayed the hearts of brethren as did Newton of Olney, or ha turned more erring men into the narr path of holiness and self-devotion. simple secret was his intense passion Christ, as the all-powerful Saviour sinners.

Contemporary with Newton was successor at Olney, Thomas Scott (174 1821). He may justly be consider Newton's spiritual son, for it was un the influence of Newton's life and earn arguments that Scott modelled his lo and laborious career. As curate of Oln then as chaplain of the Lock Hospital London, and finally in the humble a remote benefice of Aston Sandford, t unwearied writer during a prolonged struggled with deep poverty. No patr

range to say, either in the State or in ivate life, arose to help him in his painful reer, although long before his death his me as the greatest Biblical student of e age was known and revered wherever e English language was spoken. He ved, comparatively speaking, unheeded d unknown. But no high preferment ould have done for him what his own domitable perseverance and ceaseless dustry accomplished, and none of the vangelical divines in the last half of the ghteenth century has left behind him more honoured memory. Uncounted ousands have pored over that massive mmentary which bears his name, and ve drawn their one comfort, that one ever-deepening faith, from his quiet lemn words and pious teaching.

In later times men take up one or other the six quarto volumes of Scott's great rk, and often lay it down with a feeling disappointment. It is undeniably often lious, and a great sameness pervades ry part of the gigantic work. The olar who searches for fresh light on puted readings, or hopes for vivid illus- tions drawn from history and geography, who looks for patristic or mediæval , searches in vain : his hopes and pains seldom realised. But as a simple otional commentary it is unrivalled ; as such its words have gone home to hearts of thousands. It is, too, a vast lical treasury, in which Scripture is rpreted mainly by Scripture. Some e even termed it a "magnified con- lance," so rich it is in the comparison ne text or statement with another, y passage of the Bible being carefully ted with the rest bearing upon the same truth. The six great volumes are "not only replete with thought, but with a greater amount or solid thought than perhaps any other man ever accumulated in the solitary and unaided exercise of his own powers of meditation. There they stand, and shall stand for generations yet to come, those bulky tomes!—a huge Cyclopean mass, defying alike the laws of architecture and the tooth of time, a vast artificial granary from which inferior builders may be supplied with materials already wrought and shaped for their puny edifices." *

The popularity of this Commentary, although at once bulky and costly, was enormous in England and in her colonies, 12,000 copies of the English and 25,000 of the American editions being issued before Thomas Scott passed away.† Owing, however, to the simplicity and ignorance of the writer in all business matters, this vast sale brought no relief to his heavy burden of poverty, and only far on in life the noble generosity and devoted friendship of Charles Simeon freed him from the pecuniary troubles which were crushing him. It seems well-nigh incredible that amidst such untoward surroundings, a work of the magnitude and gravity of the great Biblical commentary could ever have been carried to a successful issue. Other works proceeded from his tireless pen, some of deep interest ; notably "The Force of Truth." But his *opus magnum*

* Sir James Stephen's Ecclesiastical Essays : "The Evangelical Succession."

† Mr. Overton ("English Church in the Eighteenth Century") considers that the immediate success, at least in the history of works of similar magnitude, was perhaps almost unparalleled in literary history.

was the Commentary we have described above.

The last of the famous four was Joseph Milner, the ecclesiastical historian (1744–1797). There were two brothers, Joseph and Isaac Milner, both of whom rank as distinguished leaders in the evangelical revival of the century. Isaac, the younger (1751–1820), was the only evangelical clergyman of the period who attained to high preferment in the church. A singularly distinguished senior wrangler, he became professor of mathematics and president of Queen's College, in the university of Cambridge, and subsequently dean of Carlisle ; and during a long life largely contributed through his influence to spread the peculiar views of the evangelical party in his university, and among the clergy of the north of England. But his brother Joseph, the historian, exercised by his writings a far wider influence. His Church History, a very weighty and important contribution to English literature, has been superseded in later years by other and more scientific chronicles, but it was once largely read and studied. One distinguished merit of this great work deserves special mention, viz. his use of the writings of the early fathers,* at a time when patristic literature was little studied. It was said, too, that while Mosheim wrote the history of sinners, Milner dwelt in his work especially on the story of the saints of Christendom. As might have been expected, the work was deeply coloured by his desire to see the peculiar tenets of his party reflected in the teaching the eminent churchmen of all ages.

No general picture of the promine men of the evangelical revival of t eighteenth century, who were thus strong influenced by Wesley, can be consider complete without the beautiful figure the saintly man known as "Fletcher Madeley" (1729-1785) being introduc into it. He was an earnest and so stirring preacher, though not an orat He was a considerable writer, his wor filling some ten volumes. And yet no of his books, highly esteemed though th still are among Wesleyans, are marked any especial excellences. He has le however, behind him a reputation qu unique among his contemporaries. The was a something in this quiet, und tinguished clergyman that impressed who had the good fortune to come contact with him, with the feeling that who had been talking with them ca very lately from the Mount of God. unearthly goodness and rare graciousn seemed to play like an aureole of gl about his homely presence. Very singu was the impression he made on all so and conditions of men, from the rou colliers in his Shropshire parish, to t highly-born countess of Huntingdo Even Voltaire is reported to have co pared the winning character of Fletc of Madeley with that of Jesus Christ. was the occasional visitor and gene superintendent of lady Huntingdo training college for ministers at Treveca and Dr. Benson, the head-master of t institution, gives us some curious det as to the effect of Fletcher's visits. " was received among us," he says, "as

* Cardinal Newman, for instance, traces his first love for patristic literature to his delight in reading the extracts from St. Augustine and other Fathers in Milner's History.

ngel of God. I cannot describe the eneration in which we all held him. Like Elijah in the school of the prophets, e was revered, loved, almost adored. My heart kindles while I write." Mr. however, outlived him for several years. The great founder of the Methodists has left us in his sermon on the text, "Mark the perfect man," the following remarkable description of him as truly a saint of

FLETCHER OF MADELEY.

"If his brother's conscience was wounded with a sense of guilt, he hastened to meet him with healing remedies."—*Benson's Life of Fletcher.*"

nn once replied to one who asked him opinion of Fletcher: "He was a minary—a luminary, did I say? He s a *sun*." John Wesley himself, to om Fletcher was passionately devoted, eemed him above all other men, and at time desired that he should be his cessor and leader of his sect. Wesley, God:—"I was intimately acquainted with him for above thirty years. . . . Many exemplary men have I known, holy in heart and life, within fourscore years, but one equal to him I have not known—one so inwardly and outwardly devoted to God. So blameless a character in every respect I have not found either in Europe

or America, and I scarce expect to find another such on this side of eternity." Fletcher lived and died vicar of the remote and poor parish of Madeley. On one occasion, when asked by one in high position closely connected with the government of the day, whether any preferment would be acceptable to him, he replied, "I want nothing, only more grace." But his influence among the men of the "movement" seems to have been simply boundless—not as preacher, writer, or organiser, but higher still, as "a holy man of God who passeth by us continually."

A very brief notice of one more among the thought-leaders of this spiritual revival will close these brief sketches. Richard Cecil (1748–1810), though an earnest evangelical, was one of those broad-minded Catholics who, while deeply impressed with the fervour of the Methodist preachers and the truth of their favourite doctrines, saw clearly how easily their teaching might pass into exaggeration, and how soon great Catholic truth might be, if not forgotten, at least ignored. He was minister to a wealthy middle-class congregation in Bedford Row, London, and his work lay principally among cultured people. Some of his words are worthy of quotation, as showing what was working in the minds of many of the more thoughtful evangelicals. "The middle path is generally the wise path, but there are few wise enough to find it. Because Papists have made too much of some things, Protestants have made too little of them. . . . Because one party has exalted the Virgin Mary as a divinity, the other can hardly think of that most highly favoured among women w common respect. The Papist puts Apocrypha into his canon ; the Protest will scarcely regard it as an ancient reco The Popish heresy of human merit justification, drove Luther on the ot side into the most unwarrantable unscriptural statements of that doctri Papists consider grace as inseparable fr the participation of sacraments ; Prot tants too often lose sight of them instituted means of conveying grace. His ill-health prevented him from playi the part of a prominent leader in the th logical contests and discussions of the tim but his lofty, pure character, his cultu and reputation for scholarship, procured h a high place among the leading evangelic whose lives and teaching worked so sig a work in the Church of England.

Before the first years of the nineteen century the "evangelicals," as they w generally termed, had become an i portant and influential party in the Engl church, and their work continued to gr The men whose lives and teaching have endeavoured briefly to sketch, a their pupils and followers, "infused into English Church a new fire and passion devotion, kindled a spirit of fervent phil thropy, raised the standard of clerical du and completely altered the tone and te ency of the preaching of its ministers. the close of the eighteenth century evangelical movement had become almost undisputed centre of religious tivity in England." † It was in the ci and principal centres of population t

* From Cecil's "Remains."

† Lecky : "England in the Eighteenth Centu chap. ix.

he new school especially flourished. We ave instanced leading evangelicals in London and York, in Hull, Huddersfield, nd even in the university of Cambridge; nd these are only examples of many in populous centres influenced by the teach- ng of the spiritual sons of Whitefield and he two Wesleys. In the rural districts, lthough, as might have been expected, the novement made slower progress and was ess pronounced, there were still many clergymen of the type of Thomas Scott nd Venn. On the whole, the revival in he Church of England was indeed deep nd far-reaching.

What was the especial doctrine or octrines which inspired this mighty novement? *Something*, surely, had been eeded to kindle those many hearts mong the people, which we have seen in thousand cases were all aflame with a ew enthusiasm for holiness and righteous- ess. We must be studiedly brief here, r it is not the province of a history to scuss theological questions at any length. nly a few guiding thoughts can be in- cated, which may assist the reader of our ory to form some idea of what was the ainspring of the evangelical revival.

First and foremost, it may be laid down absolutely certain that every one the great fundamental dogmas of the tholic Church, such as the doctrine of e Trinity, of the Godhead of the Blessed cond Person in this Trinity, the redemp- n by the precious blood of Christ, the spiration of the Holy Scriptures of the d and New Testaments, was firmly held e by the old-fashioned members of the urch of England and the new evangelical party. The very exposition of these great truths and of other important articles of belief, contained in the great Anglican formularies of the Thirty-nine Articles and the Books of Homilies, were reverently accepted and loyally believed in by the evangelicals. The difference between the new and old schools in the Church of England consisted rather in the greater prominence which the new school gave to some of the articles of belief, and in the comparative neglect with which, in their teaching and preaching, they treated others among these articles.

One somewhat startling novelty, however, was introduced by these earnest devoted men. They maintained, however, that it was no novelty, but that it had ever existed in the church as an article of faith, only it had for ages never been pressed home as it should have been; that it had been neglected rather than denied. This new point, which Wesley, Whitefield, and their companions, and then their spiritual sons, the evangelicals, pressed home with such fervour to the multitudes who listened to their impassioned preaching, was the doctrine of the "new birth" and the necessary consequence of this new birth; the absolute need of a total conversion or regeneration in every man. Closely connected with this teaching of the "new birth," was the belief in the Holy Spirit as personally influencing each individual Christian.

In one important particular the members of the school were divided among themselves. We have seen that Wesley and most of his followers were opposed to Calvinism in any form. Whitefield, on the other hand, and his disciples, were rigid

Calvinists. The evangelicals in the Church of England here followed Whitefield, but not by any means to *all* his conclusions; the names of the great men who adorned the evangelical revival in the Anglican communion, with rare exceptions were Calvinist, but Calvinist in a very modified

to ascribe more to the grace of God an less to the power and free-will of ma This change gave a peculiar colour to h preaching; he exalted in higher strai the grace and love of God in Christ, an spoke less of the power and excellence man. But his Calvinism stopped here.

COWPER'S HOUSE, OLNEY, BUCKS. *Photo: W. S. Wright, Olney.*

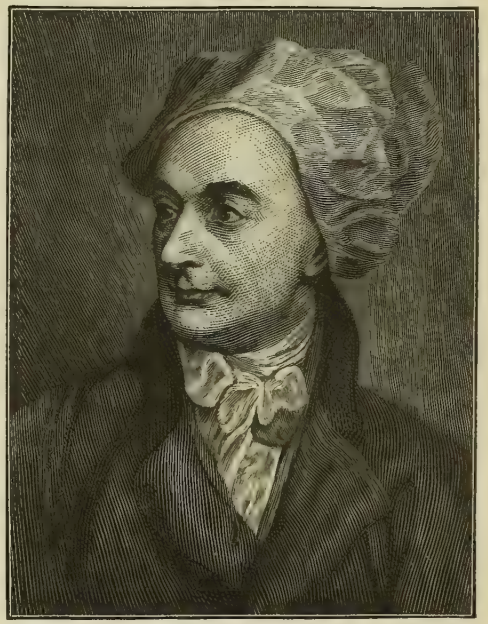
degree. The Calvinism of Newton and Scott, Milner and Cecil, is well painted in the vivid biography of their friend and fellow-leader, Henry Venn. "He had been," we read, "hostile to Calvinism, which he considered repugnant to Scripture and reason; but the experience he now had of the corruption of his nature, of the frailty and weakness of man, of the insufficiency of his best endeavours, led him

These "moderate" Calvinists never see to have dwelt upon the frightful tenet reprobation, so utterly contrary, as they fe to the spirit and teaching of the Divi Master of our faith.

But while these true great ones, to who religion in England owes so vast a de for the new life and vigour inspired their teaching and their lives, preach Christ and pointed to the one Sacr

Figure with a force and directness never perhaps known before,* they failed to give that prominence in their teaching to the blessed sacraments of holy baptism and the Lord's Supper, which the Catholic Church in her purest days was ever careful to press home to men. It was one side, and one side only of true church teaching, which they elected to dwell upon, and that they did it with mighty power and intense conviction is indisputable; but the grave omission—for it was an omission—all true Anglican churchmen, who with an ungrudging admiration look back upon their faithful and true work, unite in deploring.

Nor was it only in their deficient sacramental teaching that the evangelicals failed to embrace the great Catholic tradition. What has been in modern phraseology well termed "distinctive church principles" were largely neglected, if not completely ignored by them; such as "daily services," frequent communions, the regular observance of the church festal and fast days, the due maintenance of ancient ceremonies, uses and practices handed down from an immemorial antiquity, carefully preserved in the Church of England from the days of the Elizabethan settlement, and defined by such men as Parker, Whitgift, Hooker, Andrewes, and Laud. Neglected also, and treated as of little moment by the same party, were all those things that contributed not a little to the reverent beauty of divine worship. Architecture and painting, in their eyes, were things of little moment. In the thoughts of the



WILLIAM COWPER.
(*After a drawing by Romney in* 1792.)

men of this school, art was no handmaid to religion, and symbolism, however beautiful and touching—symbolism which in all the Christian ages had been found so powerful in appealing to many hearts—found no place in the bare and ugly churches and chapels of the men of the evangelical revival; was absent altogether from their plain and studiedly simple services. In many respects, without intention, they

* The words of the famous and well-loved hymn of the evangelical hymnologist, Toplady, are a good example of this vivid portraiture of the Redeemer:

"Nothing in my hand I bring,
Simply to Thy Cross I cling,
Naked, come to Thee for dress,
Helpless, look to Thee for grace,
Vile, I to the fountain fly,
Wash me, Saviour, or I die."

Toplady (1740–1778) was an evangelical clergyman of strong Calvinistic bias, and a prominent writer and preacher of the day. His early death was no doubt hastened by his intense devotion to his work.

reproduced the Puritan extravagances and exaggerations.

Yet in spite of this one-sidedness, in spite of this narrowness and want of appreciation of much that experience has shown was loved and prized by innumerable hearts, these men were in very truth the salt of the earth in their day. The work which they, in spite of obloquy and cold neglect on the part of the ruling powers, in spite of gibes and sneers levelled at them by the wits and men of letters and fashion, succeeded in doing, deserves the thanks of succeeding generations of churchmen. For they aroused the church in a time when a deadly torpor of indifference and sloth was slowly creeping over her. They interested the masses in religious things, at a time when among the people religion was being largely forgotten. Their passionate exhortation and fiery preaching, placarding, so to speak, the image of the Crucified before the dulled eyes, and graving the divine image of the One Sacred Figure upon the world-filled hearts of tens of thousands, reminded England, at an hour when her people seemed in danger of forgetting Him altogether, that Christ was still present among them—a mighty power ready, able, willing to comfort, to strengthen, and to save, the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever! This was the debt our country and its church owes to the leaders of the evangelical revival; and the memory of that great debt must never be obscured—still less forgotten.

"We boast some rich ones, whom the Gospel sways,
And one who wears a coronet and prays." *

* The allusion is to the well-known evangelical nobleman, lord Dartmouth.

So wrote Cowper (1731–1800), the poet
the evangelical revival, with bitter iron
but although the statement in the ve
is somewhat exaggerated, generally
new teaching only touched indirectly
highest classes. The hierarchy in
church, as we have noticed, looked col
on the movement, and their attitude
generally adopted by the government
the day,* by the nobility, and most perso
in the upper ranks of society. It
among the lower and middle classes mos
that the power of the evangelicals l
Still, there were a few distinguished
ceptions.

Of these William Wilberforce was
most notable. The son of a Hull m
chant, who outside his commercial tra
actions possessed large landed prope
in the East Riding of Yorkshire, at
age of ten the young Wilberforce lost
father, and received his earliest traini
at the hands of the famous evangelica
Joseph and Isaac Milner, at the H
grammar-school. As a boy he ga

* "I do not say that in any markedly new deg
they were debarred from the place of authority
the church. With inconsiderable exceptions,
Evangelicals were never in the place at all; an
think they little sought to be. But undoubte
the tendency was, on the whole, putting one b
period aside, rather more than less to keep th
out of it. And, meanwhile, I frankly own Ev
gelicalism had many things to gain from ou
tendencies. Of course it had lessons to learn.
such matters as the corporate aspect of Christ
life, the distinctive place of the Lord's sacrame
in His Gospel, the call to sacred while sim
dignity of worship—to name such things onl
Evangelicals have felt strong influences fr
outsiders."—From *The Evangelical Movement:
Contribution to the Life and Thought of the Ch
during the Victorian Era;* being a paper read at
Nottingham Congress of the Church of Engla
1897, by the Rev. H. G. C. Moule, D.D., princi
of Ridley Hall, Cambridge.

romise of his future distinction as an ator. After leaving Cambridge, at the age twenty-one he was elected to the House Commons. For the first four years of his reer the young and wealthy Yorkshire- an gave no indication of his future inence as a religious leader, but was stinguished in society for his wonderful arm of manner and brilliant conversa- onal powers.

It was in the course of 1784–5, in the urse of a long visit to the south of rance in the company of his old tutor, aac Milner, and other friends, that the ange passed over Wilberforce which in angelical phraseology is known as conversion," or the "new birth." John ewton, of Olney, whose career we have eady briefly sketched, became his viser. With rare wisdom Newton unselled the young and brilliant enthu- st not to exchange his worldly position that of a minister and evangelist, but to his great and growing influence rather a powerful layman for his Master's rk. Wilberforce followed this wise rice, and without any apparent or out- rd change in his pursuits and way of ng, but with God ever in his thoughts, braced himself up for his life's work. religious views were mainly influenced the two Milners, John Newton, Thomas tt, and somewhat later by Henry Venn. Parliament, where already his name was oming known, he boldly professed him- an Evangelical, one of that sect which coldly looked upon, if not despised; was soon looked upon as the leading nan of the party.

Parliament he set himself to carry a noble and difficult task. From the days of his boyhood the shameful sin of slavery had appalled him. While a school- boy, he had written a letter to a York newspaper, protesting against the "odious traffic in human flesh." He determined that the bitter reproach of the slave trade should be wiped out of the statute book, and the curse which weighed so heavily upon the fast-growing colonial empire of England should, so far as England was concerned, exist no longer. Then com- menced for him a long and bitter Parlia- mentary warfare. It was in 1789 that he first publicly proposed the abolition of the slave trade in the House of Commons. The struggle of Wilberforce and his friends before the great object of his life was accomplished, lasted some twenty years. He had aroused, indeed, a formidable opposition when he commenced his long campaign, for the slave-trading and slave- holding interest in the Houses of Parlia- ment was a very strong one. All kinds of delays in investigating the question were interposed, and again and again the undaunted champion sustained defeat in the Commons. The all-powerful minister Pitt, who in theory was on Wilberforce's side, was prevented during the many years he was in office, by political reasons, from giving effect to what he felt was right and just; and the famous minister passed away before that which he had himself de- nounced as the deepest stain upon our national character, and the most enormous guilt recorded in the history of mankind, so far as England was concerned was wiped out and done away with.

But Wilberforce, in spite of repeated failure and disappointment, steadily pur- sued his purpose. His great gifts of

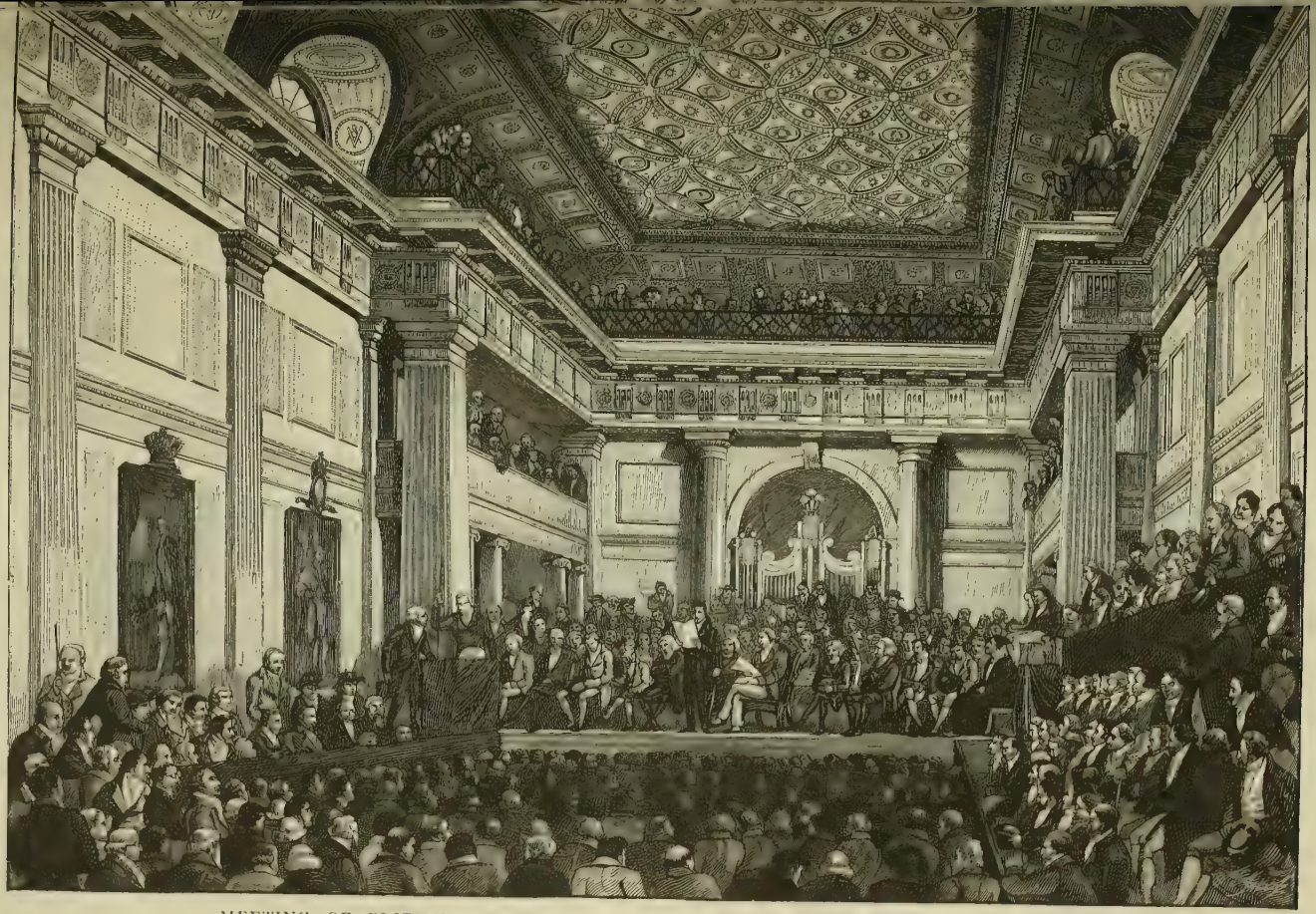
eloquence and intense religious fervour, his winning and singularly attractive personality, year after year were all used to further the great object of his life. The moral sense of the whole evangelical party, strong in numbers and in earnestness, if not in rank and fortune, was on his side; and gradually a persuasion of the awful guilt of the traffic permeated England. At last two bills were introduced by lord Grenville in the House of Lords, under the administration of Mr. Fox, and triumphantly carried; the one abolishing the slave trade with foreign powers, the other forbidding the employment of any British shipping in the traffic which had not already been engaged in it;* while the House of Commons resolved that the slave trade was contrary to the principles of justice, humanity and sound policy. These measures proved the death-blow of the slave trade. The Abolition Bill was passed by an immense majority in the House of Commons in 1807. Wilberforce was universally lauded when the successful end of his long work became generally known.

Still, though this Act of 1807 had put an end to the *traffic* in slaves, much remained to be done before the extinction of slavery in the world-wide British dominions became an accomplished fact; nor was it until 1833 that the Emancipation Bill was passed, when Parliament granted the enormous sum of twenty millions sterling to compensate the planters in the British colonies for the loss of their slaves. Wilberforce, the author of this true piece of Christian work, dying when the object of his life was length reached in all its fulness; and noble old man thanked God that had seen the day when England willing to give the mighty sum of twe millions for the total abolition of slaver

Thus the greatest blot on Christia was wiped out, so far as England and empire was concerned, mainly owing the exertions of the evangelical party its devoted leader. It had even m far-reaching consequences. The gr example set by England bore fruit in great western republic; and the resul the terrible war between the northern southern states in 1861–65 was the f abolition of slavery among the An Saxon peoples. The work of Wilberfo and his friends was accomplished.

But although the name of the g evangelical philanthropist will ever specially associated with the abolitio the curse of slavery; in the surpas glory of the success of that great achi ment, the other useful and beneficent of that noble life must not be lightly pa over. Round Wilberforce gathered a l coterie of earnest and pious men during many years devoted themse with a splendid generosity to work religion and philanthropy. The s influences which inspired Wilberf guided and directed the two Thornt Gisborne, Granville Sharpe, Tho Clarkson, Zachary Macaulay, lords D mouth and Teignmouth, all names wri large in God's golden book of saintly r and others bearing less known appellat who made up that famous group evangelicals known as the "Clap

* No fewer than 60,000 slaves were annually imported in British vessels. *Cf.* Professor Bright: "History of England," Period iii., Constitutional Monarchy, 1806.



MEETING OF BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY IN FREEMASONS' HALL, 1819.
(From a painting by T. Unwins)

Sect." "They were the sons, by natural or spiritual birth, of men who in the earlier days of Methodism had shaken off the lethargy in which till then the Church of England had been entranced, of men by whose agency the great evangelical doctrine of faith, emerging in its primeval splendour, had not only overpowered the contrary heresies but had perhaps obscured some kindred truths." *

Several of those great religious societies which are at once the glory and strength of the Established Church, and indeed of religious England, were the result of their deliberations and wise liberality. First in importance of these was the Church Missionary Society, that great company of the Church of England which "now commands a wider field of action and a more princely revenue than any Protestant association of the same character." In 1783 a little company of the London evangelical clergy, under the name of the "Eclectic Society," including John Newton (of Olney, and later of St. Mary Woolnoth) and Richard Cecil, on several occasions discussed the question of the best method of planting the Gospel in Botany Bay, the East Indies, and in Africa. The result was the foundation in 1799 † of the Church Missionary Society, though the famous title itself was not adopted until 1812. All possible care was taken by its founders not to interfere with the work of kindred missionary associations, such as the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, wh were already at work, but labouring somewhat different lines.

The foundation of the Religious Tr Society was another of the active pieces work carried out by the same zeal a energy working in this Clapham Sect. dates from 1799. Other associations, n ably the Society for the Promotion Christian Knowledge, had already be circulating vast numbers of books a tracts for a lengthened period; Wes and others had distributed thousands these useful and far-reaching little pie of popular literature among the peo where their labours chiefly were laid. I the Religious Tract Society set itself to work on a larger and more systematic sc than had been ever before attempted. permanence, and its enduring popular and usefulness, bears a quiet but power testimony to the need which it suppli Its first chairman was the eccentric thou able and devoted preacher and divi Rowland Hill.

A yet more prominent foundation closely connected with the leaders of great revival: the British and Fore Bible Society. Its operations on a sma scale began as early as 1787, but it was o some sixteen or seventeen years later t the famous association itself was form constituted. Starting in the first insta from a modest attempt to supply the W people with copies of their Scriptures their own tongue (of Welsh Bibles th appears to have been a curious scarcit that time), Wilberforce and a few other that noble group who lived but to help t neighbours and to teach them how to the narrow way of life, conceived the

* Sir James Stephen's Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography: "The Clapham Sect."

† See Excursus on Missionary Effort in the Church of England, etc.

a society which should sow broadcast
er England, and in the yet greater
ngland beyond the seas, copies of the
ok of Life. Associated with Wilberforce
s a little company of evangelicals, with
d Teignmouth, who when Sir John
ore had gained a great reputation as
vernor-general of India, as their first
esident. These men laid the founda-
ns of that mighty organisation which
s now, within a century of its first
eeting, provided the nations of the world
th more than three hundred * separate
nslations and version of the Bible more
less entirely, this marvellous series of
rsions of the Book of Life being the work,
use the Society's own words, "of a great
ny of devoted scholars." The Bible
ciety's *annual* issue of Bibles, Testaments,
l single books or groups of the Scriptures
ounts, in the closing years of the nine-
nth century, to nearly four millions.
the distribution of these, above a
usand persons of both sexes are in the
vice of this mighty association.

The London Missionary Society had
n established a few years before, in 1795,
must also be considered an outcome
he great revival. It was founded on a
ader and more inclusive basis than the
urch Missionary Society, and included
senters as well as evangelical church-
n. This powerful missionary association
er took root, however, in the Church
ngland, and is now supported mainly
he Congregationalists. The Wesleyan
ionary Society, now a vast and far-

reaching association, in its early days also included among its first supporters the leading men of the Clapham sect, but it has passed in later times entirely into the hands of the Wesleyan body.

In this brief summary of the results of the "revival," the rise and progress of which we have been sketching, the institution of Sunday schools, now one of the most powerful and effective agencies in the Church of England as well as among the Nonconformist communions, must not be forgotten. This simple but wondrously successful machinery for interesting and instructing the children of the people in the doctrines and practice of the Christian faith belongs to the same movement, and dates from the middle of the eighteenth century. There were Sunday schools here and there probably as early as 1765. But the real organiser of these wonderful English schools was Robert Raikes of Gloucester, a loyal member of the Church of England, who in his ancient cathedral city established the first Sunday school in 1781. One of his rules was that the scholars should attend the cathedral service. There was some opposition at first among the dignitaries of the church to this novel organisation; but as its wonderful adaptability to all descriptions of congregations, especially in cities, became manifest, the opposition soon died down, and the evangelical clergy especially were distinguished before the end of the century for their zeal in adopting the new departure. Within a century and a quarter of the first conception of the idea, of the innumerable churches and chapels in England and her vast colonies, and in the United States, scarcely could one be found

*The present number of these translations and
ons nearly reaches three hundred and fifty!
than fifty bishops and dignitaries of the
can communion are among the vice-presidents
e Society.

without its Sunday school, numbering its few or many little scholars of both sexes.*

But although the church was gradually invigorated by the evangelical revival; although the spirit of religious enterprise and devotion was awakened from the slumber into which it had fallen, it must not be supposed that the new victory of faith was lightly and easily won. Very bitter, indeed, especially during the earlier years of the movement, was the opposition —an opposition which often took the form of bitter hostility to the new school of the evangelicals and their teaching. Nor were the causes of this opposition at all difficult to gauge. Throughout England the established church was a fair representative of the country. There was a general longing for quiet in England. The sleepy condition into which religion had sunk satisfied the people. There was no enthusiasm; zeal of any kind was sneered at. The policy of Walpole, who so long was *the* minister, as we have already noticed, lay like a dead hand upon all religious enterprise and on all impulses of self-devotion. Convocation, silenced as it was, was unable to initiate any fresh departure in work, either at home or in the form of missionary work abroad. Nor could it take in hand any of the more flagrant abuses in the church. Reform, progress, a more earnest church life in any direction seemed impossible, and, what was singular, all seemed to acquiesce in this state of stagnation. If any active feeling at all was manifested, it took the form of a hatred Puritanism, with which in some mi Methodism and evangelicalism were clos associated. The fierce, widespread anim ity which the "saints" had aroused in time of the great trouble, had by no me died down in the earlier years of eighteenth century. Thus, when Meth ism began to make its existence fel Methodism with its restless, burning, so what disturbing enthusiasm—no won that it aroused far and wide feelings fierce hostility.

There is no doubt that alongside new and nobler tastes, aims, hopes wh it aroused, was much that the calm a dispassionate critic could find fault wi In the great revival meetings held Wesley and Whitefield, many thousa were stirred up to lead purer, better liv to turn their thoughts to God and religio but there were in these vast assembl not a few sad and painful scenes of hyste evoked by the passionate oratory of eloquent and fervid evangelicals. Ma we read, in these strange assemblies fel the ground convulsed with paroxysms agony. The air was occasionally rent w wild screaming; the great revival especially in its earlier phases, not un quently accompanied with all the phe mena of strong spiritual excitement, stra and unknown in those days of letha and carelessness in all religious matt These spiritual excesses, these regrett extravagances, were quickly seized up and sharply criticised by those who disli the new school. Such critics were bl to the marvellous awakening of the m and had only eyes for the mischief wor upon the few.

* The Sunday school of the writer of this History, during his ten years' incumbency of St. Pancras (London), numbered about three thousand scholars and teachers.

THE ORIGIN OF SUNDAY SCHOOLS: HARE LANE, GLOUCESTER, 1780.
(*From the painting by Robert Dowling.*)

With greater reason churchmen complained of the insubordination of the Methodist converts among the clergy, of their disregard of all parochial order and discipline, of their neglect of church customs, however venerable, and ritual, however ancient and legalised. Wesley, while professing allegiance to the Church of England and its laws and government, openly affirmed that "the world was his parish," and his disciples naturally followed and often went beyond, the words spoken and the example set by their master. All this naturally excited much dislike and even enmity, alike in church and in state. In spite of the enormous and ever-increasing influence and power of the new departure among the masses, the Methodist was an unpopular person, and for years, with the majority of the cultured classes especially, was the object of ridicule and sarcasm. He was keenly satirised in the popular literature of the age. The lines of the great poet in the "Dunciad" are worth quoting, as they show the scorn with which the Methodist preacher (Whitefield is even named) was held by distinguished men of letters :—

"As when the long-eared milky mothers wait
At some sick miser's triple-bolted gate,
For their defrauded, absent foals they make
A moan so loud. . . .
So swells each wind-pipe; ass intones to ass.
Harmonic twang! of leather, horn and brass;
Such as from lab'ring lungs th' enthusiast blows,
High sound, attemper'd to the vocal nose;
Or such as bellow from the deep divine.
There, Webster! pealed thy voice, and Whitefield, thine!
In Tot'nam Fields the brethren with amaze
Prick all their ears up, and forget to graze."*

As in poetry, so in the famous prose writers, we find the same contemptu estimate. Fielding puts into the mouth Parson Adams in "Joseph Andrew (1742), the following criticism of Wh field's doctrine of faith against g works: "Surely that doctrine was coi in hell, and none but the devil him could have the confidence to preach The imprisoned Methodist in "Ameli (1751) is a rogue. A few years later, 1771, the same sect was mercile satirised by Smollett in "Humph Clinker." The sorry hero of the celebra story, Mr. Bramble's footman, the lo of the waiting-maid, Winifred Jenki is an occasional Methodist preach Anstey (1724-1805), in the "New B Guide," treats them no better. And i only in the writings of the Method and evangelicals themselves that we f any true appreciation of the mighty w they accomplished in influencing soci and in deepening the religious life England. We would instance here Cow (1731-1800), who will ever hold a h position in the illustrious gallery of poets. Cowper was a fervid evangeli and the dear friend of John Newton Olney. Young, another well-known p whose "Night Thoughts" (published 17 will ever take its place among our Eng classics; James Hervey, the author of "Meditations," and of the "Theron Aspasia," already alluded to; Henry Broo who published his famous "Fool of Quali in 1766, were all earnest members of evangelical party, as was also Hannah M (1745-1833). From the poems and var writings of these, we form a juster vie the spirit of the Methodists and e gelicals. But it is, after all, in the po

* Pope: "The Dunciad," book ii., 246.

Pope, and in the popular romances of elding and Smollett, that the real ling of the wits and great literary men the age towards the men of the ngelical movement is most accurately rrored.

The attitude of the more thoughtful of e hierarchy of the Church during the ond half of the eighteenth century, hough distinctly hostile to the move- ent,* yet was, notwithstanding, evidently luenced and coloured by the wave of rnestness set in motion by the new werful evangelical preaching and teach- g. For instance, Dr. Secker, archbishop Canterbury (1758–1768), while speaking the new sect [of evangelicals] as retending to the strictest piety," goes in the same charge delivered to the h-diocese in 1758, with an exhortation his clergy to emulate what is good in m [the evangelicals], avoiding what is . Secker urged his clergy to "edify ir flocks with awakening, but with onal and scriptural discourses." "The h," pursued the archbishop, "I fear is many if not most of us have dwelt little on the doctrines of the Trinity, ist's sacrifice, and the sanctification of Spirit in our sermons; by no means, I eve, as disbelieving or slighting them, . . . partly from fancying them e so generally received and remem- d that little need to be said but on l obligations; partly, again, from not ng studied theology deeply enough to treat of them ably and beneficially. God grant it may never have been for want of inwardly experiencing their importance. But whatever the cause, the effect hath been lamentable. Our people have grown less and less mindful of the distinguishing articles of their creed. . . . They have forgotten in effect their Creator as well as their Redeemer and Sanctifier, seldom or never worshipping Him, or thinking of their souls in relation to Him, but flattering themselves that what they are pleased to call a moral and harmless life, though far from being either, is the one thing needful. Our vindication will be to preach fully and frequently these doctrines, yet so as to reserve a due share to the duties of common life, which it is reported some of our censurers do not."

These wise though somewhat cold words, spoken by the primate in his charge of 1758, ring with an apologetic note. Evidently the words of Wesley and Whitefield and their school had sunk deeply into archbishop Secker's soul, and he felt that there was much that was true and real in the Methodist contention, and that the ways and teaching of the church over which he ruled were grievously lacking. He touches some of the gravest doctrinal points urged by the new school, and presses them upon his own clergy for adoption.

Bishop Warburton of Gloucester (1698–1779), whose great services to the Church of England as a writer and theologian we have already spoken of, is a good example of the position taken up by the scholarly divines of his school towards the extraordinary religious outburst of Methodism.

* This bias on the part of the hierarchy is unmistakably shown by the care which was taken to advance any of the prominent evangelicals (as in the solitary case we have mentioned of Mr. Milner, the dean of Carlisle) to posts of rank and distinction in the Establishment.

Warburton had little sympathy with any revival movement, and indeed, while fully allowing the miraculous conversions of apostolic times, deemed it an impossibility that the splendour of these gifts of the Holy Spirit could ever re-appear in the church. *It belonged alone to the first age*, and was and could not be ever repeated.

ARCHDEACON WM. PALEY.
(*From the portrait by Sir Wm. Beechey, prefixed to his works*, 1819.)

Warburton even quoted the case of the regicides in the great trouble. "They were," he once wrote, "mostly enthusiasts, of the same kind as the Methodists . . . and though these Methodists ought not to be persecuted, yet the clergy are right in giving no encouragement to this spirit." Bishop Horsley (1733–1806), who was bishop of St. David's, 1788–1800, when he was translated to the see of St. Asaph, in his first charge to the diocese of St. David's in 1788, evidently felt with archbish Secker, whose words, spoken some ye before, we have quoted. He clearly w deeply moved by the teaching of t great Methodist revivalists, and recognis the faults and deadness of the preachi of the clergy of his own Anglican co munion. This eminent divine of c church, in his primary charge, th spoke :—"A dread of the pernicio tendency of some extravagant opinions persons more to be esteemed for t warmth of their piety than the soundn of their judgment . . . have giv credit to another maxim which I ne hear without extreme regret, either fr the pulpit or in familiar conversatio that practical religion and morality one and the same thing, that moral dut constitute the whole or by far the bet part of practical Christianity. . . These maxims have a pernicious influe upon the ministry of the Word, and ha contributed much to divest our sermons the genuine spirit and savour of Chri anity, and to reduce them to mere mo essays. The compositions which are t day [he was writing in 1788, some thi years or more after the rise of Methodis delivered from our pulpits are, I think general of a more Christian cast than w often heard thirty years since, when I f entered the ministry. Still the dry str of preaching is too much in use. . . The Trinity, Incarnation, Expiation, In cession, and Communion with the H Spirit, are supposed above the reach the people." The charge of this lear and eminent theologian showed that while standing aloof from Wesley and e the later evangelical school which was

esult of the Methodist movement, had runk deeply of the spiritual truths which nese despised men had preached with such nspicuous success among the people, and nat he longed for the day when the clergy f his own Anglican communion would in nany respects follow the example of the Methodist and evangelical preachers. hey were right, he felt, in their estimate f true Christian teaching, even if their ays were eccentric, perhaps fanatical, and neir actions irregular and insubordinate. he famous charge of Horsley is, in fact, a igorous defence of evangelical preaching. e contemptously terms the dry moralists the Establishment "apes of Epictetus."* Archdeacon William Paley, the author the much-studied "Natural Theology," nd the more valuable "Evidences" 743-1805), was similarly influenced by te evangelical teaching of the revivalists, d with equal earnestness in one of his ell-known charges thus characterises the eless preaching of the church, no doubt ch the sermons and teaching of the new hool in his mind: "We are setting up a kind of philosophical morality, detached from religion and independent of its influence, which may be cultivated, it is said, without Christianity as well as with it, and which if cultivated, renders religion and religious influences superfluous. We are in such haste to fly from religion and superstition, that we are approaching to an insensibility to all religious influence. I do not mean to advise you to bring men back to enthusiasm, but to retard, if you can, the progress toward an opposite and worse extreme."

Before the sands of the hour-glass of the eighteenth century had run out, the Methodist, or as they were later commonly called, the evangelical doctrines, had thoroughly permeated the teaching of the Established Church. More or less every pulpit in England was affected by them, even though the pulpit were occupied by a preacher who studiedly stood aloof from all sympathisers with the new departure; while the evangelical party, properly so called, who openly professed their devotion and zeal for these great truths, so long dormant in all public teaching, "though still a minority, had become a large and influential section of the English Church."*

* Lecky.

Epictetus was a Phrygian stoic philosopher, o taught at the close of the first century, at ne first, and later at Nicopolis. His philsophy, briefly, was a system of creedless practical teousness. Horsley bitterly reproached the lican clergy with being his slavish imitators.

CHAPTER LXXIII.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, 1800–1833.

Effects of the Continental War—Pictures of Church Life in the Early Nineteenth Century—Li and Shadow—General Shortcoming in Care and Reverence—Prejudice against Hymns—Decay Neglect of the Buildings—Sketch of the Anglican School of this Period—Dr. Sikes of Guisboro —His Remarkable Prophecy—Hugh James Rose and other Anglican Leaders—The Hierarch Societies Founded by the Anglican School—The Education Question and the National Societ The Evangelical Party—Charles Simeon of Cambridge—His Life, Work, and Influence—Its B ing on Missionary Work—Cambridge a Centre of Evangelical Teaching—London another s Centre — Defects of the Evangelical School — What it has Done — Gradual Decline of Chu Influence—The Utilitarian School—A Moment and Crisis of Real Peril to the Church of Englan

THE nineteenth century opened with church life considerably renewed and invigorated by the great Evangelical revival sketched in our last chapter. But although the revival had touched many centres, especially in the towns, it was after all somewhat sporadic. Its nature was, indeed, rather calculated to influence individuals or congregations than the corporate life of the church. The circumstances, too, of the time were unfavourable to any marked development of religious activity and earnestness. For the first fifteen years of the century the one object which filled men's minds was the great Continental war. The very exhortations of the clergy were often coloured with the all-absorbing topic.

We possess some pictures of church life as it existed in that period, drawn by master-hands, able leaders in the hierarchy, who from their official position were admirably fitted to form a just estimate of the condition of things. Dr. Porteous, bishop of London, in his Lenten Lectures, 1798–1801, writes that the reason of his delivering the course in question was "because the state of kingdom—political, moral, and religiou was so unfavourable as to excite the m serious alarm in every mind of reflectio Bishop Horsley, who stands in the fr rank of the abler bishops of the day, in charge to the clergy of the diocese Rochester, 1800, tells us that "no crisi any period of time since the moment our Lord's departure from the earth, more demanded than the present, vigilant attention of the clergy of all ra from the prelate to the village curate the duties of the weighty charge for wh we are called. . . . We have seen in ev part but little correspondence between lives of men and their professions, a gen indifference about the doctrines of Ch tianity, a general neglect of its duti Bishop Burgess of St. David's, again, in address to the clergy on the occasion o translation to Salisbury in 1825, w that in 1803, when he first came am them, he found the churches and ecc astical buildings generally in a ruin condition. Many of the clergy in distant diocese, he noticed, were imperf

ducated, and disgraced their profession y inebriety and other degrading vices.*

From a very different man and in nother centre—Charles Simeon, of Cam-ridge—we learn that the service in his col-ege chapel (King's) was most irreverently erformed, that among the undergraduates eligious life in any "social" sense of that ord was unknown. No "Holy Club" f Cambridge Methodists existed to draw iem together and to diffuse their nfluence. Outside Cambridge, in the ien woefully neglected country side, imeon in the earlier days of his career, hich corresponded to the latter years the eighteenth century, acted as an inerant, preaching even at times in barns id in many an unlicensed place to the forgotten" farm servants. Confirmation as too commonly treated as the most erfunctory of church services, and the onfirmation day was sometimes little tter than a noisy holiday.†

Mr. J. A. Froude, drawing from his own mily experiences, gives us the following aphic picture of a good ordinary speci-en of a high-class country parson of the ne: "The curate of the last century, no dined in the servants' hall and married the lady's maid, has long disappeared, if he had ever existed outside popular novels. Not a specimen of him could have been found in the island. The average English incumbent [he is writing of the first quarter of the nineteenth century] was a man of private fortune, the younger brother of the landlord, perhaps, and holding the family living, or it might be the landlord himself, his advowson being part of the estate. His professional duties were his services on Sunday, funerals and weddings on week-days, and visits where needed among the sick. In other respects he lived like his neighbours, distinguished from them only by a black coat and white neckcloth, and greater watchfulness over his words and actions. He farmed his own glebe, he kept horses, he shot and hunted moderately, and mixed in general society. He was generally a magistrate. . . . His wife and daughters looked after the poor, taught in the Sunday school, and managed the penny clubs and clothing clubs.* His own household, the great historian pro-ceeds to say, was a fair representative of the others, his father being a rector, an archdeacon, and a justice of the peace. His brothers and he were excellently educated, and were sent to school and college. The spiritual lessons did not go beyond the catechism. They were told their business in life was to work, and to make an honourable position for themselves. About doctrines, Evangelical and Catholic, the writer tells us he did not think he ever heard a single word, *in church or out of it.* The institution (the Church of England) had drifted into the

* This does not, however, appear to have been the case in any of the English dioceses.

† Dr. Moule in his "Life of Simeon," indeed, says that the religious life in the villages outside Cambridge, in these early days of Simeon's ministry, was not unlike the picture we have, some thirty years before, in John Wesley's time (1763). "The churches in the neighbourhood were very usually served by Fellows of colleges, who rode out from Cambridge on Sunday, and contrived to accomplish three or even four morning services in succession. To expedite the process, a signal was sometimes concerted between the parson and the clerk: the passing of a flag assured the rider that there was a congregation, and that he might pass on in peace."

* *The Oxford Counter-Reformation:* "Short Studies," by J. A. Froude, vol. iv.

condition of what he called moral health. "It did not instruct us in mysteries, it did not teach us to make religion a special object of our thoughts; it taught us to use religion as a light by which to see our way along the road of duty. . . . Doctrinal controversies were sleeping. People went to church because they liked it, because they knew that they ought to go, and because it was the custom; they had received the creeds from their fathers, and doubts about them had never crossed their minds."

The writer* of the above personal reminiscence of the machinery of the Church of England in a typical country district gives us as his conclusion, that the church in question, though not perfect, was still doing its work satisfactorily. Such a conclusion, however, would scarcely be accepted by the more earnest men of either of the schools of religious thought.

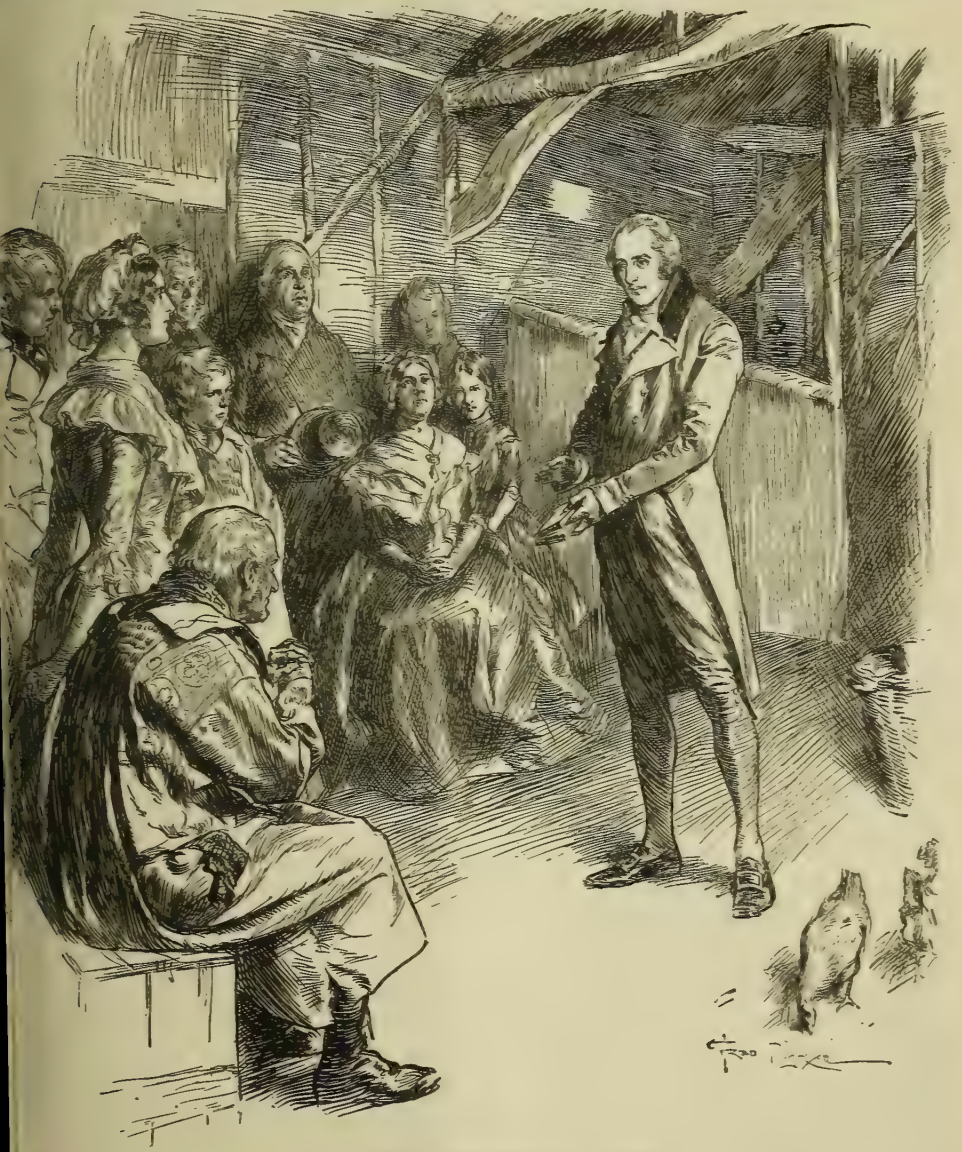
In the hierarchy, during these earlier years of the nineteenth century, a curiously confused estimate of the duties and example of a bishop existed. It seems to have been a recognised custom for the prelate of an English see to add to his revenues the income of other important preferments, without any regard to the obligations which the holding of such preferment would naturally seem to entail. To give examples of men of the highest reputation, thus apparently so careless of seemin inescapable responsibilities: the very va able living of Stanhope had been held three successive prelates when its rec Dr. Phillpotts, was made bishop of Exe in 1830; bishop Courtenay held living of St. George's, Hanover Squa with its vast population; bishop Pelh a Sussex living, and bishop Bethell a livi in Yorkshire, each with the see of Exet Bishop Rider was dean of Wells, a bishop Blomfield rector of Bishopsga during their episcopate. Bishop Coplesto of Llandaff was also dean of St. Paul's.*

On the other hand, we have undoubt testimonies to the good work done a exemplary lives lived by many of t clergy of different ranks in various parts England at the same period. For instan Dr. Howley, bishop of London, afterwa archbishop of Canterbury, in his fi charge to the London diocese in 18 writes of his clergy as "respected a respectable as a body for piety, learni and conscientious attention to th pastoral care, and abounding with memb distinguished in an eminent degree by the qualifications which bestow attracti and intrinsic worth"; and again in 18 he repeats, "his anticipations had be realised by the experience of five yea A body more truly respectable for learni and piety than the clergy of the diocese

* A peculiar interest is attached to Mr. J. A. Froude's memories here. He is known, of course, wherever the English language is spoken or read, as a brilliant and picturesque historian of the first rank. He is, however, not always remembered as the brother of Richard Hurrell Froude, one of the earliest and most influential of the famous Tractarian Oxford School, Cardinal Newman's dearest friend. R. H. Froude died in 1836.

* These examples are taken from Canon Overto "The English Church in the Nineteenth Centur chap. i. The excuse, not altogether a vain o for this abuse was the curious inequality of revenues of the English sees. While in so cases a princely income was attached to the offi in others a miserably inadequate stipend was p vided, which really needed eking out from ot sources. But this system of pluralities was disastrous resource, and worked much evil.

ondon will not easily be found." In 33 Van Mildert, bishop of Durham, said



CHARLES SIMEON PREACHING IN A BARN.

the House of Lords, that "his clergy the diocese of Durham were a valuable body of men, attentive to their duties." Bishop Kaye of Lincoln in 1831 thus spoke generally of the clergy of the Church of England: "There never was a time,

perhaps, when the clergy stood in less need of being urged to a diligent performance of their duties, when they entertained juster notions of the responsibility attaching to their ministerial character."

Thus during these first thirty years or more of the nineteenth century, in the established church, light evidently alternated with shadow, and it would be manifestly unjust to accuse the church generally of neglect and indifference. It is clear that the state of languor and torpor, so especially noticeable in the first half of the eighteenth century, no longer existed, save in certain localities. It is equally certain, however, that many abuses still existed, that much coldness and deadness was still noticeable; that, comparatively speaking, there was little real enthusiasm. Men were too contented with the state of things around them, to make any great effort to arouse a fervid spirit of godliness and devotion. What was done in the cause of religion and true self-sacrificing philanthropy, was confined to certain centres only.

In this period, too, there was not a little slovenliness and want of care and reverence in the church services, especially in the more remote country districts.* In the matter of celebrating the Holy Eucharist, bishop Horsley of Rochester, above quoted as one of the foremost and ablest of the Anglican prelates of the time, in his second charge, dated 1800, thus writes: "Four celebrations in the year are the very fewest that ought to be allowed in the very smallest parishes: it were be wished that it were in all more freque Many years later a correspondent in *British Critic* tells us how in 1832 in m country villages the sacrament of Lord's Supper was administered four ti a year—Easter, Whitsuntide, Michael and Christmas. This rareness of cele tions was evidently a noticeable fact in life of the church during the early par the century, in a vast number of churc There were, of course, many honour exceptions to this state of things, especi in London and in the great centres population. The liturgy also was o needlessly mutilated and cut short. ante-communion service was very freque read at the prayer-desk.

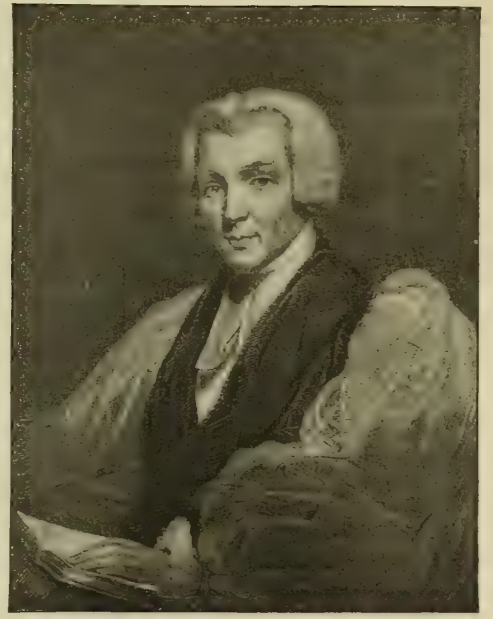
Another regrettable feature in the chu life of the period was that the singing the music in the Anglican church almost invariably neglected and unimp sive. An unreasoning prejudice aga hymns, because they savoured of "Meth ism," long prevailed. The great evan lists of the eighteenth century had e recognised what a powerful instrument arouse fervour and devotion existed hymnology, and they were not slow avail themselves of it. The Evangeli who inherited much of their theory practice, it is true, introduced this sing of hymns in their services; but in a l section of the church this hymn-sing was discouraged, and the cold and c "New Version of the Psalms fitted the tunes used in Churches" of Tate Brady,* was long preferred to the fervid

* Canon Overton in his "Church of England in the Nineteenth Century" devotes a long and somewhat exhaustive section to this subject (chap. v., pp. 127–163). Only a few typical examples are given in the text.

* This once well-known Metrical Version of Psalms, and which still, with a meagre Supple of Church Hymns, is appended to the "Boo Common Prayer," at the close of the ninete

nspiring sacred songs which the Methodist evivalists had introduced with so much ffect and power. Reginald Heber, afterards bishop of Calcutta, a true poet and ymnologist, in vain applied for the sanction of such devout and earnest prelates as Manners-Sutton, archbishop of Canterbury, nd Howley, bishop of London, to authorise he use of a hymn-book he had carefully repared for his own parish of Hodnet. t is to the high honour of the Evangelical arty in the church, that their persistent ndeavours at last revolutionised the old ead and uninspiring school of church usic. But it was many years before is powerful auxiliary to popular worship as really introduced into the services of ie Church of England. It is an unoubted fact that during the first thirty ears of the century music was slighted, not ignored generally, in the services the Establishment.

Early in the nineteenth century the eglect of week-day services was noticeble. From contemporary records it is ear that, in London at least, saints' day rvices and week-day services generally ere more numerous in the early years of te eighteenth, than in the first quarter the nineteenth century. Daily services em to have been, if not unknown, at st very rare. In a church periodical considerable weight, *The British Magaine*, in the issue for 1832 we read the following plea advanced in support of cathedrals: "Is it nothing that cathedrals are the only Protestant churches in England which preserve the *daily* offering of supplication and thanksgiving?" Bishop Horsley, in his charge to the Rochester



WILLIAM HOWLEY, D.D., AFTERWARDS ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.
(*After the painting by W. Owen, R.A.*)

diocese in 1808, sadly remarks that "the festivals and fasts of the church are, I fear not without some connivance of the clergy, gone too much into oblivion and neglect. There can be no excuse for the neglect of the feast of Our Lord's Nativity and the stated fasts of Ash Wednesday and Good Friday, even in the smallest county parishes; but in towns and the more populous villages the church ought certainly to be opened for worship on the forenoon at least of every day in the Passion week, of the Mondays and

tury is little more than the "shadow of a nne." *Nahum Tate* was born in 1652, and subquently became Poet Laureate. *Nicholas Brady*, n 1659, was successively chaplain to William Mary and Queen Anne. The "Metrical Verin," under the joint authorship of Tate and dy, supplanted Sternhold and Hopkins's renring. The Supplement of Church Hymns was ed in 1700.

Tuesdays of Easter week and Whitsuntide, on the Epiphany, and on some if not all of the other festivals." Such a grave reminder from a prelate like bishop Horsley shows how very lax and neglectful was the church at this period in this particular.

Photo : Chester Vaughan, Acton, W.

STOKE POGIS CHURCH.

A marked improvement was, however, noticeable as the century advanced.

A carelessness, which became in many instances a sad neglect, in the attention paid to the fabric of the churches, was another deplorable characteristic feature of this period. It has been remarked that "in England no church was erected of the smallest pretensions to architectural design between the Reformation and the great fire of London in 1666, with the solitary exception of the small church in Cove Garden erected by Inigo Jones in 1631." A large proportion of the village churc thus date from the fifteenth century, a very many from a yet more remote peri In the earlier years of the nineteen century not a few of these venerable fab presented a dreary spectacle of negl For years just enough had been done prevent them falling into ruin, but li more; and often what little had been d was unsightly and even irreverent. T words of a charge of archbishop Seck written in 1750, placed side by side w the description in an article publish

* Ferguson: "History of the Modern Styl Architecture."

the *British Critic*, 1827, on the state the country churches, reveal a state of ings so strangely similar, that we see tle or nothing had been done during ose eighty years:—

ABCHBISHOP SECKER'S CHARGE, 1750.

"Some of these untry churches have, ear, been scarce kept necessary present re- ir, and others by no ans duly cleared from noyances which must dually bring them to ay, water undermin- and rotting the foun- tions, earth heaped against the outside, eds and shrubs grow- upon them—too fre- ntly the floors are anly paved, or the lls dirty and patched, the windows ill zed or, it may be, part stopped up. The rches are damp, of- sive, and unwhole- e. . . . Why uld not the Church God, as well as every- hg else, partake of improvements of r times?"

British Critic, APRIL, 1827, ART. X.

"Let any one make a circuit of the villages throughout a considerable portion of these realms. On looking at the exterior of the church, he will often find it half buried beneath the mould which has been suffered to accumulate round it for ages and to spread a gradual decay throughout the walls and foundations. On entering it he will find that the external provision for perpetuating dampness and discomfort within has succeeded to admiration. The walls will appear decorated with hangings of green, a carpeting of the same pattern covers the floor, and the very first and last thoughts which are excited by the whole appearance of the building are those of ague, catarrh, and rheumatism."

The churchyard—God's acre—shared in general desolation and neglect of the rics. The beautiful and reverently kept d's acre, which now is one of the most hetic and attractive adjuncts to so hy of our village homes of prayer; cemetery hard by the city or the n, bright with flowers and pleasant h their tenderly cared-for lawns and hs, were things unknown in the eighteenth century and in the earlier part of the nineteenth. In town and country alike grim neglect was the feature generally observable in these sacred enclosures. Until even comparatively late in the latter century, the appearance of a London churchyard was to the last degree repulsive and even shocking. By no means exaggerated were the following lines,* written in 1775; they describe only too faithfully the state of things in churchyards, alike in country villages and in great cities such as London:—

"Here nauseous weeds each pile surround,
And things obscene bestrew the ground;
Skulls, bones in mouldering fragments lie,
All dreadful emblems of mortality."

In his famous "Elegy written in a country churchyard" (about 1751), Gray writes:

"Beneath those rugged elms, that yew tree's shade,
Where heaves the turf in many a *mould'ring* heap,
Each in his narrow cell for ever laid,
The rude forefathers of the hamlet sleep.

* * * * *

Perhaps in this *neglected* spot is laid,
Some heart once pregnant with celestial fire,
Hands that the rod of empire might have swayed
Or waked to ecstasy the living lyre."

But although the great war which lasted for the first fifteen years of the century had to a very considerable extent damped church enthusiasm and progress; had stood in the way of any large expenditure either upon the building of new churches, so necessary considering the rapid growth in the population of the country, or even upon the very needful repairs of church fabrics; had crippled also important philanthropic schemes; still, during this period and the

* T. Webb: preface to "Collection of Epitaphs," quoted in Abbey and Overton's "Church of England in the Eighteenth Century," chap. x.

years immediately following the battle of Waterloo and the peace, there was, if not enthusiasm, at least much quiet work and gradual progress in the Church of England. In our somewhat necessarily brief sketch of this, on the whole, uneventful time, we will preserve the well-known names of the two great parties into which the Church may be said to have been divided—the High Church and the Evangelical. In substitution for one of these appellations some writers prefer the terms, the "orthodox" and the "Evangelical." Such a term as the first of these, applied to one party in the Church emphatically, is unjust and unfair, and would suggest to the unbiassed reader a difference in grave doctrinal points which certainly does not exist.

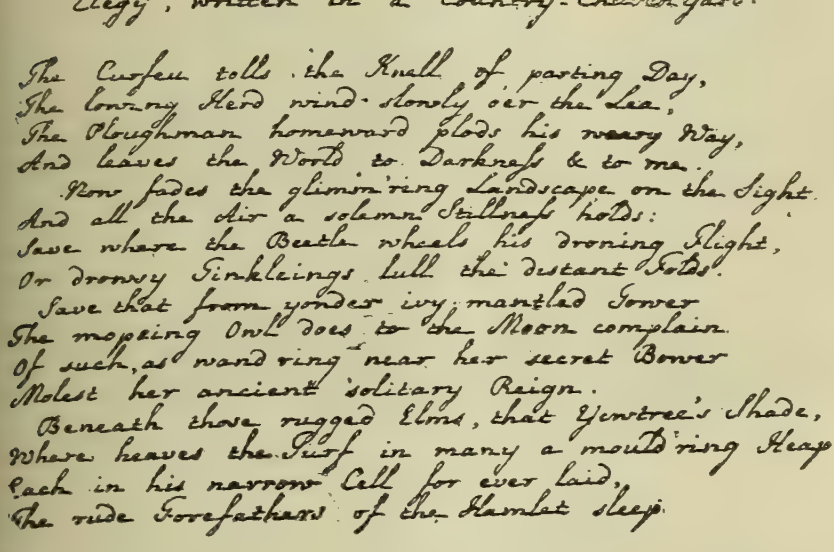
For many years of the century, although the High Church party were the least influential, and certainly possessed less spiritual force in the country than the sister school, although no very distinguished men arose in their ranks, yet there was a long roll of good and earnest men among them who were staunchly faithful to the great tradition of their historic party, and who quietly and faithfully set themselves to do their Master's work among us.

The first year of the century witnessed the death of one of these quiet, saintly men, who, although he attained to no rank or position in the hierarchy, being perfectly content to live and die a humble parish priest, will ever be remembered as the leader of the party during the later years of his useful life. Jones of Layland (1726–1800), as he is usually termed—Layland vicarage being the scene of his long labours—was the centre and chief counsellor for a long period of the principal men of the High Church school. He w the originator of that famous quarte magazine from which we have alrea quoted—*The British Critic*, the periodi which for many years was the power advocate of historic Church principles the Church of England.

Dying in 1800, his mantle may be s with some truth to have fallen upon friend and biographer, William Steve (1732–1807). This devout and earn man, whose life work was devoted to best interests of the Church, was simpl well-to-do trader, a vigorous supporter of Christian Knowledge Society, then perh the most influential of the Church societ and treasurer of queen Anne's bounty. was closely connected with all the chu work of the High Church school. He pas his life and spent his ample means in cause he loved so well. In the year 1 he founded the once well-known associati of Churchmen called "Nobody's Clu the members of which consisted of most prominent among the Churchm of the times. He died in 1807.

A very remarkable man, who lived the end of the eighteenth century through the earlier years of the nineteen whose name is now well-nigh forgott was Dr. Sikes, of Guisborough. He wa well-read theologian and a profound stud of the writings of the fathers of the ea Church. A quiet, retiring scholar, he little known outside a small circle friends, who loved to resort to his coun parish in Northamptonshire for the sake hearing his scholarly and thoughtful vie on church matters. Dr. Sikes died 1834. Pusey even went so far as to reg him as a precursor of the Oxford mo

ent. One of his conversations with his ends, which took place as late as 1833, as quoted later by the great Tractarian ader, who had it from one of the intimate ends of Dr. Sikes. Pusey often referred it as having a sort of prophetical value. me of the thoughts are of striking terest. "I well remember," said Pusey's in their teaching: the uniform suppression of one great truth. There is no account given anywhere, so far as I see, of the one Holy Catholic Church. . . . Now this great truth is an article of the Creed. . . . The doctrine is of the last importance, and the principles it involves of immense power, and some day, not far distant, it


Elegy, written in a Country-Churchyard.

The Curfew tolls the Knell of parting Day,
The lowing Herd wind slowly o'er the Lea,
The Ploughman homeward plods his weary Way,
And leaves the World to Darkness & to me.
Now fades the glimm'ring Landscape on the Sight,
And all the Air a solemn Stillness holds:
Save where the Beetle wheels his droning Flight,
Or drowsy Tinklings lull the distant Folds.
Save that from yonder ivy-mantled Tower
The moping Owl does to the Moon complain
Of such, as wand'ring near her secret Bower
Molest her ancient solitary Reign.
Beneath those rugged Elms, that Yew-tree's Shade,
Where heaves the Turf in many a mould'ring Heap,
Each in his narrow Cell for ever laid,
The rude Forefathers of the Hamlet sleep.

PORTION OF GRAY'S ELEGY, IN THE POET'S HANDWRITING. (*British Museum.*)

ormant, "the very countenance, gesture, itude and tone of good Mr. Sikes, and e you, as near as may be, what he d":—

"I seem to think I can tell you some- ng which you who are young may bably live to see, but which I, who shall n be called away off the stage, shall not. herever I go, all about the country I see ongst the clergy a number of very able and estimable men, many of them ch in earnest and wishing to do good. I have observed one universal want will judicially have its reprisals. And, whereas the other articles of the Creed seem now to have thrown it into the shade, it will seem, when it is brought forward, to swallow up the rest. We now hear not a breath about the Church; by-and-by, those who live to see it will hear of nothing else; and just in proportion, perhaps, to its present suppression, will be its future development. . . . And woe betide those, whoever they are, who shall, in the course of Providence, have to bring it forward. . . . They will be

lessly misunderstood and misinterpreted. There will be one great outcry of Popery from one end of the country to the other. . . . . How the doctrine may be first thrown forward we know not; but the

as Church principles. He was treasurer the Christian Knowledge Society, was or of the principal movers in the developme of the Society for the Propagation of th Gospel. His name figures as one of th

Photo: G. W. Wilson & Co., Aberdeen.

PETERBOROUGH CATHEDRAL.

powers of the world may any day turn their backs upon us, and this will probably lead to those effects I have described." *

A more generally known Churchman was Joshua Watson (1771–1855), who for forty years spent his life in devising and carrying out good and useful works. Originally a wine merchant, comparatively at an early age he gave up his business to devote his whole time and vigorous intellect to the furtherance of Church work, and during that long period of forty years his name is prominent in every great work carried on under what are generally known

* Dr. Liddon: "Life of Pusey," vol. I, chap. xi.

founders, and long as the treasurer of th National Society, which is so honourab distinguished as the real centre when sprang the elaborate and successful ne work of Church schools for the poor an artisan class.

His brother, John James Watson, son time archdeacon of St. Albans, was f some forty years rector of Hackney, and lifelong friend and helper of his bette known brother, who lived at Clapto close to his Hackney rectory. He too w a distinguished member of the celebrate but quite unobtrusive coterie known the Clapton sect — a name probab given to it as in some way the friend

THE WEST FRONT.—PETERBOROUGH CATHEDRAL.

PHOTO: WILSON, ABERDEEN.

ral in good works of the yet more in-ential and more widely celebrated Clapham" sect of the Evangelicals. nother once well-known name of the Clapton" sect was Henry Handley rris (1771–1850), who devoted his ample tune to good works, and nobly laboured ring his whole life without remuneration d with scanty reward in the Church's vice, his highest preferment being a n-residentiary stall in St. Paul's. He s a brother-in-law of archdeacon itson. Norris was a man of rare otion and considerable ability. As norary secretary and one of the three front of all good works carried on by Church agencies during a long series of years. His advice was so often sought by the Government of the day, that he was even termed the bishop-maker. The *British Critic* owned him, if not as the active editor, certainly as one of its most unwearied contributors.

Among other distinguished members of the Hackney phalanx or Clapton sect must be reckoned the learned Christopher Wordsworth, brother of the poet, who was subsequently Master of Trinity College, Cambridge; the chaplain, too, and confidential friend of archbishop Manners-

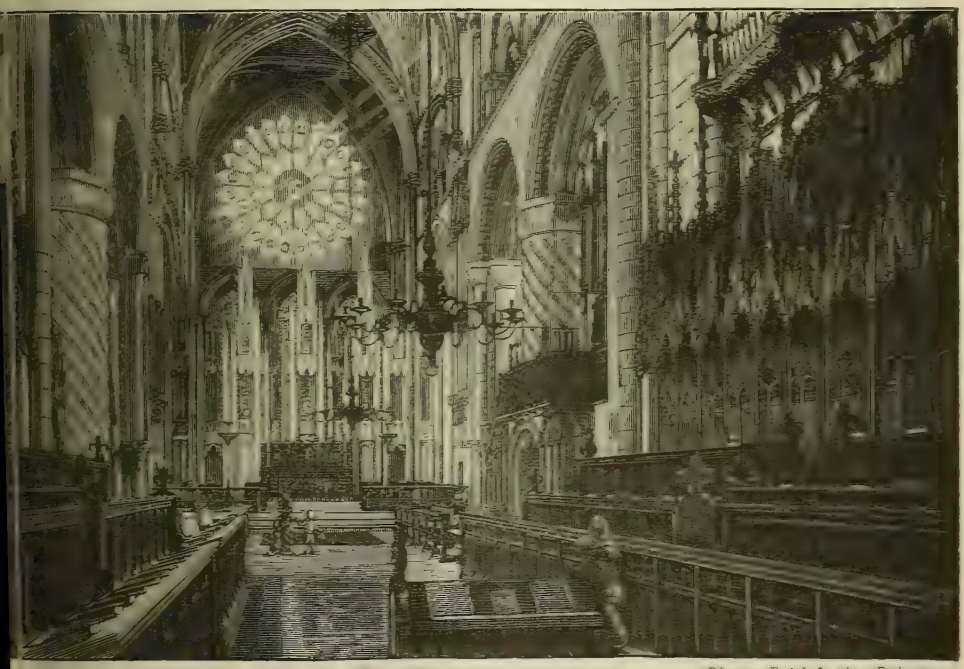


Photo: Frith & Co. Reigate.

THE CHOIR, DURHAM CATHEDRAL.

ders of the National Society, and an e worker in most of the Church ties of the time, he was in the fore-Sutton, who was always the steady friend of this celebrated group of High Churchmen. Outside the great metropolis,

among the intimate friends and associates of these good men, were several powerful and widely influential personages. Of these, Charles Daubeny, afterwards archdeacon of Sarum, during a busy career, took nothing from the Church for services so faithful. He was well known for his success in building and restoring churches, and as a writer on Church matters he was in his own time a considerable power.

One really great thinker and theologian must be reckoned in the ranks of this quiet school of High Churchmen of the first thirty or forty years of this century—Hugh James Rose (1795–1838), whose share in the beginning of the famous and far-reaching Oxford movement will be alluded to in detail, when we come to chronicle the work of the great Tractarians. H. J. Rose became prominent as a preacher and a parish priest in 1819, when he was appointed vicar of Horsham. He had a distinguished Cambridge career, and was soon closely associated with Joshua Watson, Christopher Wordsworth, and the other High Church leaders, who early discovered promise of future greatness in the young divine.

As vicar of Horsham, Christian advocate and select preacher in the University of Cambridge, as professor at the new University of Durham, then principal of King's College, London, as the esteemed friend of bishop Van-Mildert, and confidential chaplain of archbishop Howley, Mr. Rose for some seventeen or eighteen years exercised an unparalleled influence in his party as a writer and teacher, struggling all the while with constant weakness and sickness. His brilliant and useful career closed before he had reach his fortieth year.*

The bench of Anglican bishops, duri the thirty years of which we are speaki contained some very able men and seve distinguished scholars. No one, howev among them attained conspicuous rank a writer. Several of them were warn attached to the High Church party, b with perhaps one exception, they regard their episcopal position as precluding th from taking any decided position as c spicuous leaders of any one school thought in the Church. Of these, Manne Sutton, bishop of Norwich (1792), arc bishop of Canterbury (1805–1828), was ev the kindly sympathiser with and wa supporter of the Clapton sect. He w the intimate friend of Joshua Watson, whom we have already spoken. Willia Howley, who followed Dr. Manners-Sutt at Canterbury (1828–1848), and who pr viously was bishop of London (181 1828), was also a distinct High Churc man, the intimate friend of H. J. Ro who was his chaplain, but was less ide tified than even his predecessor with t party. Herbert Marsh, successively bish of Llandaff and Peterborough (181 1839), belonged to the same school thought. Van Mildert, bishop of Lland (1819) and of Durham (1826–1836), member of the Clapton sect and one the "Nobody's Club," and for some ti before his elevation editor of the *Brit Critic*, was a more pronounced Hi Churchman than any of his brethren the bench above mentioned. Thon

* In Dean Burgon's "Lives of Twelve G Men" will be found a very graphic account H. J. Rose (vol. i., pp. 116–295).

anshawe Middleton, bishop of Calcutta 814-1822) before he left England for his eat Indian see, as vicar of the important ondon parish of St. Pancras was one the Clapton or Hackney coterie, and as distinguished as a prominent High nurchman, as was also Charles Lloyd, egius Professor of Divinity, and subse-ently Bishop of Oxford (1827–1829). enry Philpotts, appointed bishop of eter, 1831, was perhaps the only excep-n in the list of High Church bishops o may be said to have taken any very ominent part in the burning theological estions of the day, after his elevation the bench; and his writings belong a somewhat later date.

We have enumerated the names of se eminent men as members of the gh school and as warm sympathisers h its teaching, rather than as active ders of the party. But such a list gives ditional evidence that witnesses to the historic High Church school of thought e by no means absent from the Church England in the period which compre-ded the years between 1800 and 1830–3. among the more public pieces of work dertaken between the above dates, nly through the efforts of this school of ught in the church, we must mention "Society for the Propagation of the pel in Foreign Parts," which steadily anced in its useful and beneficent k. During these thirty years its nues, its missionaries, and teachers eased at least tenfold. Under similar ence the "Society for the Promotion hristian Knowledge" made an almost l progress during the same period. even more important work was carried out by the efforts of men like Joshua Watson, Wordsworth, and Mr. H. H. Norris, in the home-life of England. The all-important question of the education of the poor had never received proper consideration at the hands of churchmen. In 1810 the bishop of Norwich, preaching at St. Paul's, made the startling statement that "nearly two-thirds of the children of the labouring poor had little or no education." In the eighteenth century something had certainly been done in the matter by the foundation and support of charity schools. The Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge had founded and maintained a considerable number of schools in London and in other populous centres.

As early as 1807 some friends of education founded the "British and Foreign School Society" to assist the children of the poor, but this society ignored the claims of the Church of England. It was founded, it is true, on a religious basis, but its fundamental idea was the principle that all forms of Christianity were equally good, the Church Catechism being excluded from the schools which were under the direction of this completely unsectarian association. At this time, in country districts, the training of the young was almost entirely in the hands of dames, who were, for the most part, very illiterate, and unsystematic in their teaching. The British and Foreign Society had a certain measure of success, but was never very popular.

The organised attempt at unsectarian religious education was naturally received with misgivings by earnest churchmen, and, in 1811, the devoted group upon

which we have been dwelling determined to found an education society on Church lines, which should extend its influence over the whole kingdom. At the house of Mr. Joshua Watson, in London, Mr. H. H. Norris, and a third friend, Mr. John Bowles, met to discuss plans, and subsequently, with the co-operation of archbishop Manners-Sutton, founded the "National Society," the aim and object of which was clearly stated in the words which have ever since formed the motto of the famous educational company which has since done such good work for the Church of England. The National Society, publicly declaring its purpose to be "to instruct and educate the poor in suitable learning, works of industry, and the principles of the Christian religion according to the Established Church," met with great and deserved success. Bishop Howley in his charge to the diocese of London, in 1818, writes that at the first meeting of the National Society in 1812 there were then, in the earlier years of its existence, fifty-two schools in union with it, containing 8,000 children. It grew, however, rapidly. In 1813 there were 240 schools with 40,000 children; in 1818, as many as 1,249 schools, with 180,000 children. In six years—that is, in 1824—there were as many as 3,054 schools in connection with the National Society, with the vast number of 400,000 children trained in these schools. Its work, besides establishing schools for the young, was especially devoted to training teachers.

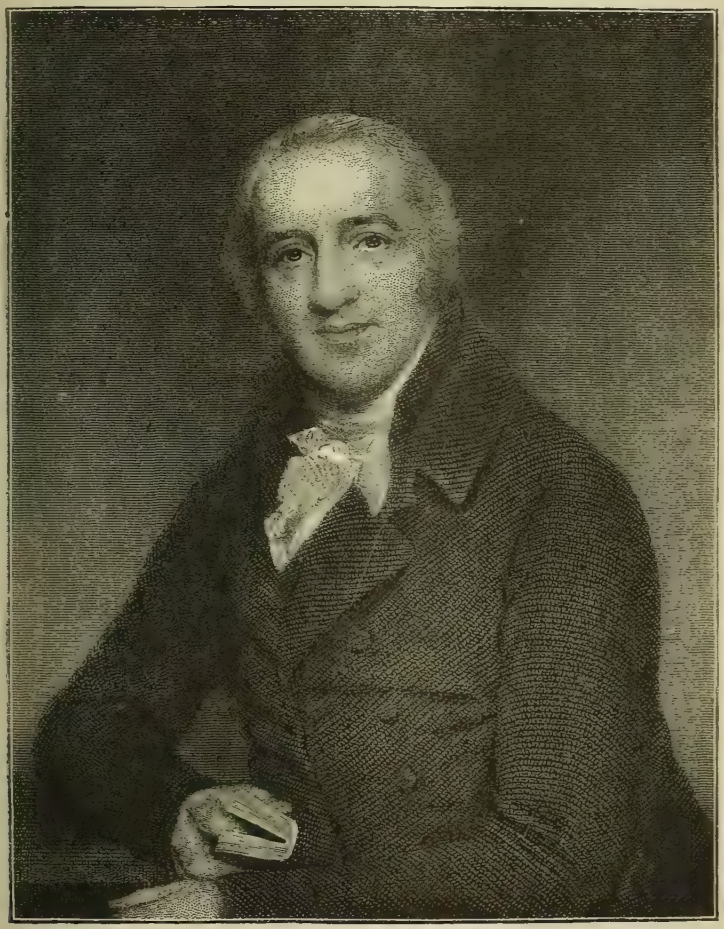
The undoubted popularity of the Church of England teaching of the people, as exemplified in the useful work above summarised, was clearly demonstrated in 1833, when the Government made its first sm education grant. It was then found th the National Society had caused 60 schools to be erected, while at the sa period the schools of the somewhat old unsectarian competitor, the British a Foreign Society, numbered only 160.†

In this little sketch of the work a life of the High Churchmen, roughly l tween 1800 and 1828–1832, the date of t first of the "Reform" Acts, the rep of the Test and Corporation and t Catholic Emancipation Acts, when a peri of stress and storm set in, we have sho that the High Church party by no mea lacked able and competent witness during that quarter of a century or mo to that historic Christianity, the precio heritage of "a great and far-descend school," the school in which that no line of divines and theologians from Hook to Waterland had lived and taught. F during that period of twenty-five to thi years the party had failed to exerc anything like a far-reaching, power influence over the church and peop It had done much, undoubtedly. It h vastly improved the services of the chur Its members in many an instance had a high and noble example. It h enormously increased the foreign miss work of the church. It had created ever-broadening network of educati which embraced a large proportion the poorest of the population. It

* These numbers, of course, do not include schools in connection with the National Society

† Compare, for more details of this early ed tional work, Canon Perry's "English Chu History"—Third Period, chap. ix., and Ca Overton's "English Church in the Nineteen Century," chap. vii.

newhat multiplied the number of the urches, and had done much to spread re and healthy literature. Still, it had t to any great extent found its way devoted though the members were, no leader had appeared who was able, either by his writings or his words, to kindle enthusiasm or to stir the hearts of the great



CHARLES SIMEON.
(*After the painting by Sir William Beechey.*)

the hearts of the people. No famous hers had arisen amongst it. No popular writers had appeared in the of these true-hearted churchmen. ng the "Clapton sect," admirable and mass of lettered or unlettered persons who lived outside the comparatively narrow limits of their own somewhat limited circle.

There was, however, a yet stronger

spiritual force at work in the church than that exercised by the party we have been speaking of, all through the earlier years of the nineteenth century. In rural districts, in the neighbouring villages, in cities, in the adjoining parish or even in the next street, would often be found an accredited teacher, an ordained minister of the same church, whose thoughts and views were somewhat different from those entertained by the men whose work and influence have just been described—two parallel lines running side by side in the same direction but never touching each other. There were various causes at work, which between 1800 and 1830–32 contributed to the superiority of the Evangelicals as a spiritual force and power in England.*

When the nineteenth century dawned, this party in the church inherited a great though somewhat modern tradition. To their noble efforts were largely due the awakening which had passed over religious life in England in the eighteenth century. Most earnest thinking men acknowledged the debt, though few among the dispensers of patronage in high places were willing to recognise the claim. Ministers of the crown and the bench of bishops alike viewed the Evangelicals, who had already done so splendid a work in the church, who in the second generation were still with equal diligence carrying it on, with suspicion if not with positive dislike. The Evangelicals were content, however, live and work on in the cold shade neglect, without recompense or reward, what they felt was their Master's service

As a party, the Evangelicals in the y 1800 were also singularly fortunate in possession of a leader of rare and exc tional gifts. We use the term "leade with diffidence, for Charles Simeon Cambridge would, at any period of long and seemingly uneventful care have been surprised at meeting with appellation in reference to himself. It no easy matter to discover the secret the vast power and almost measurel influence which this quiet gentle sp exercised for long years, far beyond limits of his loved university, in that gr party of the Church of England w which his name will be for ever connect

There was nothing remarkable ab the boyhood or school life of this futu leader of men. His father was a Berksh vicar of good family and position. Fr Eton he passed to King's College, Ca bridge. But although, in accordance w the privileges of the Eton foundation, became in due course a fellow of famous college, he won no special acade laurels. His life, up to the year 17 when he was ordained, was quietly eventful, save for one strange incid which altered and shaped the wh course of his future life. Very sho after his coming to Cambridge, the prov of King's told him that, according to rules of the college, "he must attend Lord's Supper." We quote now Simeo own words: "Conscience told me tha I *must* go, I *must* repent and turn to G unless I chose to eat and drink my c

* We shall use here this well-known term as we write of their work and influence. No other word would satisfy the reader. Custom has legalised it; it is commonly used by those who love their especial doctrines, though with some little reluctance; it even forms part of the every-day vocabulary of those who perhaps look on its tenets and usages somewhat coldly, when they speak of the so-called low churchmen.

damnation. From that day I never ceased o mourn and pray till I obtained pro- gressive manifestation of God's mercy in Christ, and subsequently perfect peace. Thus you see that under God I owe all to Dr. Cooke (the provost of King's)."

From that memorable date Simeon's ife was consecrated to God. Almost lirectly after his ordination, as curate of ne of the Cambridge churches (St. Ed- vard's) he obtained considerable celebrity s a preacher; and within a few months ishop Yorke of Ely, who was an old iend of Simeon's father, appointed him ncumbent of Trinity church, in the centre f the university town. It was a strange omination for so young a man, though he preferment was valueless in a pecuni- ry sense; but Simeon was already highly oken of, and as a fellow of King's pos- ssed a modest independency, which en- bled him to undertake the incumbency Trinity without stipend. The appoint- ent was, however, extremely distasteful the majority of the parishioners, and for lengthened period the young incumbent as subjected to every kind of hindrance d even to persecution.

At this critical period of his career he came intimately acquainted with Henry nn, the once famous vicar of Hudders- ld, and author of the principal devotional rk of the Evangelical revival, "The mplete Duty of Man." Henry Venn, maturely worn out with his pastoral rk and preaching, had retired to the le secluded parish of Yelling, about lve miles west of Cambridge. There great teacher, for more than a quarter a century, lived in retirement, minister- to his few humble parishioners, but corresponding with and otherwise assisting a large circle of friends in his party. Simeon for some fourteen years had the rare advantage of the intimate friendship and direction of this great and good man, to whom, we read, his attachment grew till it was "a sacred passion." At Yelling he made the acquaintance of other prominent Evangelicals, and laid the foundation of a life-long intimacy with men like John Venn the younger, John Thornton, Newton (once of Olney), John Berridge of Everton, and others whose names were household words in that party of fervid and religious men. Henry Venn from the first seems to have discerned what a power Simeon was destined to become. We meet with such passages as this in his letters: "Our dear friend Simeon came over to see me, . . . his very presence a blessing. . . . It does me good to be with him; none can bear and receive profit from reproof, like him." This was as early as 1785. In 1790 Venn writes of his affectionate friend Simeon coming over from Cambridge to Yelling and preaching there. "We were all revived," he says; "he left a blessing behind him."

During the earlier years of his life in the university city, Simeon's career was a most hard and painful one. To many it was a new, strange doctrine that he preached with so much fervour Sunday after Sunday, and not a few mocked and derided; but his followers year by year increased in number, till virtually the whole university was leavened by his teaching and example. They were indeed no mere moral essays which the young preacher delivered. To Simeon, as to Venn and Berridge and the older Evangelicals, "all his hearers

were sinful men, for whom the Gospel was the one remedy ; and Christ was the Gospel; and personal faith in Him, a living Person, was the Gospel secret. *To humble the sinner, to exalt the Saviour*, was the heart and soul of his message." *

It has been often a subject of dispute whether or not Simeon was a great preacher. In many respects doubtless the answer would be in the negative. His address was undignified ; his features unbeautiful ; his voice, men said, was weak and unmusical ; the characteristics of an orator were certainly not his. Still, he possessed some really great gifts both of utterance and of action. But the secret of Simeon's power in the pulpit was the *moral force* of his preaching. It often sent a thrill through the soul. This electric power which he possessed is well instanced in a sermon he once preached at Edinburgh on ministerial duty and faithfulness. As his illustration he took the keeper of a lighthouse, who had let the light die o so that a terrible and fatal wreck was t consequence. He pictured the delinque brought out for examination before a f court, and when the plea was urged his behalf that he fell asleep, "*Asleep* said the preacher ; and the way in whi he made this word burst on the ears of h audience, who were hanging in solem stillness on his lips, contrasting the ca with the effect, was never forgotten.

Photo: E. Clennett, Cambridge.

CLARE COLLEGE AND KING'S CHAPEL, CAMBRIDGE.

Far on in life Simeon preserv this soul-moving power. Dean How related to his biographer the followi experience :—Simeon was preaching his church (Trinity, Cambridge) on t text (Col. i. 18)— "That in all thi He might have the pre-eminenc There was, as usual, assembled a congregation. One passage was writ for ever on their hearts by the proph fire of the utterance, as the old n seemed to rise under the impression his Master's glory. "That He mi

* Moule: "Life of Simeon," chap. v.

ave the pre-eminence!" repeated the reacher. "And He *will* have it! And e *must* have it! And He *shall* have it!" is not surprising that his own church as ell as great St. Mary's, the university

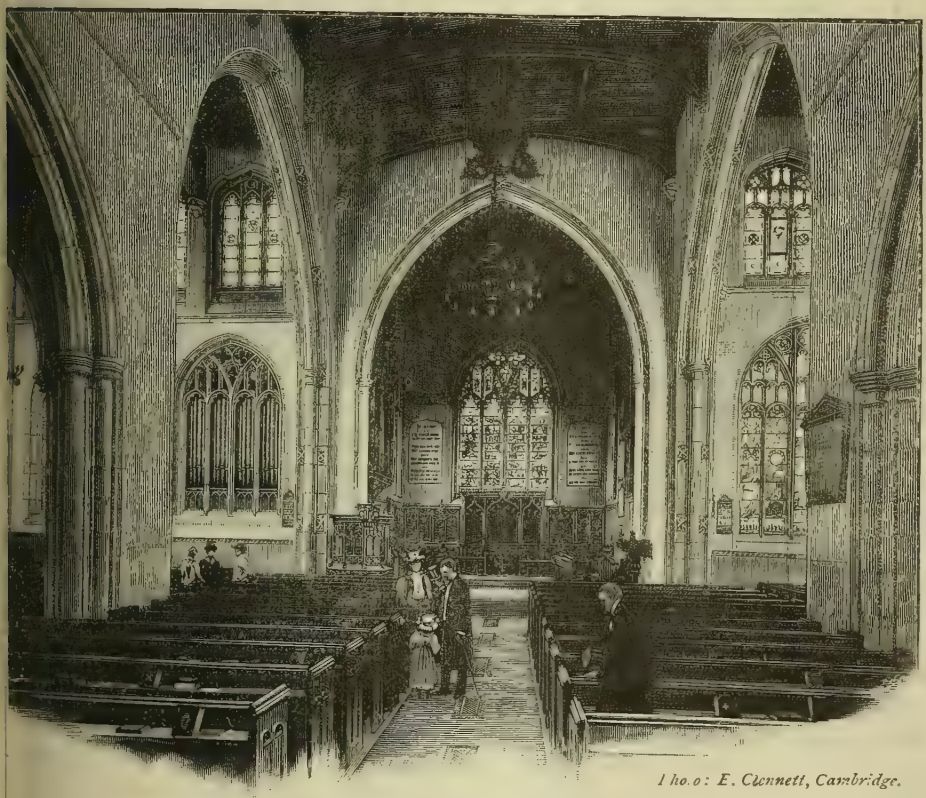


Photo: E. Cuttett, Cambridge.

INTERIOR OF HOLY TRINITY CHURCH, CAMBRIDGE.

rch, were always thronged to hear him she years went on. In November, 1811, read how the sight of the overflowing rch was almost "electric"; in 1814 re was scarcely room to move above below; in 1815 the audiences were mense; in 1823 many were unable get inside the doors. And this in Cambridge, where once he was scorned and mocked at.*

For Cambridge, when Simeon began his ministry, was sorely in need of an awakening voice. The discipline of the university had sunk to the lowest point. The clerical society of many of the colleges were in not a few cases actually disreputable. A shameless intemperance was among the curses of the habits of the university.†

* *Cf.* Moule's "Reminiscences," in the "Life of Simeon," chap. vii.

† *Ibid.*, chap. i.

The services in the college chapels were too often irreverent; in the churches, even in the most solemn rites, confusion and disorder reigned. Confirmation especially, as has been already remarked, was not unfrequently merely looked on as a noisy holiday. The celebrations of the holy communion in the churches were miserably attended. Church life indeed seemed dead in that powerful university centre. And never was any religious reformer more bitterly opposed from the first days of his ministry. Through the long period of his working under the direct influence of Henry Venn and the Evangelical leaders, a time lasting many years, was Simeon the object of bitter persecution. He was even personally slandered as a bad man, who made a high profession of godliness; but more difficult to bear was the long-continued coldness and contempt which he met with from men of his own standing and from his seniors in the university. In his own pathetic words we read the following: "I remember the time that I was quite surprised that a fellow of my own college (King's) ventured to walk with me for a quarter of an hour on the grass-plot before Clare Hall; and for many years after I began my ministry I was 'as a man wondered at.'" A "Simeonite" was for many Cambridge generations a contemptuous term which "satirised while it denoted" a man's religious views. Emboldened by this public disapproval in high quarters, the more thoughtless and noisy of the undergraduates again and again made Trinity church the scene of a disgraceful tumult; and later, when within the sacred walls comparative quiet had been at length attained, the saintly subject of this little sketch was exposed outsid open insult and reviling. We come u such a "memory" as this from the of one who was an eye-witness: " [Professor Scholefield] used to take with him to dear old Simeon's church, often as we walked with him thither, heard the coarse abuse he met with f the idle undergraduates, who rejoiced nothing more than hooting at Simeon his curate."*

But the time came, though it was a long years, when all this was changed, Cambridge men came to see that a ma God, in the truest sense, had been pass by them continually. All through long period of trial Simeon never flinch Unwearied in his work, boldly giving Sunday after Sunday his saving messa ever with increasing power and ferv he disregarded opposition and persecuti for his eyes were opened to see what veiled from others, how the mountain which he stood was full of horses chariots of fire round about him. V grandly wrote one whose warm, bri eloquence has been not once or twice t to picture the splendid efforts of great successful reformers, of many churches varied schools of thought in different a "In the church of the Holy Trinity Cambridge, every Sunday during n than half a century witnessed the gat ing of a crowd which hung on the lip the preacher as men hearken to s unexpected intelligence of a deep but varying interest. Faces pale with st or furrowed by bodily labour, eyes fa with age or yet undimmed by sorrow,

* "Memoirs of Professor Scholefield," q by Moule in the "Life."

bent towards him with a gaze of which with whatever other meaning it might be combined) fixed attention was the predominant character. Towards the close of that long period the pulpit of St. Mary's the university church) was the centre of the same attraction, and with a still more impressive result. . . . As was his wont, he insisted on fundamental truths, or enforced the great duties of life, or detected the treacheries of the heart, or traced the march of retributive justice, or caught and espied the compassionate accents in which the Father of mercies addresses His erring children. It was a voice which penetrated and subdued the very soul. It was an eloquence which silenced criticism. It was instinct with a contagious intensity of belief. It sounded as the language of one to whom the mysteries and the futurities of which he spoke had been disclosed in actual vision." *

Gradually round Simeon gathered a group of young undergraduates, won by his intensely earnest preaching and by his growing reputation for saintliness. These, as they finished their university career and went down, handed on the torch of their love and friendship for the strange and often calumniated teacher, to freshmen who filled their places, as his loving, faithful disciples. Powerful as was his influence as a preacher, it is doubtful if his "conversation parties," ever and again recruited with the fresh young Cambridge life, had left a wider and more enduring sway over the Evangelical section of the Church of England. In its way it was unique. It went on for more than half a century.

* Sir James Stephen's Essays: "The Clapham Sect."

Such a strange power had never been witnessed before: will it ever be again? These homely meetings, which had so broad and far-reaching an effect, are thus described by an eye-witness, his dear friend and sometime curate, Thomas Thomason, of Magdalen, who subsequently became one of the Indian band of Christian workers. Thomason writes thus in 1792:

"Mr. Simeon watches over us as a shepherd over his sheep. He takes delight in instructing us, and has us continually at his rooms. He has invited me to his Friday evening lectures. This I consider one of the greatest advantages I ever received. The subject of his lectures is natural and revealed religion. These subjects he studies with much pains, reads the fruit of his labours and explains it; we write after him."

Another of his chamber-labours was his sermon class, where he taught his young hearers how to preach, not brilliantly, but usefully. Thomason touchingly relates an experience of Marsden, afterwards a missionary pioneer in New Zealand, who in 1794, one day entering Simeon's rooms, found him "so absorbed in the contemplation of the Son of God, and so overpowered with a display of His mercy to his soul, that he was incapable of pronouncing a single word." All this work went on, we must not forget, for some fifty years.

Far on in that beautiful and useful life, Canon Carus gives us the following little picture of one of these undergraduate gatherings in Simeon's rooms at King's. It was in 1833, when the loved teacher was seventy-three years old. "I see him even now, with his hands folded upon his

knees, his head turned a little to one side, his visage solemn and composed, and his whole deportment such as to command attention and respect. After a pause he would encourage us to propose our doubts, addressing us in slow, soft, measured accents: 'Now if you have any question to ask, I shall be happy to hear it, and to give what assistance I can.'" This same eye-witness thus goes on, describing another meeting in Simeon's rooms on May 3rd, 1833: "This was the most solemn and interesting Friday evening meeting that I ever attended. I never saw the holy man of God more full of the spirit of the Master. His words were distilled as honey from his lips; at least, they were very sweet to my taste, and their savour, I trust, I have still retained. On that memorable evening such a deep sense of his own unworthiness rested upon his soul, that he was low in self-abasement before God. All his language seemed to be—'Lord, I am vile,' and his very looks spake the same." Later on in the evening he said to his young hearers, "You often feel that your prayers scarcely reach the ceiling; but, oh! get into this humble spirit by considering how good the Lord is, and how evil you are, and then prayer will mount on wings of faith to heaven. The sigh, the groan of a broken heart will soon go through the ceiling up to heaven, aye, into the very bosom of God."

All these successive generations of undergraduates, who in turn sat at the feet of the great Evangelical master in the crowded aisles of Trinity church, and in the quiet college rooms overlooking the broad lawn of King's and the gently flowing river, went out every three years into the arena of the busy world, some as la men, more perhaps as clergymen, bearin the impress, more or less deeply marke of the teaching of the holy man of Go who, without recompense or reward, ha shown them how to find the narrow wa leading to life themselves, and how to i dicate the same "way" to others. Wit very many he kept up a correspondence the end, kindling anew the torch of fai when the light flickered or burned b dimly. Long years before the end came 1836, when the good old man went home his well-won rest, all opposition to his wo had died away. No voice of calumny or sarcasm was heard. Cambridge had con to learn that a great spirit was dwellin among them, and no word was ever spoke of Simeon but was coloured with th deepest veneration and with reverent aw

The death of Simeon was a fitting clo to his calm, beautiful life. In the autum of 1836, making ready for a course sermons he had undertaken to prea before the university in the Novemb following, and apparently in good heal and strength, although fully conscious his seventy-seven years, he told a frie that he rejoiced in the thought his cof was already cut down, and in Cambrid at that very time; that his shroud was a ready, and in a few days, he added, would join the company of the redeem above. His strange prophetic words we verified. In the last days of September caught a chill in Ely cathedral on t occasion of a brief visit to the new appointed bishop; the worn-out frame h no strength of resistance, and before t middle of the November in which he was preach his course of sermons before t

Photo: E. Clennett, Cambridge.

KING'S COLLEGE CHAPEL, CAMBRIDGE.

university, he had departed. He faded gradually away, but not without some pain and suffering, ever serene and calm to the end. Many of his last utterances were treasured up by his devoted friends who were watching him. One friend sitting by him, knowing that he was dying and noticing his happy look, asked him what he was just then thinking of. He answered: "I don't *think* now; I am *enjoying*." Men who loved him well tell us how rarely bright were the smiles which ever and anon lit up the old worn face. "Infinite wisdom," he whispered slowly, for the voice was gone, "has arranged the whole with infinite love, and infinite power enables me to rest upon that love. I am in a dear Father's hands. All is secure. I have the sweetest peace. I cannot have more peace." When the bystanders thought all consciousness was gone, he suddenly spoke again: "Do you want to know what I am doing? Go and look in the first chapter to the Ephesians, from the third to the fourteenth verse. There you will see what I am enjoying now." One of his last utterances was very remarkable: "My principles were not founded on fancies or enthusiasm; there is a reality in them, and I find them sufficient to support me in death."

They buried him in the stately prayer-home of his college—in that chapel of King's which every Cambridge man knows so well; and there, near the west door of almost the last built, at the same time one of the grandest churches of the mighty architects of the Middle Ages, the remains of Simeon sleep. It was a fitting resting-place for one of the noblest and truest of the long line of Cambridge men. His friend Francis Close, dean of Carlisle, thu writes of his funeral, of which he tells u he was an astonished spectator: "The lik of it was never seen, nor ever will b seen again. More than 1,500 gownsme attended to honour a man who had bee greatly despised." The vast building wa filled with mourners, with men, women children who had been his Trinity parish ioners. It was indeed a sorrowing crowd More remarkable, however, when th story of the past was recalled, was anothe vast group made up of heads of houses doctors, professors, men of all ages, station opinions, and of every college of th university. All these stood by the grav of Simeon on that sad November morning In the busy town the shops were closed In the university and colleges well-nigh every lecture was suspended.*

Great and important, however, as wa the powerful influence exercised by Simeo for some forty years or more upon th work of the church in England, throug the medium of those many young soul who in their university career, when en during impressions are so often made, ha passed through his church of Trinity an his rooms at King's, there was anothe field beyond the limits of the great hom kingdom, which in a very marked degre felt during the period of which we ar speaking, and is feeling still, the influenc

* There are several important monographs Simeon's career. The most considerable of the are the "Memoirs of the Life of Simeon," b Canon Carus, Simeon's curate and successor Trinity church; Canon Brown's "Recollections the Conversation Parties"; and, last, "Charl Simeon," by Dr. Moule, the principal of Ridle Hall, in the series of "English Leaders of Religion 1892.

his devoted work and teaching. The neteenth century will ever be memorable religious history as the age when men ce more awakened to the sense of their sponsibility in the matter of missions to e heathen world. And in the roll of ose men who will be for ever honourable the share they have taken in the work arousing this sense of responsibility, and the further work of directing energies is evoked, the name of Simeon must er stand in the front rank.

In the foundation of the great Church ssionary Society his part was important. early as 1795 Simeon, then comparatively speaking a young and unknown n, was present at the meeting at nceby in Lincolnshire when the questions of missions to heathens was first cussed, as he was also in the subsequent herings of the "Eclectic" Club in ndon, when the great subject was further quired into and the famous Church Missionary Society first definitely formed. In 2 we find him preaching the second ual sermon of the Church Missionary ciety at St. Anne's, Blackfriars, and in years that followed he was ever one the trusted missionary leaders, along the first Wilberforce and the other -known chiefs of the "Clapham Sect." it was his inspiring personality, and power in educating men for the difficult of missions—very difficult indeed in e days of hesitation and doubt and d of consequences—that Simeon's great k was so conspicuous. In his Camge church and college rooms he trained e famous "living agents" for the ion field, who showed to coming rations the splendid possibilities of mission work, in spite of the timid counsels of some and the scarcely veiled opposition of others in power and authority. It was India especially, with its teeming population, its magnificent cities, its barbaric civilisation, which especially though not exclusively interested Simeon ; and to work for the Master's cause, and, if needs be, to die in those great and populous Indian centres, over which for weal or woe the shadow of the English power brooded, Simeon trained those true missionary pioneers, among whom Henry Martyn, Thomas Thomason, Daniel Corrie, James Hough, Claudius Buchanan are conspicuous and well-known and honoured examples. A very large proportion of the Indian chaplains for forty years were men trained and directly influenced by Simeon.

Space would fail us, if any attempt were made, to detail the great Evangelical leader's work in other directions, such as in popularising the Bible Society, and in organising the Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews. He was the chief originator of the powerful "Trust" societies, which have supplied so many able and devoted Evangelical ministers to populous English centres. In all these works, and in numberless other efforts in philanthropy and religion, undertaken by the ever active and zealous members of the Clapham sect and their followers, Simeon was ever a prominent and a leading figure.

The bitter opposition and open contempt which Simeon met with during the earlier period of his residence at the university, did not begin to die down until he had preached and taught for some ten years. From that time onward Cambridge was

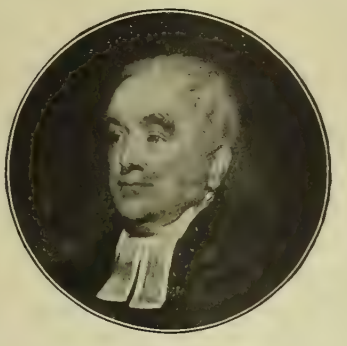
justly regarded as a great centre of Evangelicalism, and its influence over the church for many years kept increasing. Few, however, among the leading men of the university between 1800 and 1833–36 can be named as standing on the same platform as Simeon. Among these few may be mentioned Isaac Milner, dean of Carlisle and president of Queen's College, who died in 1820; but nervousness of temperament, and perhaps still more indolence, prevented this really eminent man from taking the high and influential place in the party, to which his great abilities and position would seem to have designated him. William Farish, who died the year after Simeon (1837), tutor of Magdalen and Jacksonian Professor of Chemistry, perhaps next to Simeon exercised for a long period the largest influence as an Evangelical in the university. He, too, like Simeon, was a real power among the youth of Cambridge for many years, and was a trusted friend of the great leader. Several of the curates of Trinity church, generally men of high university distinction, acted as efficient lieutenants to the revered chief. Of these we would instance Thomas Thomason, his dearest friend, who was in his day fifth wrangler, and who later was distinguished in the field of foreign missions, and the yet more celebrated James Scholefield, who survived until 1853. In 1825 Scholefield became Regius Professor of Greek. The two Jowetts, one of whom was subsequently Regius Professor of Civil Law, and William Dealtry, afterwards vicar of Clapham in succession to John Venn, were also notable Cambridge Evangelicals.

But during that long period of forty years the men of power and posit who stood by Simeon were compa tively few, and the names of those are, after all, but little known scarcely remembered. The great w was really done by that strange quiet m who, unrewarded and unrecognised earth's great ones, went to his rest 1836; by whose grave, which no mo ment has yet marked, stood that enorm crowd of mourners we have just descrit made up of all sorts and conditions of m in the university, from the vice-chance and the heads of houses down to youngest undergraduate. Different, dou less, were the estimates formed by vast mixed company of mourners of life-work of the man whose memory t wished to honour. One thought common to all, though perhaps so silently confessed it with reluctance: t the mightiest influence which had spired Cambridge life for nearly hal century had passed out of their midst

In those first six-and-thirty years of nineteenth century Cambridge was not only great centre of Evangelicalism. have already with some detail told story of the rise and widely-extended w of the powerful "Clapham Sect." It m be borne in mind that all through

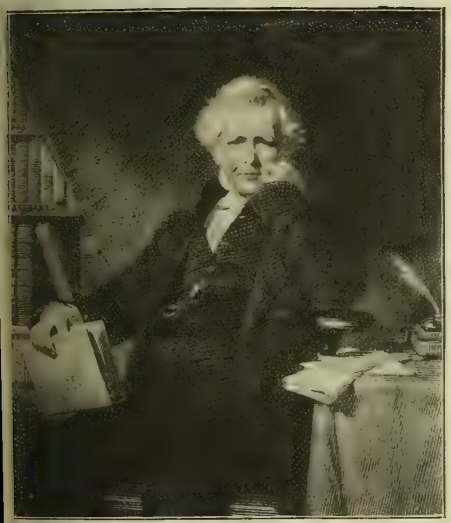
* "He (Simeon) descended to the grave a the tears and benedictions of the poor, and such testimonies of esteem and attachment the learned, as Cambridge had never b rendered to the most illustrious of her sons there he was laid, in that sure and certain hop which he enabled an almost countless multitu repose, amidst the wreck of this world's pron and in the grasp of this last and most dre enemy."—*Sir James Stephen: "Essay on the ham Sect.'"*

me, when Simeon lived nd laboured with such onspicuous success at ambridge, the Clapham and of toilers for God ith Wilberforce at their ead, were at work in ondon. "Factories," it as been epigrammatic- lly said, "did not spring p more rapidly in Leeds nd Manchester, than

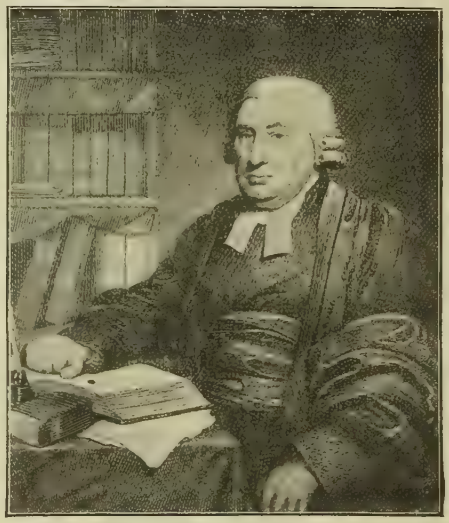


REV. JOSIAH PRATT, B.D.
(*From the painting by H. Wyatt.*)

dent of the Bible Society, Zachary Macaulay and Thomas Gisborne — to quote well-remembered names—were built up in these six-and-thirty years the noble fabrics of the Church Missionary and Bible Societies; there, too, the many schemes to help the outcast, the prisoner, and the helpless poor,

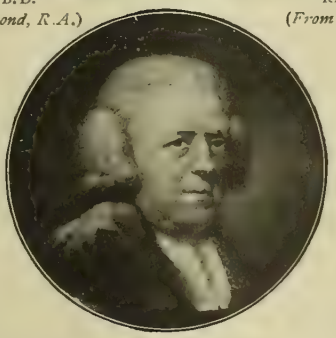


REV. HENRY VENN, B.D.
(*From the portrait by G. Richmond, R.A.*)



REV. THOS. SCOTT.
(*From the portrait by L. Cossé.*)

hemes of benevolence neath the roof of Wil- rforce." There, under e restless energy of the eat Evangelical layman d his true band of ow-workers, the Thorn- is and the Venns, chard Cecil and Daniel ilson, John Shore, lord Teignmouth, first presi-



REV. JOHN NEWTON.
SOME FOUNDERS OF THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

which so plentifully illustrate and adorn so richly that time, were thought out and matured. There the greatest design of all, the abolition of the slave trade and the emancipation of the slaves, was hammered out and at last carried to a triumphant issue. All through these

more for the honour of God, our Saviour, and the salvation of our fellow creatures." *

These were among their faults, and the fair chronicler must sketch in the side where shadows fall, as well as that which is bathed in light and brightness. In the days he has been describing, these

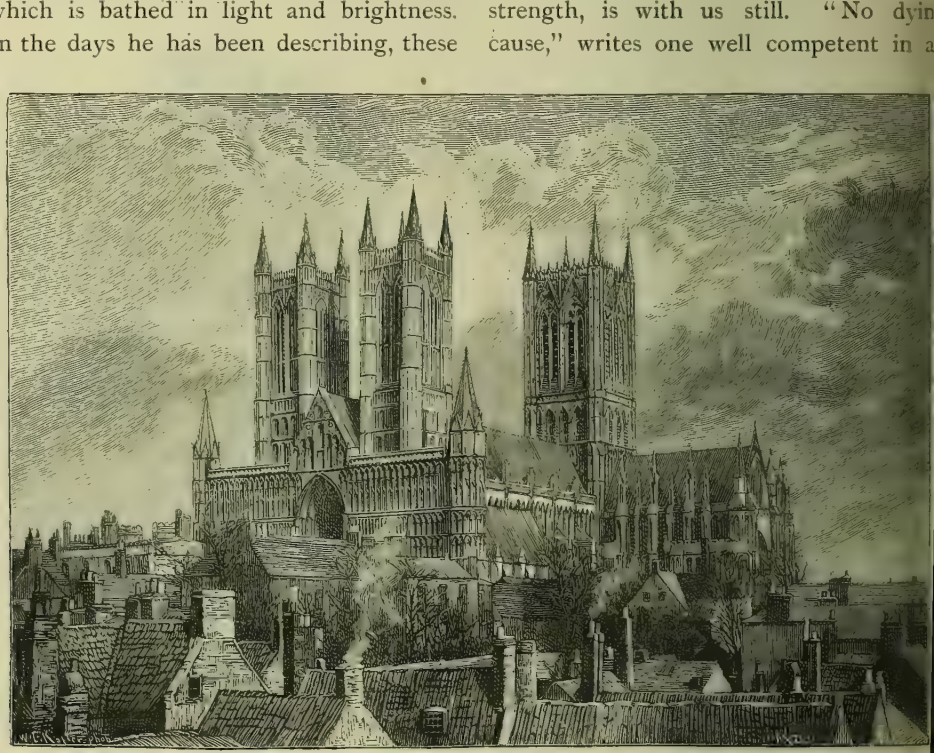


Photo: Poulton & Son, London.

LINCOLN CATHEDRAL.

men were in truth, in spite of grievous shortcomings, the salt of the earth. Is it not owing to their restless labours and ceaseless prayers that the curse of slavery was wiped out for ever among us, that great and enduring missionary enterprise once more took its place among the duties of Christian men, that the mighty network

* Quoted by Canon Overton: "English Church in the Nineteenth Century," chap. iii. ("The Evangelicals").

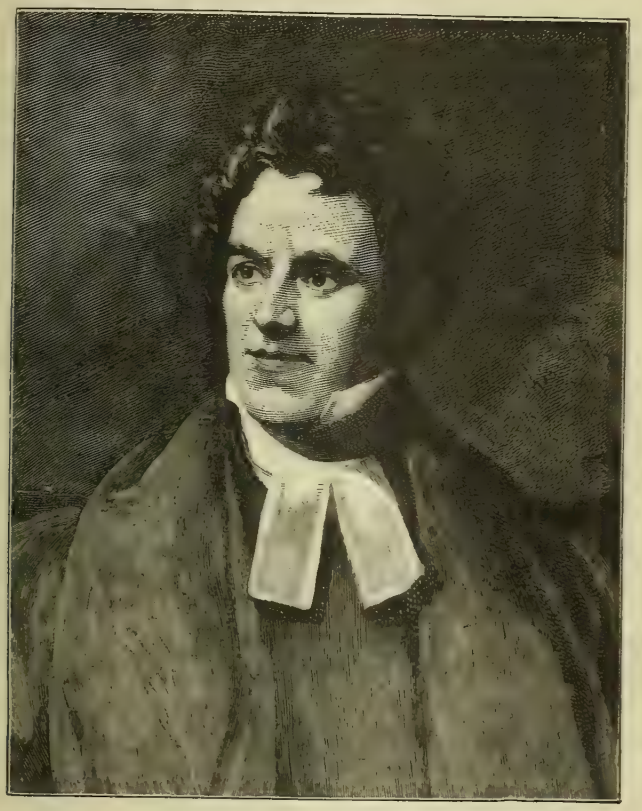
of the Sunday schools was spread ove Christian England? Those days lie fa behind us, and much has happened sinc The great Evangelical party of the Churc of England, with its weakness and with i strength, is with us still. "No dyin cause," writes one well competent in a

respects to gauge its powers and its pr spects, "certainly not in the your [Cambridge] life with which I am mo conversant." *

Between 1815, the date of the close the great continental war, and 1828–31,

* Dr. Moule, now Bishop of Durham: Addr before the Nottingham Church Congress, 18 The influence of the work of the Evangeli party during the second half of the nineteen century is discussed at some length in a su sequent chapter.

change had been gradually passing over England, which in the later years of this period led to the growth of democracy.* With this change in popular feeling our present history is not concerned, have been lately dwelling, the Church of England had been to a considerable extent losing its hold upon the affections of the people. The enormous and rapid growth in the population of the country,* no



DR. ARNOLD.
(From the painting by J. Phillip, R.A.)

ve as the movement in feeling affected te church. During this period, in spite d the quiet, efficient work done by both te two great parties, upon which we doubt, was a great reason of this decline, the old machinery of the church being

* The passing of the famous Acts, popularly own as the Repeal of the Test Act, the Roman atholic Emancipation Act, and, last and most portant, the "Reform Bill," has been already luded to.

* This enormous and rapid growth in the population of England will be best understood by a glance at the following figures:—In the days of queen Elizabeth about 4,000,000 would be the total; in 1700 it had grown to 5,000,000, in 1750 to 6,000,000, in 1801 to about 9,000,000. 30,000,000 would scarcely represent the numbers at the end of the nineteenth century.

totally inadequate to cope with the vast increase in the numbers of the people. Neither Evangelicals nor High Churchmen were able effectively to reach the rapidly growing numbers of the masses, especially in the great centres of industry.

Another reason for this decline in popular estimation was no doubt the fact, that few if any prominent churchmen of either party were of sufficient mental calibre to attract and to influence outside the comparatively little circle where they were working and teaching. No great preacher or writer or thinker, no statesman-ecclesiastic, no profound theologian, is found in the roll of English churchmen all through those years we have been speaking of. In both parties there were many good, earnest, devout, hard-working men, but no one whose personality enthralled and charmed the rank and file of Englishmen, or who attracted the enthusiastic devotion even of his own party. With the solitary exception of Simeon of Cambridge, no really eminent ecclesiastic had arisen in the period in question. And Simeon, as we have shown, laboured to the end of his long life in the comparatively undistinguished sphere of a minister of a town church; his influence, though very great, was confined to a comparatively speaking inner circle of the church; to the rapidly increasing masses he was little more than the "shadow of a name." He never can be said in his lifetime to have obtained a hold upon the popular imagination.

Other causes, too, were at work which contributed to endanger the church. A powerful school of thought had grown up in England, known generally as the scho of the "Utilitarian" philosophy, on t whole indifferent to, even if not positive hostile to religion, under the leadership men like Bentham, James Mill, and lo Brougham. This school began to exerci a powerful and in many ways a healt influence over literature, and in the Hou of Commons its effect on legislation w clearly perceptible. An important societ the direct outcome of its teaching, on famous under the name of the "Socie for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledg may be quoted. Under its auspices a lar and cheap literature was published, notab the "Libraries of Useful Knowledge" a of "Entertaining Knowledge," the "Pen Magazine," the "Penny Cyclopædia," La ner's "Cabinet Cyclopædia," and oth works and magazines. But the chur stood outside all this movement. It po sessed over this school little or no i fluence. It was losing gradually its positi as the chief educator of the people. place in the hearts of Englishmen w being filled up by other influences; so of them, it is true, unmistakably lofty a ennobling as far as they went, but t highest motive for unselfish work a saintly striving was, alas! absent. Religi seemed indeed in danger of being larg forgotten among our people.

The attitude of the leaders of t "Utilitarian" movement towards Church of England is well shown in short pithy summary of James M opinion here, written by his famous s John Stuart Mill: "Next to an aristocra an established church or corporation priests, as being by position the gr depravers of religion, and interested

pposing the progress of the human mind, as the object of my father's greatest etestation."

Three great and burning questions connected with religious and political freedom ere in the air. The first of these was mbodied in the Act of 1828, which repealed the Test and Corporation Acts of 673, compelling Nonconformist candiates for all state and municipal offices nd for seats in Parliament to receive comunion in the Church of England. The econd was the Roman Catholic Emancipaon Act, passed in 1829, which restored oman Catholics to the full rights and ivileges of citizens. The idea which lay the base of these famous pieces of legistion was that religious opinions ought ot to be a bar to the exercise of civil and ligious rights. The third, the Reform ll, diminished the power of landowners er elections to the House of Commons, d transferred much of their power to larged constituencies.

Opinion in the church was much ided; but, on the whole, was opposed these measures; and the opposition hich it showed increased the growing popularity of the Establishment, which the surface appeared to be opposed the will and wishes of the majority the people. The feeling of the Governnt was clearly out of sympathy with church; and the animus shown in debates which took place in Parliant consequent upon the bringing in l passing of the measures in question, nifested but a lukewarm attachment on part of some, and open hostility on the part of others, to the immemorial connection between church and state. The danger to which the Church of England as an Establishment was exposed, was greatly increased by the passing of the Reform Bill, which threw a vast accession of power into the hands of those classes who at that juncture were ill-disposed to its claims and ancient privileges. How grave was the peril which in 1830–32 seemed to menace the existence of the Church of England as an Establishment, is clear from the opinions of such liberally-minded and far-seeing men as Thirlwall and Arnold. Thirlwall, one of the most eminent of the scholar-churchmen, in a letter to Bunsen in 1832, writes: "The Church of England contains many disinterested and devoted friends, who perceive its defects and would wish to remedy them. But the present animosity about its temporal relations to the state so completely engrosses all other subjects connected with it, that it would be absurd in anyone to propose any scheme of internal reformation. The church remains powerless for any new good, *and at the utmost only able to preserve itself from ruin*." Dr. Arnold, in a letter written the same year, says: "The church, as it now stands, *no human power can save*," and again, writing to Whately, repeats: "Nothing, as it seems to me, can save the church but an union with Dissenters." *

* *Thirlwall* was subsequently the bishop of St. David's (1840). *Bunsen* was the famous Prussian minister at the Court of St. James for fourteen years. *Whately* became archbishop of Dublin. *Dr. Arnold* was the well-known and revered headmaster of Rugby School.

CHAPTER LXXIV.

THE OXFORD MOVEMENT AND ITS AUTHORS.

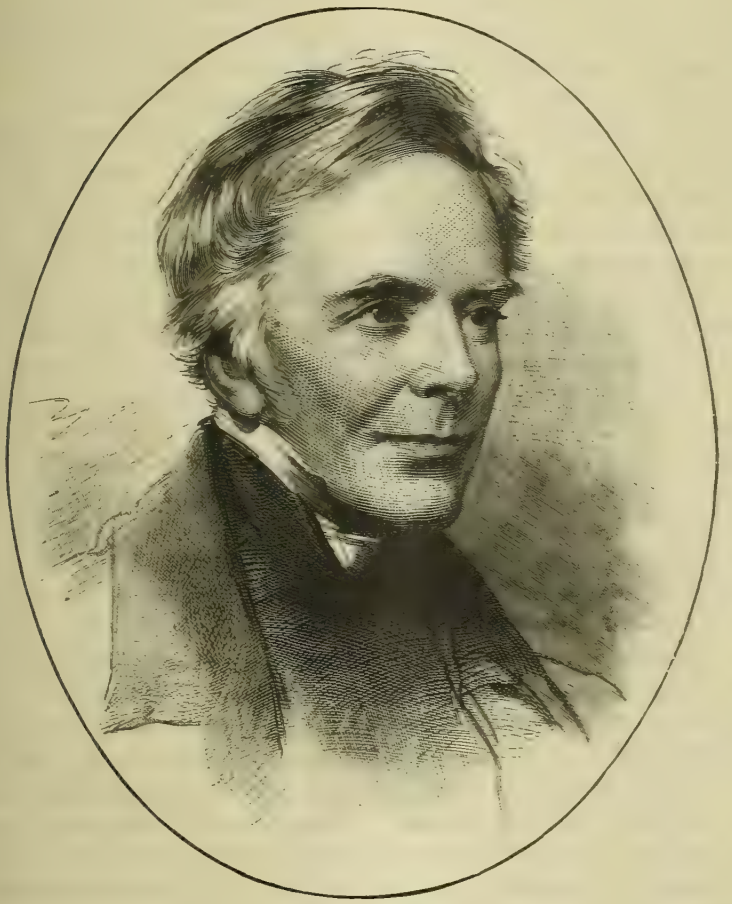
Ecclesiastical Crisis in 1833—Keble's Memorable Sermon at St. Mary's, Oxford—John Keble—"T Christian Year"—Richard Hurrell Froude—His Extreme Views—Isaac Williams and Literary Work—Charles Marriott—John Henry Newman—His Power as a Preacher—T Meeting with Mr. Rose at Hadleigh—Sir William Palmer—Their Plan of Campaign—Addres to the Primate—Results of this Action—The "Tracts for the Times"—Accession to the Pa of Edward Bouverie Pusey—His Powers and Influence—Character of the Tracts—Opposit Excited by the Later Tracts—Criticism by Sir William Palmer—The Library of the Father Other Labours of Pusey and his Associates—Special Literary Work of Charles Marriott.

ON the 14th of July, 1833, the world of Oxford was startled from its customary grave serenity by an assize sermon preached before the university. The words and spirit of that discourse were very different from anything which the learned audience had ever listened to before from an official preacher at St. Mary's. It spoke in terms which sounded like a trumpet-call to battle, of the relations and duties of the church to the state.

There was much in the position of affairs at this time which occasioned to earnest and devout churchmen the gravest anxiety. The church had many enemies without, who threatened her very existence; and even within, some eminent members of her communion were ready with projects of crude reform which would have rent her asunder. Proposals to eliminate from the Prayer-book some of the church's most cherished beliefs, were freely advanced; the creeds were to be abolished; Catholic doctrines were rudely assailed; it was suggested that all denominations should be included within the lines of the church. These views were spread far and wide; they were pressed in numberless publications; a large portion of the pr openly advocated them. It was expect and not without some reason, that the formed Parliament, which had recently m would be only too ready to comply with t popular cry, would sanction the most vi alterations in the Prayer-book, and wou probably, in the course of its destructi legislation, pass measures which wou destroy the whole system of the Chur of England.

All through the spring and early summ of that year, the doings of the reform Parliament in regard to church matt had been in the minds of men; so approving, some bitterly blaming. T difficulty of collecting tithes in Ireland h suggested to the Government of the to introduce a Bill abolishing "the chu cess;" and in order to raise money to up the deficiency which would thus res it was proposed to suppress ten I bishoprics. Not all, by any means, but vast majority of the bishops and cle bitterly resented this proposal. It seem to churchmen generally an act of sim spoliation. The suppression by the s of ten historic sees was a high-han

roceeding, which was viewed by the large ajority of churchmen with the deepest smay and sorrow. It was no carefully-ought-out measure of reform, but simply



JOHN KEBLE.
(From the painting by Geo. Richmond, R.A.)

expedient devised to solve a difficulty: Newman expressed it, "Half the candle-ks of the Irish Church extinguished hout ecclesiastical sanction."

he preacher before the university on that memorable July day in St. Mary's, took for his text the words of Samuel, when the people rejected him and demanded a king (1 Sam. xii. 23), applying the scene to his own times. "It was possible," he argued, "that a Christian state might, like Israel, repudiate its duty to God—it might wish to be as the heathen, as the nations around it. What," he asked, "in such a

crisis would be the duty of churchmen? Their first duty," he urged, "would be *intercession*." Then, too, there must be *remonstrance*, quiet but persevering. Loyalty was enjoined, and churchmen were reminded that sooner or later theirs would be the winning side. The whole of that stirring, strange discourse, preached before that august auditory, was a solemn call to the church to face in bitter earnest a state of things fraught with grave danger to all they loved and believed in.

The preacher on that occasion was a well-known personality in Oxford. Some twenty or more years before, John Keble had proved himself, by a succession of academic triumphs, the most brilliant man of his day. His early victories had been amply justified by his subsequent Oxford career. Elected almost directly after his honours to a fellowship at Oriel, in those days the blue ribbon of Oxford distinction, for several years he served his college as tutor, his reputation increasing with each successive year. No position in Oxford seemed too great for the successful scholar to aim at. Of a sudden his admiring contemporaries were amazed by his throwing up that sunny career, and retiring in the vigour and prime of his still young life to a quiet country curacy. It seemed a strange choice for one of the most distinguished among the tutors of Oxford, deliberately to give up what seemed so useful a life's work, and one so full of promise for the future. But Keble was absolutely devoid of ambition, was entirely indifferent to what is called fame or worldly advantages. To him money, rank, influence, had no meaning. He loved well his office as clergyman, and chose for the new scene of his life-work a little coun village.

Some of his pupils followed him into retirement. These pupils, as one wo expect, were enthusiastically devoted their master, and two at least of t number—Isaac Williams, who beca afterwards fellow of Trinity and cu to Newman at St. Mary's; and Rich Hurrell Froude, subsequently fellow tutor of Oriel—were in after days dis guished as leaders of the great movem whose eventful story we have now recount.

The ways which lead to greatness often strange. The choice of Keble, in end, placed him in a position among sons of men higher far than any Ox rank could have given him. Throug fairly long life (he lived to the age seventy-four) he received no earthly g don, no ecclesiastical dignity; and yet occupies one of the highest places in golden roll of great English churchmen the nineteenth century. Perhaps n of the most distinguished prelates or nitaries of the Church of England, n among the theologians or thought-lead in that momentous period, has exercise like mighty sway over men's hearts. tensely loved and highly honoured by school of thought to which he belong his influence, whether acknowledged or acknowledged, has extended far beyond range of men who thought as he though vexed questions of theology. More or the whole Church of England has com regard as a prophet in the true sens the word this holy and humble man, chose as the better part the quiet, assuming life of a simple village pas

nistering at first among the Cotteswold
s of his native Gloucestershire.
n the ten years which elapsed between
date of his resignation of his Oxford
ition, and that memorable July day in
3 when he preached the famous sermon
have alluded to, Keble put out, with
e reluctance and many misgivings, the
e volume of religious poetry known as
he Christian Year," with which his
ne will be for ever associated. Since
7, the year of its first publication, it
passed through more than a hundred
ions; it is a household word, almost a
sehold treasure in countless homes of
England, and even in the homes of the
greater England beyond the seas. Its
rest critic* has perhaps best expressed
reasons for the extraordinary popularity
Keble's sacred poems. "High church-
ship had been hitherto dry and formal;
le carried into it (in his little book
athetic songs) the emotions of Evan-
calism. Everyone who was really
lious, who believed himself to be a
stian, found Keble's verses chime in
heart like church bells."

ut during those quiet ten years of de-
d pastoral work, the great Oxford scholar
is many lonely and solitary hours oc-
ied himself with other things besides
composition of his sweet and deathless
rs. The position of the church each
grew more fraught with danger. The
cts, and general drift of public opinion,
dy briefly alluded to, filled the minds
en like Keble with an ever-growing
ety. During these comparatively quiet
a, he considered deeply what means

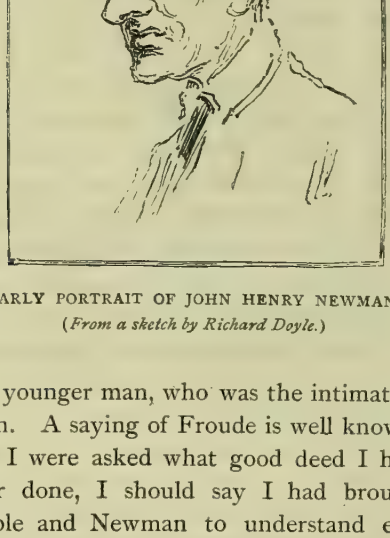
were available to defend the church from a formidable attack, which seemed inevitable and near at hand. Could nothing be done that might change the current of popular opinion, which every succeeding year ran stronger against the church? Keble and his intimates were conscious that all the while there existed in England "a great historic church party;" but it was somewhat sleepy, apparently incapable of action. In its ranks were not a few good and respectable men, but it possessed no leaders. No men of commanding genius had for a long period arisen among them. How could this powerful but lethargic section of the church be aroused to a consciousness of its power, its duties, and responsibilities?

The "Oxford movement," which may be said to have actually commenced with the delivery of the famous assize sermon of Keble above dwelt upon, was singularly fortunate in its chiefs. Both its friends—and they were not a few—and those whose sympathies were mainly antagonistic to its teachings, alike agree in their estimate of the men who guided the great High Church reaction of 1833–45. They were able men, some of them profound scholars. Several of them were real orators, others were teachers and writers of rare power; and all of them were men of high and stainless character, utterly devoid of self-seeking, intensely persuaded of the truth of those views, which they advocated with an earnestness and persistency almost unparalleled.

Mention has been made of Keble's pupils. One of these especially exercised a peculiar influence in the earlier years of

* Mr. Froude, in his "Short Studies," vol. iv. "The Oxford Counter-Reformation."

this great effort. Richard Hurrell Froude, after leaving Keble, became a fellow of Oriel, and was a tutor in the famous college from 1827 to 1830. He was there a junior colleague of Mr. Newman, of whom he became the dearest friend, and over whom he exercised a powerful and enduring influence. The close friendship between Keble and Newman was owing to



EARLY PORTRAIT OF JOHN HENRY NEWMAN.
(*From a sketch by Richard Doyle.*)

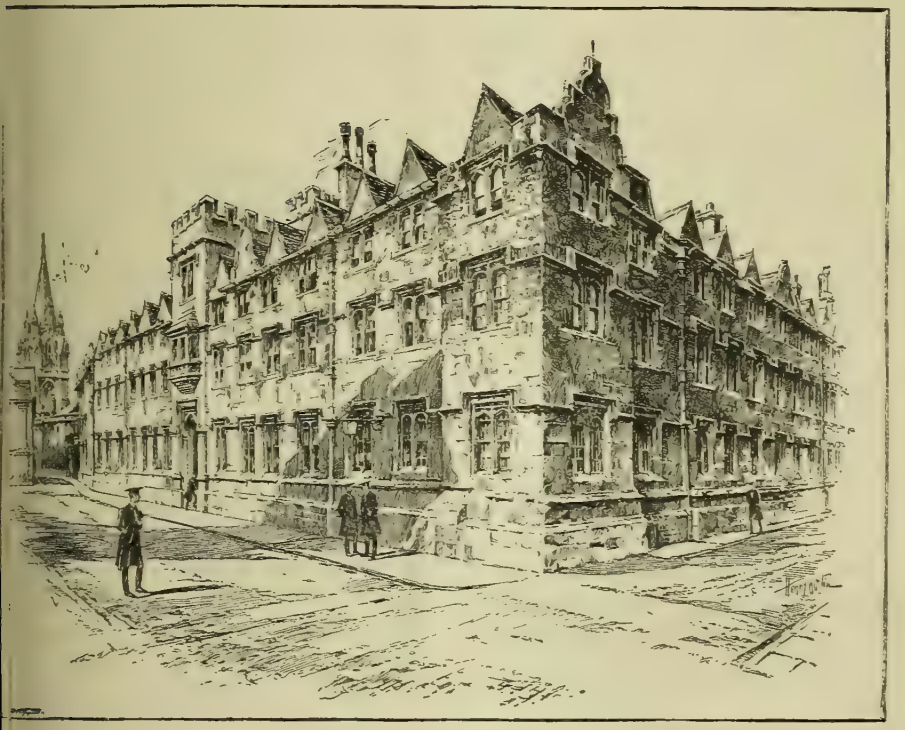
the younger man, who was the intimate of both. A saying of Froude is well known: "If I were asked what good deed I have ever done, I should say I had brought Keble and Newman to understand each other." The personality of Froude must have been a strangely winning one. Newman* thus paints his friend: "I knew him first in 1826, and was in the closest and most affectionate friendship with him from about 1829 till his death in 1836. He was a man of the highest g so truly many-sided, that it would be sumptuous in me to attempt to desc him." Newman then enlarged u Froude's gentleness and tenderness nature, his playfulness, his graceful v tility of mind, his winning manner. struggled for years with constant s ness, and died still comparatively a yo man, to the inexpressible grief of friends, who looked on with great h to the services this brilliant and fe scholar would one day do in the c they loved. "Who can refrain from t at the thought of that bright and beau Froude?" wrote one of his inner circ friends a little before his death.

When all was over, his coterie publi extracts from his journal and letters. his often exaggerated expressions, the audacity of some of his views, as t appear in the published "Remains," a hindrance rather than a help to success of the movement.* They exc in fact the burning indignation of m who not unnaturally concluded from th aggerated expressions which appear in correspondence contained in the "Rema

* "Apologia," chap. i.

* It is a strange irony of fate, which has nected the name of "Froude," in the person o more famous brother, with the most bitte trenchant criticism of mediævalism extant i more serious literature. R. Hurrell Froude i gotten or unknown, save by a very few; bu brother, the popular and brilliant historian, is by thousands. The objects of dislike and ev the hatred of the elder brother, were the hero the younger, the world-renowned historian. spirit of exaggeration and of misrepresentati it too strong an expression?) seems to have in both the brothers, and to have sadly m their work. The well-known words, "Inc quod adorâsti—adora quod incendisti," repre indeed the attitude assumed by the yo Froude to the elder.

R. H. Froude was disloyal to his church. Nothing, perhaps, excited much indignation as his unjust and newhat wild estimate of the great re-iers. Had he lived, his view of those t ones to whom the Church of England



ORIEL COLLEGE, OXFORD. *Photo: Gillman & Co., Oxford.*

e so much, might perhaps have been modified.

Another of Keble's favourite pupils, a Williams, who from the first begin-g of the movement was closely con-d with its hopes and fears, its aims longings, and who in his quiet, un-rsive, saintly life, and devoted work, ever hold a high place among its rs, was a very different personality from that brilliant and somewhat wayward scholar, of whom we have given a little sketch. Like Froude, his whole life-work was shaped by his connection with Keble, of whom he was an ardent admirer, and whose faithful disciple he became, loyal to his master all through a laborious life of many years, after a time sadly chequered with constant ill-health and suffering. Recalled early in his career to Oxford, he became fellow and then tutor of his college (Trinity), and Froude, his old fellow-pupil, quickly brought him to Newman, who in those years was the widely sought-after tutor of Oriel, and who as vicar of St. Mary's was known

in Oxford and far beyond Oxford as a strangely winning and heart-searching preacher. Isaac Williams was chosen by Newman as his curate, and the two were soon dear and intimate friends.

The character of Isaac Williams has been painted by one who intimately knew him and his works and days, as one of great sweetness, tenderness, and lowly unselfishness, pure, free from all worldliness, and deeply resigned to the will of God. He was a poet, too, of considerable power; as one of the writers in the famous *Lyra Apostolica*, as the author of the "Cathedral" and the "Baptistery," he will be long remembered as one of the rare purely devotional poets of the nineteenth century. His devotional commentaries on the Gospel narrative fill a special niche in the theology of the church, and are still exercising a wide influence. Several of the more famous "Tracts for the Times," of which we must presently speak with some detail, were his, notably the one bearing the title, "On Reserve in Communicating Religious Knowledge," around which has gathered many criticisms—some, even from non-sympathisers with his views, highly laudatory; some extraordinarily bitter. When the great secession to Rome took place in 1845, Isaac Williams ranged himself with Keble and Pusey and Marriott and other leaders of the disorganised Tractarian school, as loyal to the Church of England and staunchly faithful to her formularies and her government; and from this loyalty to his loved church Williams never swerved.

It is hardly too much to say that the Oxford movement was the result of the intimacy and friendship which existed between these four men from 182[8] 1833. In many ways they thought a[l] their studies led them to similar co[n] sions. Their conception of the ch[u] her sad shortcomings, her glorious mi[s] —at least in the early days of the "m[o] ment"—was the same.

The name of Marriott has been a[l] coupled with that of Keble and P[u] Pusey, as a leader of the new O[x] school, will come before us shortly, but not prominently identified with the m[o] ment until some time after the celeb[r] sermon of Keble. Marriott, how[e] joined the little coterie somewhat ea[r] His brilliant degree is dated 1832, a[n] the spring of the memorable 1833 he elected to the high honour of an fellowship. "Charles Marriott," write biographer,* "was something more an eye-witness of the Tractarian m[o] ment from its original inception. He throughout this period a great student became devotedly attached to John H[e] Newman, the attractive charm of w[h] mind and manner, converse and teac[h] was not to be described." Dean Ch[u] describes Marriott as bringing to movement "a great university chara[c] and an unswerving and touching fid[e] He placed himself, his life, and all th[a] could do, at the service of the great to elevate and animate the chu[r] Further on we shall find Marriott t[a] for some fourteen long years the labo[u] oar in one of the greatest and mos[t] during of the labours of the Tracta[r] the editing and translating of that ma[g]

* Dr. Burgon, dean of Chichester: Li[v] Twelve Good Men: "Charles Marriott, th[e] of Saintly Life."

k which will ever be one of their chief
ms to the gratitude of the church, the
ary of the Catholic Fathers anterior to
division of the East and West; a vast
bravely undertaken and successfully
ied out, and which, so to speak, popu-
ed a mighty literature of the early
turies of Christianity, a literature for
e than a hundred years ignored, almost
otten in the Church of England.

n these little sketches of the eminent
n, the pioneers of the great High Church
tion, we have as yet barely alluded
e or twice to the one who became the
t conspicuous of them all, John Henry
man. Of him, in that interesting but
cedly hostile picture of the movement
ted by the younger Froude (the well-
vn historian), occurs the following
ing passage: "Far different from Keble,
my brother (R. Hurrell Froude), from
Pusey, from all the rest, was the true
of the Catholic revival—John Henry
man. Compared with him, they were
ut as ciphers, and he the indicating
ber. . . ." Poet, preacher, his-
n, theologian, and in each of these
rtments of the highest rank, his
is, after all, a sad one. In his uni-
y, men very soon came to see that
nt had arisen among them; and
gh, owing to various reasons, he
ed no distinction in the schools,
s soon elected to an Oriel fellowship.
was as early as 1823. Three years
ve find him one of the tutors of the
e. Rapidly his fame grew. In 1828
came vicar of St. Mary's, and the
ner *par excellence* of Oxford. Such
ns had never in the memory of the university been heard before. "Plain, direct, unornamented, clothed in English that was only pure and lucid, free from any faults of taste, they were the expression of a piercing and large insight into character, conscience, and motives, of a sympathy at once most tender and stern with the tempted and the wavering, of an absolute and burning faith in God, in the awful glory of His generosity and His magnificence. They made men think of the things which the preacher spoke of, not of the sermon and the preacher."*

Of the effect of these sermons of Newman on the life of Oxford and on many of her most illustrious sons, one striking example will give an index. W. G. Ward, of Balliol, in later years one of the most conspicuous figures in the movement, and a man of rare power, in the earlier days of his university career was a Rationalist. He was often pressed by his friends to go and hear Newman preach. For a long time he impetuously refused. "Why," he asked, "should I go and listen to such myths?" But on a Sunday afternoon one of his intimates in the course of a walk brought him to St. Mary's porch. "Now, Ward," he said, "Newman is just going into his pulpit. Why should you not hear him *once?* It can do you no harm. You need not go a second time, but do hear and judge what the thing is like."† Ward was persuaded, and went in and listened. That sermon changed his whole life.

At first, to use his own expression, Newman was "under the shadow of liberalism."

* Dean Church.

† "William George Ward and the Oxford Movement," by Wilfrid Ward, chap. v.

Out of this he was gradually drawn, mainly owing to his friendship with Richard Hurrell Froude, his Oriel colleague. Froude brought him into contact with Keble, and the three became fast and devoted friends. Late in 1832 Newman and Froude went abroad for a lengthened sojourn; in the course of the journey Newman fell ill, and his absence from Oxford was protracted until the spring or summer of 1833. At this time he wrote some of the beautiful poems of the *Lyra Apostolica*, afterwards published with the signature "δ," and the hymn which became one of the most loved of Anglican hymns, "Lead, kindly Light." He returned to Oxford just before Keble preached the famous assize sermon of July 14th, 1833, entitled "The National Apostasy." "This day," says Newman, "I have ever considered and kept, as the start of the religious movement."

Not many days after the delivery of this sermon by Keble, a few friends, on the invitation of Mr. Rose, met at his parsonage, at Hadleigh in Suffolk. Keble and Newman were invited, but were not present. Froude, however, and Mr. Palmer, and two or three other like-minded men remained together in conference for several days. The *Tracts for the Times* and other important results were virtually the fruit of this little meeting at Hadleigh.

Mr. Palmer (afterwards Sir William Palmer), who will be subsequently referred to in our story, was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, and had migrated to Oxford in 1828 with a view of completing his well-known work, the *Origines Liturgicæ*, in which with great learning and clearness of statement he showed that the Anglican Prayer-book is mainly a translation earlier office-books of the mediæval ch and thus demonstrated the descent o Church of England from the churc earlier days. It was a work which largely reproduced in the "Tracts." Palmer was an able and well-read logian. His book, at once scholarly devout, gave him great weight in earlier days of the movement.

Hugh James Rose,* who in this church reaction first comes promin to the front at the Hadleigh mee was in many respects better fitte be the leader of the new move than any of those who have as yet before us. A High Churchman o old type, calm, self-possessed, and st man-like, an accomplished divine, an able preacher, he too was d impressed with the dangerous aspe things as regarded the English churc which he was ever devotedly loyal. well described as the "one comma figure that the frightened and discon church people were ready to rally r . . . For many years after his death, when Newman had left standpoint far behind, he (Newman) never speak of him or think of him w renewed tenderness."† In 1833 h better known to churchmen than and more trusted than Newman or Fr and many men have thought tha Rose's life been spared, the error aberrations of some of the more pron among the Tractarians might have avoided. But Rose was ever sickly, a

* Some account of Rose has already bee
See p. 298.

† T. Mozley: "Reminiscences."

Photo: Cassell & Co., Ltd.

DISTANT VIEW OF LINCOLN FROM THE WITHAM

GENERAL VIEW OF OXFORD, FROM THE ROOF OF THE SHELDONIAN THEATRE, SHOWING ST. MARY'S CHURCH ON THE RIGHT.
(From a photograph by Gillman & Co., Oxford.)

words* give us a good insight into the spirit in which he and his fellows wrote: "I had a supreme confidence in our cause; we were upholding that primitive Christianity which was delivered for all times by the early teachers of the church, and which was registered and attested in the Anglican formularies and by the Anglican divines. That ancient religion had well-nigh faded out of the land through the political changes of the last hundred and fifty years, and it must be restored. It would be, in fact, a second Reformation."

The opening words of the series struck the keynote of the teaching they were intended to press home. It was a sharp, stern address to the clergy by one of themselves, reminding them of the greatness of their office. It contrasted the position of ministers of Dissenting bodies with that occupied by "the men addressed." Dissenting ministers it depicted as the creatures of the people, depending simply upon them. The "addressed," on the other hand, were born not of blood, nor of the will of man, but of God. It reminded them of their apostolical descent. It told them that the Christian ministry was a succession. It traced back the power of ordination from hand to hand to the Apostles, to whom Christ gave His spirit. "The early 'Tracts' were intended to startle the world, and they succeeded in doing so. . . . They came from distinguished university scholars, picked men of a picked college, from men belonging to a school . . . whose usual style was especially marked by its severe avoidance of excitement and novelty; the school from which had lately come 'The Christian Year.' Their matter was unusual; undoubtedly 'they brought strange things to the ears' of this generation."*

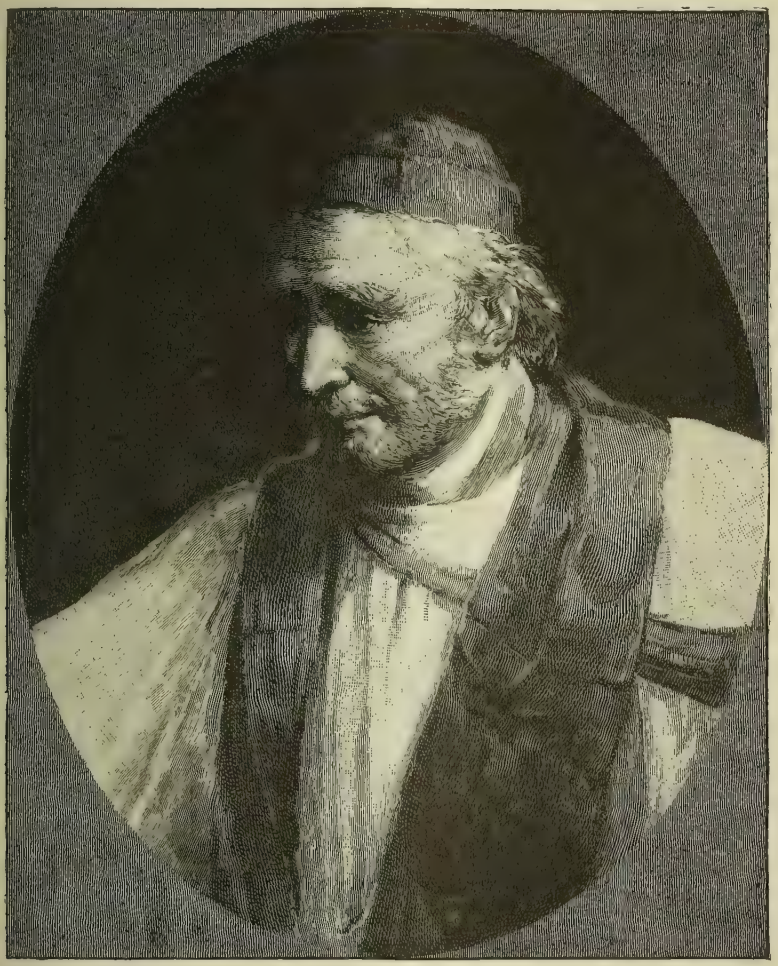
Before the close of the year their ranks were strengthened by the presence among them of one who at first associated himself with the little company with hesitancy, but who soon became the foremost champion of their cause—Edward Bouverie Pusey. Newman well paints the prestige as well as the intellectual power which this new recruit brought to the band of Oxford writers: "I had known him since 1827–8, and had felt for him an enthusiastic admiration. I used to call him ὁ μέγας (the great one). His immense diligence, his great learning, his scholarlike mind, his simple devotion to the cause of religion, overcame me; and great, of course, was my joy when in the last days of 1833 he showed a disposition to make common cause with us. His tract on 'Fasting' appeared as one of the series, with the date of December 21st. He was not, however, I think, fully associated with the movement till 1835–6, when he published his tract on 'Baptism,' and started the 'Library of the Fathers.' He at once gave us a position and a name. Without him we should have had but little chance. . . . But Dr. Pusey was a professor and canon of Christ Church; he had vast influence in consequence of his deep religious seriousness, the munificence

* In Froude's "Remains."

* Dean Church: "Oxford Movement," chap. v.

† "Apologia," chap. ii. It must be remembered that Dr. Pusey, after Newman's secession, for some fifty years was his strongest opponent, and yet Newman in his "Apologia," that book of strange charm and melancholy pathos, writes of his great adversary in 1878 as "my dearest Pusey, whom I have loved and admired for above fifty years. *O, si sic omnes!* if only it were so on earth as God's saints know it will be in heaven.

his charities, his professorship, his mily connections. . . . There was ienceforth a man . . . who furnished



DR. PUSEY.

(By permission of the executors of George Richmond, R.A., D.C.L., owners of the copyright, and of the Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford.)

l movement with a front to the world, nl gained for it a recognition from other p ties in the university."

The subject of Newman's warm and generous encomium stands out among l great ones of the nineteenth century. The wise and eloquent words spoken on the first Sunday of the term following Pusey's death, before the university in which for more than half a century Pusey had been one of the most conspicuous figures,* sympathetically but at the same time truly express the feeling of perhaps

* The university sermon in question was preached by Dr. Church, dean of St. Paul's. (October, 1882.)

the majority of religious English people of various schools of thought, towards the real leader of the Oxford movement: "No man was more variously judged, more sternly condemned, more tenderly loved. . . . What is the judgment upon him? I think that there is but one answer from those whose hearts thrill at the memory of all that he was to them, and from most of those—from many, I am sure—who stood against him, disapproved, resisted him. First and foremost, he was one who lived his life as, above everything, the servant of God. He takes rank with those who gave themselves and all that they had . . . to what they believed to be their work for God. . . . The world will remember him as the famous student, the powerful leader, the wielder of great influence in critical times, the man of strongly marked and original character who left his mark on the age. . . . When our confusions are still, when our lives and enmities and angers have perished, when our mistakes and misunderstandings have become dim and insignificant in the great distance of the past, then his figure will rise in history as one of that high company who looked at life as St. Paul looked at it. . . . Even those who do not in many things think as he thought, will class him among those who in difficult and dangerous times have witnessed by great zeal, by great effort, and great sacrifice, for God and truth and holiness."

Edward Bouverie Pusey, who came to play so great a part in the story of the Church of England, was the younger son of a distinguished Berkshire family, and was born in the first year of the century. In his child days his mother, lady Luc used to speak of him as her angelic so so singularly sweet and full of charm w his nature. After Eton he proceeded Christ Church, where, we hear, "he re desperately." In 1825 he was in t Oxford "schools." John Keble, who w one of the examiners, remarked: "I nev knew how Pindar might be put in English until I heard Pusey constr him." The senior examiner regarded hi as the man of the greatest ability wh had ever passed before him. In the ye following he was elected to an Or fellowship. For the next several yea he devoted himself to serious stud putting off his original intention to ta holy orders.

During this period he spent a long ti in Germany, laying there the foundati of his subsequent great fame as Oriental scholar in Hebrew, Arabic, a Syriac. He was the pupil and the frie of several of those famous German the logians whose names have become hou hold words in the world of scholarship Freytag, Tholuck, Schleiermacher, Ewa Hengstenberg, Sack, Neander, Lüc Nitzsch, Gieseler, Eichhorn, and others studying at the universities of Berl Greifswald, and Bonn. He returned Oxford finally in 1827, with a great a well-merited reputation. In 1828 t Hebrew professor, Dr. Nicholl, died the early age of thirty-five, and to t surprise of some who were unacquaint with the abilities and profound schol ship of the young Oriel fellow, on t nomination of the duke of Wellingt the then Prime Minister, E. B. Pus was chosen to fill the vacant chair, wh

carried with it the stall of a residentiary canon of Christ Church. He was not twenty-nine years of age when he became professor and canon, and, strange to say, this was his first and only preferment in the church in which for some half a century or more he was one of the most conspicuous thought-leaders.

Between 1828 and the year 1833, when, as we have seen, the Oxford movement began in real earnest, Pusey's reputation steadily grew. He was the friend but not the confidant of the pioneers of the new school, whose life and work we have been dwelling upon. But he was by no means identified with them till the close of 1833, when he consented to write the tract on "Fasting"; nor was he really heart and soul with the movement until a somewhat later date. The reverence, regard, and even awe with which he was regarded at Oxford has been already alluded to in Newman's own words. Isaac Williams, of Trinity, Keble's favourite pupil, one of the earliest of the Tractarians, the theologian and poet of after days, thus speaks of Pusey in connection with Newman in the memorable year 1833: "Samuel Wilberforce (afterwards the great bishop of Oxford, then of Winchester) was not much acquainted with Newman, though proud of knowing so remarkable a person. I (Isaac Williams) had up to this time no acquaintance with Pusey, but he would, now that we had lost Froude from Oxford (his death-malady was already upon him), fall in Newman and myself in our walks. They had been fellows of Oriel together, and Newman was the senior. But Pusey's presence always deepened his lighter and unrestrained mood; and I was myself silenced by so awful a person. Yet I always found in him something most congenial to myself—a nameless something which was wanting even in Newman, and I might almost add, even in Keble. But Pusey at this time (autumn of 1833) was not one of us." *

It was with some difficulty that he was induced to throw in his lot with the new school, and he only consented to join the company of the writers of the Tracts on the condition that his contributions should be signed with his initials, thus defining his personal responsibility. "He saw," wrote Newman, "that there ought to be more sobriety, more gravity, more careful pains, more sense of responsibility in the 'Tracts' and in the whole movement. It was through him that the character of the 'Tracts' was changed. When he gave us his tract on 'Fasting,' he put his initials *E. B. P.* to it. In 1835 he published his elaborate 'Tracts on Baptism,' which were followed by other tracts from different authors, if not of equal learning, yet of equal power and appositeness. The catenas of Anglican divines projected by me, which occur in the series, were executed with a like aim at greater accuracy and method. . . . I suspect it was Dr. Pusey's influence and example which set me and set others on the larger and more careful works in defence of the principles of the movement, which followed in a course of years." † Such works were "the Library of the Fathers" (forty-eight volumes); "Treatise on the Church of Christ" — William

* "Autobiography of Isaac Williams," edited by Sir George Prevost, pp. 69–70.

† "Apologia," chap. ii.

Palmer; "Lectures on Justification"—J. H. Newman; "The Prophetical Office of the Church"—J. H. Newman; "The Church of the Fathers," etc.

The putting out of the famous *Tracts for the Times* spread over a period of some eight or nine years, the first three being dated in the autumn of 1833, the "Tract 90" of J. H. Newman appearing in the February of 1841. The brevity of the greater part of the earlier tracts has been already noticed. They were for the most part short pungent leaflets devoted to the great questions which the new Oxford school of divines were busied in bringing before the church; such as the apostolic succession, the sacraments, the sources of divine grace, etc. The later tracts, mainly after the influence of Dr. Pusey was felt in the ranks of the company, were no longer leaflets, but elaborately worked-out essays on points of important doctrine or on ecclesiastical history. For instance, Dr. Pusey's tracts 67, 68, 69 formed a brochure, or rather a volume of over 200 pages, on "Baptism."

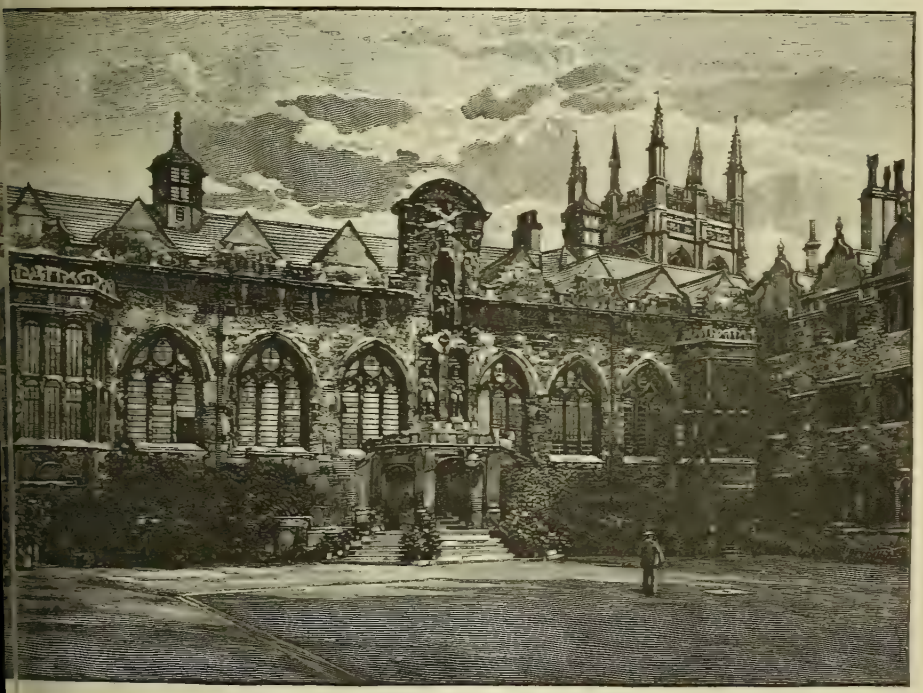
Two of the later issues attracted extraordinary attention. Isaac Williams, the favourite pupil and disciple of Keble, wrote No. 80, under the title, "On Reserve in Communicating Religious Knowledge." (Parts I., II., III.) The alarm it excited was quite incommensurate with any novelties suggested by the tract; and the feverish, excited condition of men's minds at this juncture is well exemplified, by the strange agitation which Mr. Williams's treatise excited. It was based upon a remark of Origen's in his commentaries on the Gospels, where that great expositor alludes to a mysterious holding back of sacred truth. The writer of the tract tells us how, in his sacred studies, he had been led to observe this constantly in our Lord's conduct. He quoted bishop Thirlwall of St. David's kindly comment upon his theory: "The very title of the paper, 'Reserve *in* communicating Religious Knowledge,' intimated that the teaching of the Gospel was not withheld, for it was *in* teaching it that the caution was to be exercised."* Mr. Williams in No. 87 followed up his arguments. The two much abused tracts consisted of 82 and 144 pages respectively.

Another of the later tracts, which aroused much bitter criticism, was Keble's No. 89—"On the Mysticism attributed to the Early Fathers of the Church." This, again, which has been described as "a beautiful and suggestive essay," and was of very considerable length (186 pages), in quieter times would have excited no hostile criticism.

All the later tracts, mostly elaborate and learned essays on theological questions, were rather addressed to a small and cultured audience than to the public generally; nor is it probable that they were really studied save by a few. On the whole, the famous series excited much opposition, and largely stirred up adverse criticism. But, on the other hand, they were to many strangely attractive. They spoke in language different from what men for a long period had been in the habit of using when they wrote or spoke of holy things. And the thoughts and aspirations which were suggested, old though

* "Autobiography of Isaac Williams," pp. 89–90. Edited by Sir George Prevost.

ey were, were novel to the generation dressed in the famous papers. Among e old-fashioned clergy of various schools thought, by no means confined to the Evangelical," many objections were raised at least portions of the tracts, and many ndiscretions" were pointed out. The me to receive such a mark of your remembrance. . . . I am sure that there must be many points of unison still between us, without ascending to the highest of all, though by the form in which your 'tract' appears I fear you are lending your co-operation to a party second to



ORIEL COLLEGE QUADRANGLE, OXFORD. *Photo: Gillman & Co., Oxford.*

ts of alarm and distrust from many cers are fairly expressed in a letter Dr. Arnold, the great head master Rugby, who emphatically ranks also as of the thought-leaders of the time. was written early in the movebearing the date of 1834, and ained a severe criticism of his old Dr. Pusey's tract on Fasting. was delightful," wrote Arnold, "to none in the tendency of their principles to overthrow the truth of the Gospel. Your own tract is perfectly free from their intolerance, as well as from their folly; yet I cannot sympathise with its object, which has always appeared to me to belong to the antiquarianism of Christianity—not to its profitable history. . . . The admiration of Christian antiquity seems to me to be the natural

parent* of Puritanism, which calls all that is ancient, Popery. The history and writings of the early ages of the church have their use, but it is an indirect, not a direct one, like the use of some of the historical parts of the Old Testament—that is, it will not furnish examples or precedents to be applied in the lump to present things, but it is . . . as a source for direct reference, to common persons, often dangerous." †

By men of a very different school from Dr. Arnold or the Evangelical teachers, who naturally were opposed to much that was advanced by the Tractarian writers between 1833 and 1841, were certain portions of the *Tracts for the Times*, and some of the utterances of their authors, viewed with uneasiness; notably the well-known sentiments of Richard Hurrell Froude, one of the most influential of the earlier writers of these celebrated papers. One, a high churchman *sans peur et sans reproche*, whose splendid services to his party, and, indeed, to the Church of England at large at the beginning of the movement, can never be forgotten or ignored, whose deep learning and unrivalled industry produced several of the weightiest contributions to the theological literature of the Church of England of this period, ‡ thus writes, alluding to the Church of England and foreign reformers: "Mr. (Richard Hurrell) Froude occasionally expressed sentiments which seemed extremely unjust to the reformers and injurious to the church." The more thoughtful Chu men of this school earnestly desired some committee of revision should appointed, to whom the "Tracts" sh be submitted before publication. W they feared, and justly, was that these teresting and important pronouncem would never be regarded outside Ox as the production of *individuals*, bu would be supposed they represe accurately the doctrines held by general association of the leaders of movement. These more cautious learned scholars, while deeply sen that the writers of the tracts had e lished great verities, and had c attention to some distinctive feat of the Church of England which been too much neglected, were by means able to concur in every posi advanced by individual writers, their misgivings were subsequently s verified.

Mr. Palmer, a sympathising and partial critic, however, bears unqual testimony to the general absence the "tracts" of any *Romanising* t ency, an accusation lightly and without due consideration consta made against them.* It is only just, sidering the great part these t played in the Oxford movement enumerate a very few of the st anti-papal pronouncements containe these notorious papers. "The t maintain that at the Reformation were delivered from the yoke of

* That is, by the reaction which it produces (note of Dr. Liddon).

† Arnold to Pusey (1834).

‡ Mr. (afterwards Sir) William Palmer, author of "Origines Liturgicæ," the "Treatise on the Church of Christ," etc. etc.

* It will be observed that all these remarks no reference to "Tract 90," the last of the s This too famous treatise must be spoken dependently. It did not appear until 1841.

anny and usurpation, and from the erstitious opinions and practices ich had grown up during the Middle es; that there is not a word in ipture about our duty to obey the pe. They profess enmity against the istical corruptions of the Gospel, and ersuasion that the Romanist communion infected with heterodoxy; that we are nd to flee it as a pestilence. They nit that our Anglican church is a true nch of the church universal, that it is holic and apostolic, yet not papistical. them transubstantiation is represented a manner of presence newly invented the Romanists, and even that the trine of transubstantiation is profane impious. They urge that the denial the cup to the laity, the sacrifice of sses as it has been practised in the man church, the honour paid to images, ulgences, the received doctrine of gatory, the practice of celebrating ne service in an unknown tongue, en sacraments, the claim of the Pope be universal bishop, and other points, respectively blasphemous, dangerous, of peril, gross inventions, at variance h Scripture, contrary alike to Scripture antiquity." Very weightily the same nest and scholarly high churchman, p, it must be borne in mind, was in deepest sympathy with the highest lects of the movement, winds up his icism and defence of the *Tracts for the Times* thus: "The repeated and explicit wals on these points (above summarised), anxiety which was evinced by such ers as Pusey and Keble to disclaim the utation of Romanising tendencies, ob- ed for the 'tracts' and their authors the support or the toleration of a great and influential portion of the church, which would otherwise have been withdrawn. We endured much of what we could not approve: exaggerated views of the independence of the church, undue severity to the reformers, too much praise of Romish offices, a depreciatory tone in regard to our own, and other points which were more than questionable." *

But if the great literary venture of the Oxford movement—the publication of the *Tracts for the Times*—has its double aspect; if it has received grave censure from some, and high, unstinted praise from others; if it is, to use another well-known simile, a pillar of cloud when viewed from one point of view, of light when looked at from another, there was another venture, in the world of sacred literature, issuing from the heart of the great religious movement, which must receive from every true-hearted member of the Church of England the deepest and most genuine approval. From the far-back age of the venerable Bede and the great teachers of the school of York in the eighth century, from the days of Plegmund the archbishop and Alfred the English king, a thousand years ago, the annals of our church are rich in the reminders of her noblest servants, addressed in various expressions of urgent exhortation to those who minister in her sanctuaries, not to neglect the study of sacred letters. One voice here proceeds from the famous Saxon teachers Aldhelm and Dunstan; from the great Normans Lanfranc and Anselm; from great mediæval prelates, such as Hugh of Lincoln

* Palmer: "Narrative," chap. iii.

and Grosseteste; from doctors of the Reformation period; from Elizabethan and Carolinian divines. These great ones, whose names are written large upon the many-coloured pages of the story of our national church, have all felt in their turn the inescapable need of a learned clergy —of men who could give a rational reason for the faith they preached and taught.

Now the Christian church possesses a storehouse of theology in the writings of her great teachers, who lived anterior to the division of the eastern and western churches. There was no lack of men deeply versed in this sacred literature, in the days of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. Later, in the times of Elizabeth and the Stuart sovereigns, Jewel and Parker, Hooker and Andrewes, Usher and Hammond, Bull and Waterland, are names which serve as examples of a long list of scholarly theologians who have adorned the Church of England. In the seventeenth century her divines were as well read in the fathers of the Catholic church as any theologians which the Romish church and her reformed learned orders could boast of. But owing to various causes, as the eighteenth century advanced, the study of the ancient fathers was gradually neglected. In the Evangelical revival, comparatively speaking, little use was made by the prominent thought-leaders of this great branch of Christian study. Milner perhaps alone of the Evangelical revivalists possessed any deep knowledge of the writing of the fathers. His church history "gave evidence of his sense of the spiritual beauty of the ancient church"; and Newman tells us how in his early studious years he "read Jose Milner's church history, and was noth short of enamoured of the long extra from St. Augustine, St. Ambrose, and other fathers, which he found ther But in spite of that possibly solitary ception, it is absolutely certain that t important study was practically igno in the Church of England in the d which immediately preceded the adv of the Oxford revivalists.

It is an indisputable fact that t great branch of theological study was introduced into the Church of Engla by the efforts of the new Oxford sch One of the earliest pieces of work und taken by the authors of the *Tracts for Times*, had been to publish, under the t of "Records of the Church," some of more interesting writings of the a Nicene Church, or portions of them—t epistles of St. Ignatius, the accounts the martyrs of Lyons and Vienne, a the martyrdom of St. Polycarp, parts St. Irenæus and Tertullian, of St. Jus Martyr, and St. Cyprian and others; th supplying publications of the deepest terest to the historian and the antiquari as well as to the theologian.

For more than a century, as we ha remarked, the Fathers had been but lit studied in the Anglican Chur Gradually the idea had gathered streng that their "witness" made rather the Roman system than for the Anglic The Roman theologians assumed th this was the fact. Dr. Pusey and seve of his learned coadjutors believed that these ancient Catholic writers were fai examined, it would be seen that t contrary was the case. Very striking

Newman, in one of his earlier works,* thus writes on the witness of the Fathers being hostile to the claims and errors of modern Rome: "Roman Catholics press to appeal to primitive Christianity; we honestly take their ground, as holding it ourselves, but when the controversy grows animated, and descends into details, they suddenly leave it, and desire to finish the dispute on some other field."

THE REV. CHAS. MARRIOTT, D.D.
(*From the portrait by Julian Drummond.*)

Intensely persuaded of the importance of reintroducing into the Anglican Church a knowledge of the writings of the primitive church, Dr. Pusey, about the year 1836, conceived the great idea of publishing an English translation of the most valuable treatises contained in the vast literature which has come down to us. Men, who were not perfectly familiar and at home with the Greek and Latin tongues, would then be able to judge for themselves what was the teaching of Augustine and Cyril, Cyprian and Chrysostom, Athanasius and Tertullian, Gregory the Great, Justin Martyr, Ephrem, Irenæus and Ambrose. The Anglican bishops, who as a body viewed the *Tracts for the Times* with anxiety if not with distrust, welcomed this great and useful work. And the public interest in its issue gradually grew. It was a difficult and costly task, and the cost was defrayed mainly by subscribers to the series. In the first list (1838) there were less than 800 names; in the second, which appeared in 1839, after the publication of the first two volumes, there were more than 1,100, and of these seventeen were bishops. The circulation kept increasing; though, as might have been expected, not by leaps and bounds. In 1853, thirty-one bishops and over 3,700 subscribers had joined. This is a very considerable number, when it is considered that only real students of theology would care to possess and peruse these most precious but often dry expositions, homilies, essays, and disquisitions of men who, however venerable and saintly, belonged to a far remote

* "The Prophetical Office of the Church," p. 59.

age. Of this valuable "Library of the Fathers" forty-eight massive tomes have been published. The issue closed in 1885 with the second volume of the translation of St. Cyril and St. John. In 1882 the venerable projector of the work, three months before his death, wrote the following words: "My work for the 'Library of the Fathers' is done. . . . I have myself no longer any time to revise anything. At nearly eighty-two one cannot increase work." Forty-six years had passed since Dr. Pusey planned out the great undertaking. Only four volumes more were published after he had passed away.

Besides the enduring effect which this successful effort to popularise the study of patristic theology produced upon the whole Church of England, it exerted a special influence on the Oxford movement. "It was at once an encouraging and a steadying influence; it made thoughtful adherents of the movement feel that the Fathers were behind them, and with the Fathers that ancient, undivided church whom the Fathers represented. It also kept before their minds the fact that the Fathers were in some respects unlike the moderns, not only in the English Church, but also in the Church of Rome. And above all, it reminded men of a type of life and thought which all good men in their best moments would have been glad to make their own." *

Other important publications cognate to patristic study, which have since enriched the storehouse of Christian antiquity open to the theological student, may be said to have sprung from the great un taking of Dr. Pusey and his fri Besides the publication of the ori texts of certain famous works of Augustine and Chrysostom, and St. of Alexandria, for the scholar, appeared "The Ante-Nicene Chri Library" in twenty-three volumes, prising translations into English of best part of the extant writings o Fathers down to the date of the General Council of Nice in A.D. 325. these patristic works may be added important publications of the A Catholic Library, containing the wri of the great Caroline divines, who been, with considerable accuracy, te the "Children of the Fathers"; and the issue, by another school of thou of various weighty and interesting w of the Reformation period, by the Pa Society.

Associated with Dr. Pusey in this n and successful effort to promote and p larise among the Anglican clergy study of the great teachers of the ea days of Christianity, were not a few of more distinguished leaders of the Ox movement, who contributed to the un taking — some as translators, others writers of the notes and prefaces. earlier volumes appeared under the edi ship of Pusey, Keble, and Newman. name, however, will be ever grate remembered in connection with "Library of the Fathers," as ha for some fourteen years—roughly, f 1841 to 1855—taken upon himself severest portion of the labour. As ed and writer of the prefaces, the name Charles Marriott occurs more freque

* Dr. Liddon.

n any other in the volumes of the ibrary." We have before alluded to life-story of this devoted and saintly olar, who, in the annals of this eventful iod of our church's history, filled with lit several important positions, such rincipal of the Theological College at chester, tutor at Oriel, and later, vicar St. Mary's, Oxford; but the main task is laborious life was the "Library of Fathers." Although constantly a suf- r from ill-health, his untiring energy he work he loved so well never flagged. read in his brother's touching recol- ions of the great scholar, how on a ney, even in a boat, he would pull a sheet of the work and proceed to e upon it; he was ever collating MSS., ecting the translations of others, cor- ing the press. At all times and ons, often in suffering, the portions the "Library of the Fathers," and were by no means small portions, for which he held himself responsible, were never out of his hands. Worn out by incessant toil, Charles Marriott, "the man of saintly life," as his biographer * happily calls him, passed away at the comparatively early age of forty-seven. Some of his contemporaries have since lamented that his splendid abilities, his patient devotion, his vast attainments, were not consecrated to other and more prominent work than what they termed mere literary drudgery; but, after all, no nobler toil can be conceived for a servant of God than a principal share in what was perhaps the chief and most enduring literary work of that far-reaching Oxford movement, of which he was one of the chief inspirers. "If I have any good in me," once remarked Edward King, the well-known and honoured bishop of Lincoln, "I owe it to Charles Marriott."

* Dean Burgon, in his "Lives of Twelve Good Men."

Photo: Gillman & Co., Oxford.

ORIEL COLLEGE, OXFORD: THE QUADRANGLE FROM THE DINING HALL.

CHAPTER LXXV.

THE ANGLICAN REVIVAL. THE RITUAL AND ANGLO-ROMAN CONTROVERSIES.

Controversy concerning Dr. Hampden—Growing Influence of the Tractarians—Charges of Roman the Church, and Pusey's Reply—An Extreme Group in the Party—Change in Newman's Vie He Publishes Tract 90—General Condemnation of this Tract—The Tracts Cease—Wil George Ward—Pusey Charged with Heresy—Ward Publishes "The Ideal of the Chri Church"—His Condemnation and Degradation—Struggle in Newman's Mind—His Sermon—Secession of Newman and others to Rome—Effect on the Roman Church—Fai Permanently Affect the English Church—Pusey as the Leader of the School—Effect of Movement on the Church generally—Changes in Ritual—Consequent Dissensions—The Bi of Lincoln's Case brought before a really Ecclesiastical Tribunal—The Points at Issue— Archbishop's Judgment—Hopes of Peace in the Church—Attitude of the Church and towards Roman Catholics—The Emancipation Act—A Papal Hierarchy set up in 18 Leo XIII. and Anglican Orders—Revival of Practical Work largely due to the Oxford M ment—Sisterhoods and Female Work—General Results of the Anglican Revival.

WE have now to relate the beginning of the troubles which so sadly disfigured the Oxford movement. First in order come the events which roused hostility, and divided Oxford into two camps; then the still stranger circumstances which rent asunder the party of the Tractarians, as they came gradually to be called.

In 1832, an able and well-read scholar, Dr. Hampden, who was well known in the university as almost the only student of scholastic divinity, preached the series of sermons known as the "Bampton Lecture." It is doubtful if these would have attracted much public attention had not their author, some two years later, taken a prominent part in the discussion upon a proposal to admit Dissenters into the university without having first subscribed to the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England. The arguments he advanced in favour of this relaxation in favour of Nonconformists, being compared with propositions he had advanced in his "Bampton Lectures," briefly summarised, were to the effect the Thirty-nine Articles were, after human formularies, and were really bin on no one but those who had reason to t them true. His arguments seem to have him into admissions of a very dange character. The great Catholic creed the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds—e expression of collective belief, and e document, however venerable, which church had sanctioned from the seemed to be included in his estimate of Articles. The argument he applied to Articles seemed in his system to equally to the "creeds" received in churches, all being "of human origin."

Fierce disputes, on these conclusion Dr. Hampden, naturally arose in university. In 1835, the proposed a tion of the subscription to the Article matriculation, for which Hampden his party had pleaded, was rejected an enormous majority. The angry of words and pamphlets, however, m have died away and been forgotten,

not been for the strange recommendation at this juncture, made by the prime minister, of Dr. Hampden as Regius professor of Divinity, in the room

R. D. HAMPDEN, D.D.
(*From the painting by D. Macnee, R.S.A.*)

of Dr. Burton, who died at the close of 1836. It was early in 1836 when, to use the words of a contemporary Oxford observer, "we were electrified by the intelligence that Dr. Hampden was to be appointed to the vacant chair of divinity. The measure seemed a designed insult to the university. . . It was to place in the chair of divinity, with the power of instructing and guiding *half the rising clergy of England*, one who would undermine the authority of our creeds and articles."

A number of influential Oxford men petitioned the crown against the appointment. The petition was, however, rejected, and Dr. Hampden became Regius

professor. Again the angry discussions were renewed—discussions which finally resulted in Convocation passing a vote of censure upon Dr. Hampden, who was deprived of certain privileges which belonged to his professor's chair. It is true that this vote of censure and what followed was by no means the exclusive work of the Tractarians, many who never sympathised with them having joined in the proceedings against the new professor; but it is indisputable that "the leaders of the movement had undertaken the responsibility, conspicuously and almost alone, of pointing out the objections to Dr. Hampden's teaching." From this time onwards a bitter enmity existed between the leaders of the movement, and Dr. Hampden and his friends; and much of the subsequent unfortunate action on the part of the university rulers was owing to the feeling stirred up by this unhappy incident.

We must not, however, linger too long over this confused period, when so many angry feelings were aroused by the Hampden controversy, but content ourselves with lightly touching upon the circumstances which marked the progress of the "movement" between 1836 and 1841; the last-named date definitely marking the beginning of the parting of the ways among the Tractarians themselves. The work of the new Oxford party during these five or six years (1836–1841) went on, and their influence steadily grew. As early as 1835 the Theological Society, the meetings of which were held in Dr. Pusey's house in Christ Church, was formed. Theological essays were read, some of which subsequently formed the basis of the later lengthy *Tracts for the Times*. The tracts themselves appeared at tervals, some of them, as we have alre noticed, of portentous length. Arti were written in the widely-read *Bri Critic* and *Quarterly Theological Revi* some of them weighty and import essays on church matters, some of th unhappily coloured by a growing sp of discontent with the English Chu and by a fatal sympathy with Ro Froude's "Remains" were published, excited grave alarm in many prud and thoughtful hearts by their wild exaggerated expressions. The Library the Fathers had been fairly started, volumes of this great literature of early church were appearing at sta intervals. And all this time the fam sermons of Newman were being preac at St. Mary's every Sunday afternoo such sermons, with their spiritual de and earnestness, with their quiet and fe eloquence, as for many long years never been listened to in Oxford bef In addition to these, the great teac gave lectures in Adam de Brome's cha in St. Mary's* to a small but influen group of listeners, lectures which w afterwards developed into his work "The Prophetical Character of Church," and certain of the later leng *Tracts for the Times*.

The interest of the world, outs Oxford, in the questions stirred up the movement, by degrees extend and it has been said with truth t

* This chapel has been described as a dark dreary appendage to St. Mary's on the north s in which Adam de Brome, Edward II.'s Almo and the founder of Oriel college, is supposed to beneath a slab of Purbeck marble, from which brass has been removed.

these years "the movement in its ny sides had almost monopolised for l time both the intelligence and the hest religious earnestness of the uni- sity. In Oxford," writes dean Church, vacation reading parties, in their ks or social meetings, in their studies in the common room, the 'Tractarian' trines, whether assented to or laughed t deplored or fiercely denounced, were to come to the front. All subjects liscussion seemed to lead up to them: r and poetry, Gothic architecture and man romance and painting, the osophy of language, and the novels Walter Scott and Miss Austen, Cole- ge's transcendentalism, and bishop tler's practical wisdom, Plato's ideals, n Aristotle's analysis. It was difficult eep them (the Tractarian opinions) u of lecture-rooms and examinations fellowships." And thus, not only in ord, but throughout the country, a e school of thought appeared, and lly became a power in England, one that had to be reckoned with he rulers of the church, who were t unnaturally alarmed by some of rash and imprudent pronouncements h emanated from it.

he fatal rift in this new and powerful r came about in this wise. From to 1839 the movement met with, the whole, marked success. The rer-clouds which menaced the church been dispersed; little was now heard structive reform; a widespread feeling wour of the church had been evoked g the English people, and a marked lse had been given to theological ; and some at least among the celebrated *Tracts for the Times* had been by many thoughtful minds in the church received, if not with unstinting approval, at least with respectful, even sympathetic consideration. The gravest accusation levelled against the Tractarian party, and one that was listened to with considerable attention, was founded upon its alleged inclination to Romanism. To this formidable charge Dr. Pusey replied in his famous "Letter to the Bishop of Oxford." This letter was, in fact, an elaborate apology for the publications and public utterances of the school, put out during the first six years of the movement. In it, from his standpoint, he showed with conspicuous ability that in the "Tracts," and generally in the writings* of the Tractarian leaders, there was a general consensus of opinion adverse to Rome—a clear conception of its corruptions and grave doctrinal errors, and a distinct intention to resist them.

This letter of Pusey had considerable effect, and in many quarters was considered unanswerable. But Dr. Pusey, when he published it, forgot or ignored that in 1839-40, although the main body of his friends were loyal to their church, there had sprung up in the heart of the movement a small though powerful group of conspicuously able men, whose words and writings were unmistakably coloured with those very Romanistic tendencies which he was so anxious to disclaim for the whole party — men like Robert Wilberforce, Oakeley, and Ward, names that afterwards became too famous in religious England.

* Of course, there were grave exceptions, but notably in R. H. Froude's "Remains." See p. 324.

The chief inspirer of this group, alas! was Pusey's dearest friend and associate, Newman; and these leaders were followed by a small but determined group of younger men, all fiery partisans, and devoted to Newman.

In fact, the Tractarians in 1839, 1840, and 1841 were already fast dividing into two parties. These younger and more impetuous men, who had more or less broken away from the more serious older leaders, such as Pusey, Palmer, and Keble, all looked for guidance and a lead to

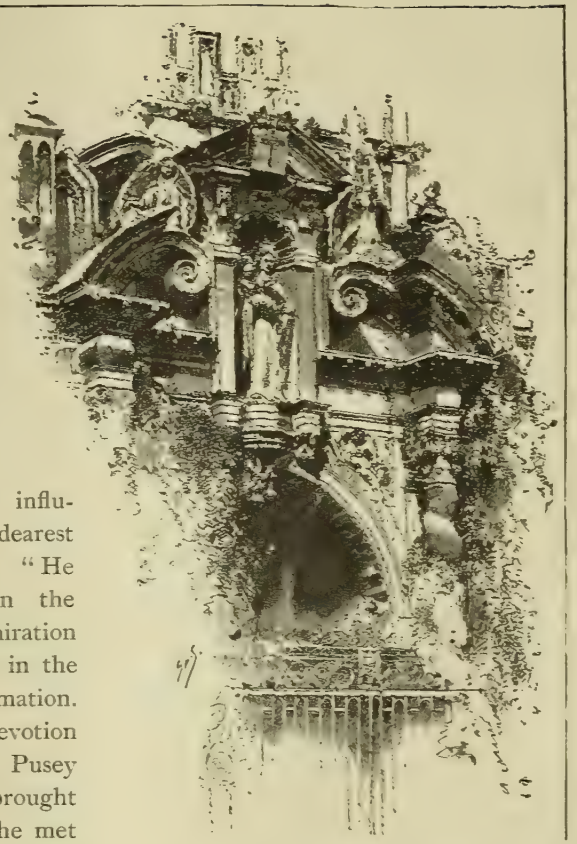
DR. PUSEY PREACHING.

that strong, brilliant man whose winning voice and burning words were so well known, whose writings were so eloquent and withal so lucid, and who since the beginning of the revival had been the chief inspirer of both the writings and the sermons of the school — Newman of Oriel, the vicar of the great Oxford c of St. Mary's. What of *him* at this c juncture? what part would he play drama which was being gradually unf before the eyes of the church and na Would he lead these ardent but mistaken spirits back into the old of the Anglicanism which they forsaking, or would he be their on their Rome-ward way?

The reasons which brought abou change that had passed over New views, will ever remain a mystery. may suggest certain plausible e causes which may have moved *him*, they failed utterly to touch such as Pusey and Keble, to say nothi less known but at the same time e profound scholars, such as Palmer Marriott. But when all is befor the change in Newman will ever rem riddle to which no perfectly satisfa solution exists. Even his own *Apo* written with all the winning and transparent eloquence of whic was so great a master, fails us here. pen in the earlier years of Tractari so trenchantly condemned Romanis did the pen of him who in later has been known as the great ca For instance, he wrote: "We agree the Romanist, in appealing to *ant* as our great teacher, but we deny his doctrines are to be found in antiq In another place he says: "We b that Popery is a perversion or corru of the truth," and with crushing he once penned the following sen which with tremendous force aim and hit the darkest blot on the shi

me: "The present authorita-
e teaching of the Church of
me, to judge by what we see
it in public, goes very far
eed to substitute another
spel for the true one. Instead
setting before the soul the
ssed Trinity, it does seem to
as a popular system to preach
blessed Virgin and the
nts." *

What, then, brought about the
at change which passed over
t great but versatile soul?
st and foremost we would
gest, from his own words, the influ-
e exercised over him by his dearest
nd, Richard Hurrell Froude. "He
ght me," writes Newman in the
logia, "to look with admiration
ards the Church of Rome, and in the
e degree to dislike the Reformation.
fixed deep in me the idea of devotion
the blessed Virgin." Dr. Pusey
ght the final catastrophe was brought
t owing to the ill-treatment he met
, especially from the heads of houses
xford. But this was not the general
ion of the more serious members of
group of older Tractarians, one of whom
records his conclusions, which may
aken as a fair expression of their
ghts here: "I have heard Dr. Pusey
k of Newman as forced out of the
rch of England; nevertheless, I be-
Isaac Williams may be right in
buting his change more to what was



PORCH OF ST. MARY'S, OXFORD.

working within him—to his natural restless temperament." * That his sensitive spirit was wounded by the unwise and precipitate treatment dealt out to him and his friends by university and other authorities, is indisputable; but that Newman made up his mind quite independently of these circumstances, is equally clear.

The Church of Rome, too, with its grandeur, its far-reaching power, its marvellous adaptability to all conceivable

* Sir George Prevost, in the "Autobiography of Isaac Williams," p. 104 (note).

he references to these passages from rnal Newman's writings are given in Mr. er's "Narrative." He adds other similar tions, which might largely be multiplied.

human organisations, its more than imperial authority over the hearts of men, for years had possessed a strange fascination for Newman, even while at the same time he clearly recognised its grievous shortcomings. In its magnificence and catholicity it was to him, all through the earlier days of the movement, nevertheless "a lost church," "the seat of heinous error," the guardian of an unsound creed, the "cruel-natured Rome." In his well-known poems we come upon such lines as—

"Far sadder musing on the traveller falls
At sight of thee, O Rome!"
* * * *
"And next a mingled throng besets the breast
Of bitter thoughts and sweet,
How shall I name thee, Light of the wide West,
Or heinous error-seat?"

And again,—

"O that thy creed were sound!
For thou dost soothe the heart, thou Church of Rome,
By thy unwearied watch, and varied round
Of service, in thy Saviour's holy home.
* * * *
There on a foreign shore
The home-sick solitary finds a friend."

In another of his poems we read—

"And now thou sendest foes
Bred from thy womb, lost Church, to mock the throes
Of thy free child, thou cruel-natured Rome!" *

Yet, in spite of these misgivings, ever in Newman's mind brooded the attractive thought which lives along the pages of Macaulay's famous essay,† written about the same time, of the *permanence* of that mighty Roman communion; how for centuries, amid the crash of falling empires, the changes of dynasties, migration of whole peoples, Rome lived on; how when the waters of sion or revolution had abated, "its foundations remained unshaken; not once or twice it appeared a the ruins of a world which had p away. . . . The unchangeable ch was still there." Though he too conscious that the doctrines o Romish church were very different the doctrines of the early church gradually and by slow degrees expl to himself this incongruity by means o ingenious theory of "development" w he subsequently thought out and lished; a theory which amazed interested all, which delighted minds, and grieved and saddened oth

But in 1839-1840 this was still in future, and Newman was yet a lead thought in the Anglican communion was early in 1841 that he published essay, which will be for ever assoc with his name when many of his n pieces of work are forgotten: the known as "Tract 90," entitled "Rem on certain passages in the Thirty Articles" (83 pages). Its avowed purpos to keep in the Church of England a ce number of his disciples who were on point of seceding from the Anglican munion and joining the Church of R The argument in the famous tract w excited so much criticism, was to the that in the Thirty-nine Articles o Church of England "was there no Cat doctrine, or hardly any Roman doct condemned." * The ingenuity of

* "Lyra Apostolica," Nos. clxxii., clxxiii., clxxiv.

† Macaulay: Essay on Ranke's "History of the Pope," published in the *Edinburgh Review*, 1840.

* *Cf.* Wakeman: "History of Church of land," chap. xx.

range argument was indisputable; but cannot be said to have been successful om any point of view. It failed largely the primary purpose of its author: even ie of the most learned of the Tractarian rty speaks of "the universal disapprotion which 'Tract 90' experienced." In ewman's letter to Dr. Jelf, written in 42, in which he defended his exposition the Articles so severely and generally iticised, he says, by way of explanation, at he was thinking only or chiefly of me younger men who saw in the Articles, popularly interpreted, a reason for joinig the Church of Rome.

But for good or for evil Tract No. had been launched forth, and it was riously and eagerly read by friends and s. As is usually the case in such proruncements, many read the original essay, mparatively few the explanations*—hich dwelt especially on his earnest sire to meet a particular set of difficulties. Very quickly the storm broke er Oxford. "Tract 90" was published e last day of February, 1841. Early in rch four senior tutors † of the university dressed the author of the Tract, charging n with opening a way by which men in e case of Romish doctrines might violate eir solemn pledges to the university. Be-e March had half run out, the "heads of uses" met and declared that in "No. 90" des of interpretation were suggested by ich subscription to the Articles might reconciled with the adoption of Roman tholic error; and the resolution of these university chiefs was passed without waiting for the defence of the author of the Tract thus condemned, though they were aware that the defence in question was soon to appear.

Very gently did the bishop of Oxford (Dr. Bagot), of whom the Tractarian leaders ever speak with reverence and love, express his opinion of "No. 90" to Newman. After kindly alluding to his persuasion that the object of the Tract in question was to make the church more Catholic (in its true sense) and more united, he added the grave words, "but I cannot think it free from danger, and I feel that it would tend to increase disunion at this time." The archbishop of Canterbury,* writing to the bishop of Oxford, styles it the "unfortunate Tract." Far more stern and condemnatory, however, was the public language of the majority of the bishops, who, before the end of the year (1841) which had witnessed its publication, with "very varying degrees of decision, joined in the chorus of condemnation of the famous essay." † "What

* Archbishop Howley, formerly Regius professor of divinity at Oxford, the intimate friend of H. J. Rose, above described as one of the prominent figures of the early days of the movement, was a prelate of singularly calm judgment and understanding. Lord Aberdeen, the statesman, declared that after forty years of intimate acquaintance he had found less of human infirmity in Howley than in any man he had ever known.

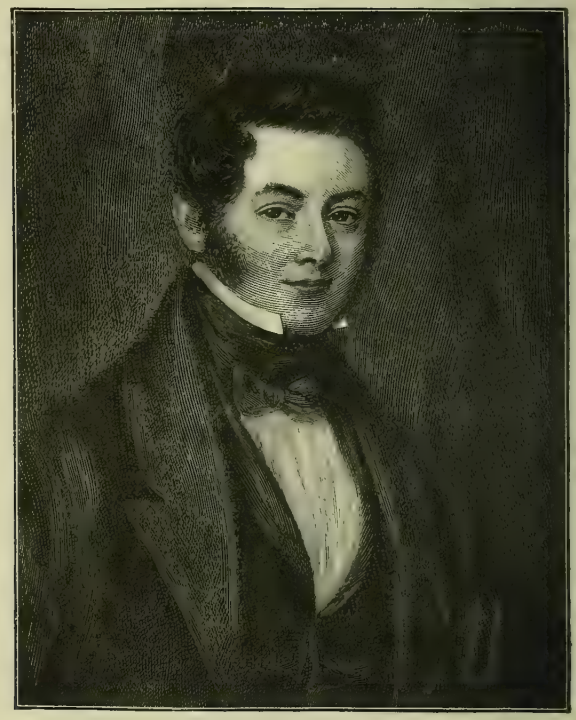
† As an instance of the language of the episcopal charges see, for instance, the reference in Dr. Philpotts' charge. (Dr. Philpotts, bishop of Exeter, has been fairly described as the most advanced and militant High Churchman on the bench.) "The tone of the Tract, as respects our own church, is offensive and indecent; as regards the Reformation and our reformers, absurd, as well as incongruous and unjust. Its principles of interpreting our Articles I cannot but deem most unsound: the

Such, for instance, as were contained in the ve referred to letter to Dr. Jelf.

One of the four was Mr. Tait, afterwards hop of London and archbishop of Canterbury.

might not the movement have been," Dr. Pusey said with some pathos some forty years later, "if the bishops could have understood us! I remember Newman saying to me at Littlemore, 'Oh, Pusey! we have leant on the bishops, and they have broken down under us.' It was too late then to say anything; he was already leavi us." *

Acting upon the expressed wish of bishop of Oxford and of the archbish of Canterbury, who both showed kin feeling and sympathy with Newman,



WILLIAM GEORGE WARD.
(From a Miniature by E. Combe

announcement of the cessation of Tracts was almost immediately made; a in a judicious letter to bishop Bagot, archbishop trusted that such an announ ment would terminate the troubles exci by the 90th Tract. These hopes were realised. There were many in the Chu of England who had received the writi

reasoning with which it supports its principles sophistical; the averment on which it founds its reasoning, at variance with recorded facts . . . It is idle to argue against arguments which were not designed for argument, but for scoffing . . . It is far the most daring attempt ever yet made by a minister of the Church of England to neutralise the distinctive doctrines of our church, and to make us symbolise with Rome." (Quoted in "Life of Archbishop Tait," vol. i.)

* Quoted by Dr. Liddon, in "Life of Puse vol. ii., chap. xxvi.

d sayings of the new Oxford school with like. The late attitude of the official iefs in Oxford, and the general coldness even hostility on the part of many of e bishops, seemed in a measure to justify se feelings of antipathy. "Tract 90" s not allowed to drop into oblivion. It s attacked and defended in many ways d by many persons. But, after all, even man when the stir consequent upon the publication of the famous tract of Newman arose in 1841. He was already well known in Oxford as a sparkling and interesting personality, but withal eccentric and curiously impressionable. The story of his examination in the schools will never be forgotten; how, after a most brilliant display of scholarship, he was asked an ordinary

BALLIOL COLLEGE, OXFORD. *Photo: Gillman & Co., Oxford.*

ls strong and excited feeling might have d away, had it not been for the action of extreme wing of the Tractarian party. We have before once or twice alluded to arty of Oxford men, mostly younger n Newman, and all ardently attached to great teacher, who more powerfully n any other man of his generation had rare power of attracting and fascinat- others. Of these the most prominent, haps the most able, was William George rd, a fellow of Balliol College. Born in 2, he was still a comparatively young question bearing upon the classic author he had so perfectly rendered into English. It was one of Cicero's letters. Ward, in reply, said he knew "nothing whatever about them" and their history. The examiner, wishing to assist the able young scholar, begged him to take his own time, thinking he was simply nervous. "No, sir," replied Ward, "it is not nervousness, pure ignorance." In the end, this curious neglect of common information cost him his first-class, but his well-known scholarship procured him a fellowship of Balliol.

The same strange inconsistency continued all through his career. Years later, when his originality and great learning and undoubted ability had made his name famous, a similar incident is related connected with Pugin, the illustrious architect. Pugin, whose idolatry of everything Gothic is well known, remarked to a friend: "What an extraordinary thing that so glorious a man as Ward should be living in a room without 'mullions' to the windows!" Pugin playfully attacked him on the subject of this lack—as it seemed to him—in the architecture of his dwelling. "What are mullions?" was Ward's reply; "I never heard of them." *

In the earlier years of his Oxford career Ward came much under the influence of Dr. Arnold and Arthur Stanley, but later he was attracted by the sermons and lectures of Newman, of whom he became the follower and ardent disciple, exaggerating, however, and going far beyond the teaching of his master. Under Ward and his immediate companions, what was virtually a new school grew up in the heart of the older Tractarian school. To Ward "the beautiful but more indefinite" lessons of the early Fathers presented less attraction than the writings of the famous mediævalists. "He literally buried himself," says his biographer, "in the works of Aquinas and Bonaventura and of the great Spanish theologians of the sixteenth century, and at this time he laid the foundations of the deep and wide theological learning for which he was in after years so famous, when he had found a home in another communion."

* See "William George Ward and the Oxford Movement," by Wilfrid Ward, chap. vii.

All through this period of stress a trial at Oxford, of painful searchings heart, of blind groping hither and thith of sombre controversy, the existing Ro church was ever the object of Wa reverence and admiration. To his glow imagination, the loftiest types of sanc presented by the Anglican Church, e when "sharing the tender piety of Geo Herbert and bishop Ken, fell short of heroic aims, the martial sanctity gained warfare unceasing against the world flesh and devil, which he found exhibi in Roman hagiology." * While in th last years of the great movement New was gradually withdrawing himself m and more from public gaze, and in solitude at Littlemore, outside the Oxf world, in silence was meditating the gr step of his anxious, troubled life; wh Pusey, in deep sorrow at what he s around him, was bracing himself up endure hardness for what he felt was tru while Keble and Marriott were hop against hope that they would soon se rift in the dark clouds of suspicion animosity which were fast gathering o the revival of what they held so preci and dear, Ward became the promin figure in Oxford—writing, arguing season and out of season, the centre rallying-point of the disaffected youn Tractarians, day by day showing him more plainly as the adversary of An canism; going far to justify, indeed, harsh and often unwise action of governing body in the university and the rulers of the Church.

We have a contemporary portrait †

* Wilfrid Ward's Life, chap. vii.

† *Ibid.* chap. ii.

his brilliant but eccentric outcome of the movement, which paints him as short and unwieldy, with clear-cut features of great mobility of expression, and as having a joyousness of manner which was infectious. His voice was powerful and musical, and his laugh mighty. His speech was frank to a fault. Arthur Stanley, afterwards dean of Westminster, writes of him as "a large moon-faced man." This strange, clever man, who worked such mischief to the cause of which once he was so doughty a champion, was one of the most lovable and modest of friends, absolutely unself-seeking, at once tender and generous. When, long years later, Ward had passed away, and the din of the great conflict had been long hushed, the greatest of the poets of this century * wrote the following touching memorial lines to his friend :—

"Farewell, whose living like I shall not find,
Whose faith and work were bells of full accord,
My friend, the most unworldly of mankind,
Most generous of all Ultramontanes, Ward,
How subtle at tierce and quart of mind with mind,
How loyal in the following of thy Lord!"

It was to retain in their allegiance to the Church of England men such as Ward, that Newman tells us he wrote "Tract 90," and its unreal interpretation of the Thirty-nine Articles. But Ward would have none of such interpretations. The "Articles" to him were utterly distasteful. He honestly disliked them, because he felt they *were* openly Protestant. It was possible, but only just possible, he said, for a Catholic to subscribe to them. He would not go further with Newman and his tract, than to concede in his strange forcible phraseology, that these Articles were *patient* of a Catholic interpretation, but *ambitious* of a Protestant meaning. They were, as he considered them, the outcome of an evil age. Such pronouncements as this, from one like Ward, were not likely to promote peace in Oxford, or in the church outside Oxford.

Indefatigable was his pen. A number of articles in the *British Critic*, a quarterly review which had long been highly esteemed in the Church, written by him, instituted comparisons between the Church of England and the Church of Rome. The field over which Mr. Ward's comparisons stretched was a broad one, and included much besides doctrine. The ideals, aims, the training and education—in fact, the whole life of the clergy of the two churches were in these articles exhaustively reviewed, and generally the result of the comparison was fatally adverse to the Church of England.

Nor was Ward the only Tractarian writer who at this time wrote in this spirit in the pages of the *British Critic*. Others harped on the same disloyal string. Among these, distinguished for his ability and power as a writer, was Mr. Oakeley, also a fellow of Balliol, and minister of Margaret Chapel in London. His famous article on "Jewel" was one of the most bitter public pronouncements by the anti-Reformation school of Ward. In it the Reformation is proclaimed as "a desperate remedy," was almost "a fearful judgment," and bishop Jewel is absolutely condemned as a heretic. This article in the *British Critic* openly advised its readers to withdraw their confidence from the English reformer.

The attitude generally assumed by the

* Lord Tennyson.

heads of the University towards the Tractarians in those two years which followed the publication of "Tract 90," as regards Ward cannot be fairly criticised. He was openly assuming an absolutely disloyal attitude towards the church of which he was a minister. The wisdom, however, of some of the proceedings of the "heads" is open to grave censure. It was undoubtedly an uneasy, restless moment. "Tract 90" had disturbed and rendered anxious many quiet, earnest minds, and the unveiled Romanistic tendencies of Ward and his group of friends were becoming every month more prominent: there was real danger in the air. But unhappily the heads of the colleges encountered the danger as men who were panic-stricken. They looked on all the party of the "movement" with suspicion, and treated them all alike as enemies. They had no sympathy with the earnestness and true piety and profound scholarship which existed in the Tractari ranks. With the exception of Dr. Rou the honoured president of Magdale there was scarcely a theological scholar their number. The bishops, too, with ra exceptions, followed their lead, and in th public utterances and charges treated all t men of the movement alike with coldne and even with stern reproof. The bish

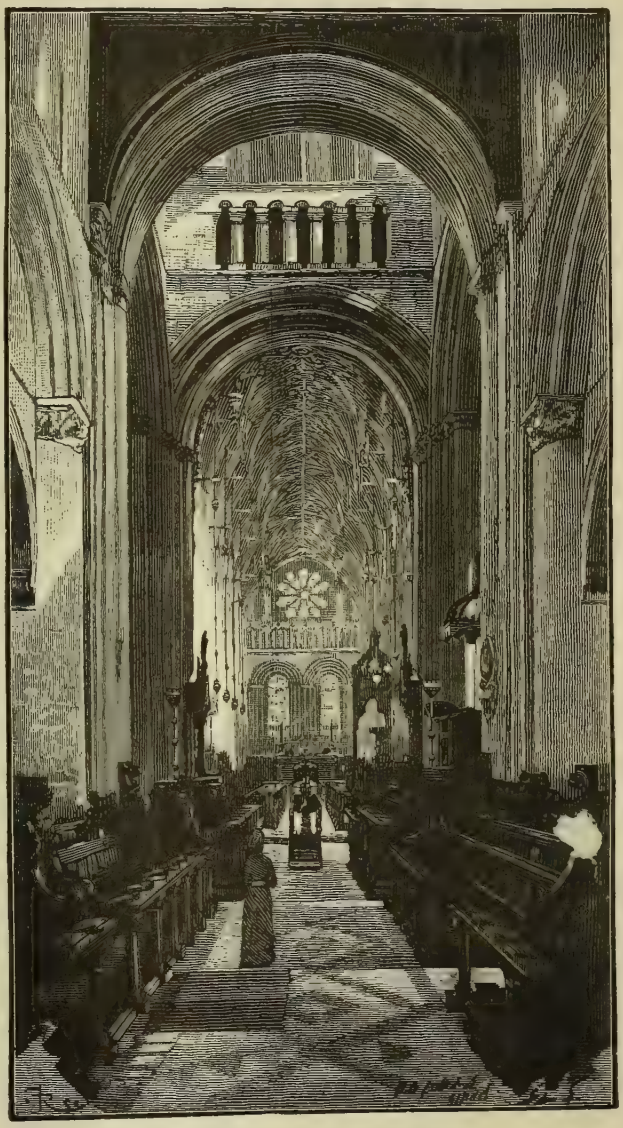
MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD, FROM THE CHIRWELL.

of Winchester even refused ordination t Keble's curate. In the University, whe at the close of 1841 Keble vacated th chair of poetry, the election turned mo unfairly upon the burning question of th day, and Isaac Williams, a singularl devout and pious scholar, whose claim from his published poems, to the chair poetry were undoubted, was set aside fo another, certainly as a poet not to b classed with Williams, who was looke upon by the majority of the electors a the "Tractarian" candidate.

Photo : Gillman & Co., Oxford.

THE CATHEDRAL (CHRIST CHURCH), OXFORD.

A still graver error was committed in the spring of 1843, when a sermon of Dr. Pusey's, preached in Christ Church, was condemned as heretical, and the preacher condemned in consequence to two years' silence. The sermon in question was styled "The Holy Eucharist a Comfort to the Penitent." It was by no means a polemical discourse. That it contained statements concerning the Holy Eucharist, which some loyal and faithful members of the Church of England would have demurred to, is no doubt true; but that it contained nothing which could be with any fairness arraigned as heresy, is equally true. How wide and diverse men's opinions respecting the profound mystery have been in all ages of the story of the Church, we have already borne witness. It will be ever so. But to charge Pusey with heresy was indeed a grave error, especially as he was refused a hearing by his judges.



CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD.

The scene when Pusey preached what has since been known as "the condemned sermon," on the fourth Sunday after Easter, 1843, has been thus graphically described. "The audience listened with the attention it always does to Dr. Pusey, and then went away. . . . It was pronounced useful, eloquent, striking, beautiful, pretty, such the usual remarks. Some said it was a long sermon. It was

of course, said to contain high doctrinal views; but as all Pusey's sermons contain high views, there was nothing to draw attention in this remark. The audience went home, were perfectly at their ease, thought nothing more about it—the reverential impression excepted, of course, which that preacher's discourse leaves on the mind—when all on a sudden comes, like a clap of thunder on the ear, the news that the Board of Heresy is summoned to sit on Dr. Pusey." *

Dr. Pusey at that time occupied a unique position at Oxford. He was reckoned as the official leader of the then unpopular Tractarian party. But his unswerving loyalty to the Church of England was unquestioned by foes as by friends. In his great university he had no peer in the profundity and wide range of his learning. These high qualifications, coupled with his blameless, self-denying life, rendered him, it has been well said, in many respects the most venerated person in Oxford. To strike at such a teacher was indeed a fatal error, and it was one of the chief causes which precipitated the catastrophe we are about to relate.

We may now return to Mr. Ward, and the attitude he and his friends were taking up. The articles in the *British Critic* we have already spoken of, as giving an entirely new complexion to the movement. Mr. Mozley, who was then editor of the *British Critic*, thus writes of them: "I continued to read Ward's articles as fast as they came from the press . . . not only from duty, but with a certain pleasurable excitement, akin to that some children have in playing on the edge of a precipice. Their terminus was outside the Church England." In some sense they justified t suspicion with which all the Tractaria were viewed by the heads in Oxfo and the bishops outside the universit Dr. Pusey and Isaac Williams suffered the sins of their brethren. The rul of the university and of the church lump the loyal and disloyal Anglicans all t gether without discrimination. Men li Palmer felt it was indeed high time " cut themselves free from this decayed a dying member."

Under the pressure of these grave c cumstances, which threatened the ve existence of the movement, with the f approval of the generous-minded a sympathetic Dr. Bagot, bishop of Oxfor Mr. Palmer put out the "Narrative Events connected with the publicati of the Tracts for the Times." It w a somewhat dry, but at the sa time fair and statesmanlike history the dawn and growth of the "mov ment," and included a vivid contra between the tone and object of its fi promoters, with the excesses of the la writers in the *British Critic*—excess which were, of course, by all sober-mind Anglicans, strongly and adversely criticis and disowned. The "Narrative" e cited wide attention, was very genera approved by a great number of leadi churchmen, and was largely sold; America, it is said, 100,000 copies we disposed of. The "Romanisers" so replied to it, and the reply took the fo of a bulky volume of some 600 pag by Ward, entitled "The Ideal of t Christian Church considered in comparis with Existing Practice." The "Idea

* Essays by J. B. Mozley, D.D., ii., pp. 150–1.

as published in the June of 1844, a little ore than a year after the condemnation Dr. Pusey's sermon. There was no staking its tendency. It boldly accepted d endorsed the disloyal attitude of the icles in the *British Critic*, at the same ne freely confessing that Mr. Palmer's otations from the *British Critic* articles re, on the whole, perfectly fair. The eaning of this once famous book was infully obvious. It not only maintained at the Roman Church—the actual man system—was generally superior the Anglican Church and the Anglican tem, but it claimed the right of holding whole cycle of Roman doctrine.

Such a manifesto could not remain ored. Before the year 1844 closed, heads of the Oxford houses announced it, having examined some of the startling positions advanced in the "Ideal," they posed to submit to Convocation certain asures. (1) To condemn Mr. Ward's ok; (2) to degrade Mr. Ward by de-ving him of all his university degrees. hong the passages selected as examples the vice-chancellor and the board of ds of houses as incriminating state-nts, the two last of the selected tations ran as follows:—Page 565: We find, oh most joyful, most wonderful, st unexpected sight, we find the whole le of Roman doctrine gradually possess-numbers of English churchmen." Page : "Three years have passed since I plainly that in subscribing the Articles nounce no one Roman doctrine."

uch public statements as these, in the s of most fair Englishmen of any school thought in the church, demonstrated for Mr. Ward the extreme limit of toleration had been passed. The strongest condemnation of the "Ideal" was certain to be voted by an overwhelming majority of the Oxford Convocation. But the "heads" demanded the degradation of Mr. Ward from all his university degrees. The legality of such a step was doubtful, and it was a grave mistake to propose it. This was shown by the voting. The condemnation of the book was carried, as might have been expected, by a majority of about two to one; the degradation by a comparatively small majority—569 to 511. A third proposition, originally intended to have been made by the "heads of houses," to make a more rigorous test as to *the sense* in which the members of the university understood the Articles, was dropped by the board of heads before the Convocation met, so general was the feeling of disapprobation manifested at the idea of such a tyrannical innovation, which would, indeed, by a strict definition of subscription to the Articles, have abridged the cherished liberties of the English Church. Leading men of all schools of thought were bitterly opposed to any such definition.

Strangely enough, the "heads" made another unfortunate mistake, substituting for this dropped third proposition a proposed formal censure of "Tract 90." The tract was most unpopular, it is true; but the chivalry of Oxford revolted at the idea of hunting down the eminent man who had written the tract some four years before, and, when the censure of "Tract 90" was proposed, it was formally vetoed by the proctors, in accordance with an ancient statutable university privilege they possessed. Their unusual but perfectly

legal action was largely approved. But though the public condemnation of Mr. Newman by means of the formal censure of his famous "Tract 90" was averted, owing to this bold action of the proctors, the condemnation of the "Ideal" and the degradation of its writer was voted by the majorities above related. Those who were eye-witnesses of the famous scene in the Sheldonian theatre in the February of 1845, when the book (the "Ideal") in which the Church of England was insulted received a formal condemnation, and its author was degraded from his degrees, tell us of the unparalleled excitement of the mighty concourse of some 1,500, made up of many of the leading men of England, who were proud of and jealous for the reputation of their immemorial Oxford.

Was this, then, the outcome of that far-reaching Oxford movement, from which so much had been expected: the public condemnation and degradation of an eccentric but very able and prominent son of that great church revival; the proposed bitter and public censure of the honoured chief of the movement, of one far greater and more distinguished than the condemned Ward, only removed out of the arena of debate by a bold and dramatic interposition on the part of the proctors Guillemard and Church? * Clouds and thick darkness, indeed, seemed to have gathered round the party from which so much had been hoped. *All* the great names, unfairly enough, as was afterwards seen, of the scholarly men who adorned the Tractarian party, see stained with the reproach of disloyalt the church which so many of them lo On that February day, 1845, the Ox movement seemed hopelessly ruined. strange to say, notwithstanding all a great future was still before it—a fu none dreamed of in that hour of mistakes and fatal errors and seemi hopeless confusion.

Meanwhile, at a distance from stir and din of the conflict in university, the recluse of Littlen was preparing, in strict retirement, patient study and anxious thought, the final move which would sepa him for ever from the Anglican chu once so precious to him—for the s ration which would part him from dearest friends, who for so long had his fellow-workers. From the daw the Oxford movement, John H Newman of Oriel had been its and soul. He had written the "tract" of the famous series, and the the historial No. 90, had been pe by the same tireless hand. As a prea of rare and peculiar power he has, in story of this great religious revival, more than once alluded to. "Those derful afternoon sermons" at St. M had gone home to the hearts of so n men, of all sorts and conditions, the highly-cultured and critical fe of Balliol or Oriel, down to the your undergraduate; and these sermons gone on for some years, from 1828 to 1 "each continuing and deepening the pression produced by the last. world knows these sermons, has h

* The Dr. Church in later days known as the revered and universally honoured dean of St. Paul's.

great deal about them, has passed its rious judgments on them; but it hardly alises that without them the movement ight never have gone on, certainly would ever have been what it was." *

DR. BAGOT, BISHOP OF OXFORD.
(*From an engraving by J. Burnet, F.R.S.*)

Iom the end of 1841—the year of appearance of "Tract 90"—after the st general storm of indignation which ved the startling interpretations of Articles suggested by the tract in

question, Newman, to use his own striking words, had been on his death-bed as regards his membership with the Anglican Church, though at the time he had become aware of it only by degrees. It was a long drawn-out agony though, this "death-bed," lasting about four long weary years. He tells the true story in his own nervous graphic way, in the long chapter of the *Apologia* dealing with his religious opinions from 1841–45: how

* Professor Shairp and dean Church.

in the spring of '41 he had given up his place in the movement in his letter to his bishop, expecting or intending gradually to fall back into lay communion. He did not at first contemplate leaving the Church of England, but he says he felt that he could not hold office in its service if he were not allowed to hold the Catholic sense of the Articles (*i.e.* as he had expounded their sense in "Tract 90"); while, on the other hand, he could not go to Rome while she suffered honour to be paid to the Blessed Virgin and the saints, which he thought in his conscience to be incompatible with the Supreme Incommunicable Glory of the One Infinite and Eternal. At the same time he declares how he kept back persons who were disposed to go to Rome, with all his might. This, he affirmed, was his view of his duty from the end of 1841 to the autumn of 1843. During this period he remained vicar of St. Mary's, and continued his sermons there, but all the while he lived in semi-retirement, mostly at Littlemore.*

In these last months of his vicariate of St. Mary's, lasting a year and a half or two years, he says he was gradually surrendering himself to the influence of others, younger men mostly than himself, a group belonging to a new school of thought, such as Mr. Ward and Mr. Oakeley; he especially singles out the latter for mention. These men had, it was known, a strong bias Rome-wards. He also confesses that, in spite of there being "actual circumstances in the Church of Rome which pained him much," the old glamour which Rome had for long thrown over him was intensifying—that he had "a secret lon love of Rome, the mother of En Christianity." On the other hand complained bitterly that although kind of retirement at Littlemore, alth taking no part in controversy and reli strife, after "Tract 90" the Prote world would not let him alone— malevolent reports of all kinds were c lated about him, continually vexing harassing him. In vain he tried pletely to sever himself from Oxford to quietly continue his ministratio Littlemore, but it was found impracti to sever Littlemore from the mother p of St. Mary. Other events, too, pr upon him sorely—notably the found of the bishopric of Jerusalem,* and reiterated charges of the bishops ag his "Tract 90." In the year '43 writes, he began to despair of the Ch of England, and before the year cl resigning the vicarage of St. Mary gave up all clerical duty.

The closing scene of Newman's p career in the Church of England, w in the presence of a few devoted mourning friends, the great Tract leader preached in the little Littlem church his farewell sermon, which knew too well was the herald of his

* Littlemore was a district of the parish of St. Mary, about three miles from Oxford.

* The question of the Jerusalem bishopri as follows. It was a plan of Bunsen, the Pr Minister in England, that England and P alternately should nominate a Protestant bish Jerusalem, to be consecrated by English bis This prelate was to exercise jurisdiction English and German Protestants in Palestine Newman it seemed that England, out of comm with the East and with Rome, by this step e into close communion with Lutherans Calvinists against both the ancient churches East and West. "It was one of the blows," Newman, "which broke me."

eparation from them and the Church of ngland, is a striking episode in the ory. "When Newman entered the pulpit here was a kind of awestruck silence; verybody knew that something would be id which nobody would ever forget. nd the 'Parting of Friends' is, perhaps, e most pathetic of all the sermons of is greatest master of religious pathos. . . is the cry which tells the world that work of spiritual and religious restoration, which in the thoughts of many earnest d serious men no parallel had been wit- ssed in Europe for at least three centuries, s, at least to the mind of one who had herto had the chief hand in promoting a failure. . . The concluding apostrophe the Church of his birth gives pathetic erance to the perplexity and sorrow t filled so many hearts at that most tical moment: 'O my mother, whence this unto thee, that thou hast good ings poured upon thee, and canst keep them, and bearest children, darest not own them? Why hast u not the skill to use their services, the heart to rejoice in their love? w is it that whatever is generous in pose, and tender and deep in devotion, flower and thy promise, falls from thy om and finds no home within thy rs? . . . Thou makest them 'stand day idle' . . . or thou biddest n begone where they will be more come.'" *

ne of the intimate friends who was ent that day at Littlemore, in the tember of 1843, wrote thus, a few after: † "I am just returned, half heart-broken, from the commemoration at Littlemore. It implied more than said, Farewell. People sobbed audibly. . . . If our bishops did but know what faithful hearts, devoted to the service of our Lord and the Church, they are breaking!"

During the whole period, 1841-1845, Newman's long agony has been well described as a cruel struggle between the deepest affection and ever-growing convictions; but the struggle did not begin with the conviction in which it ended. It began, and long continued, with the conviction that, although in his own Church of England there was much that was sadly lacking, over the Church of Rome brooded the dark shadow of grave doctrinal errors. His great crux as regards (Roman) Catholicism, he tells us in the *Apologia*, was what is usually termed the "Mariolatry" of the Roman church. Alluding to devotional manifestations in honour of the Virgin Mother, dwelt upon in the works of St. Alfonso Liguori, he even wrote (after he had become a Romanist), "I say frankly, I do not fully enter into these now. I trust I do not love her" (the Virgin Mary) "the less because I do not enter into these." During the latter part of his musings at Littlemore, he reconciled himself to what he felt was wrong in Rome by the celebrated system of "development," of which, though not the author,* he certainly became the popular exponent. In a remarkable passage in the *Apologia*, he thus sketches out what was in his mind: "The idea of the blessed Virgin was, as it were, *magnified* in the Church of Rome as time went on,

* Dr. Liddon: "Life of Pusey," chap. xxx.
† *Ibid.*

* Newman quotes St. Vincent of Lerins, as recognising the idea.

but so were all the Christian ideas, as that of the blessed Eucharist. The whole scene of pale, faint apostolic Christianity is seen in Rome as through a telescope or magnifier. The harmony of the whole, however, is of course what it was. It is unfair, then, to take one Roman idea—that of the blessed Virgin—out of what may be called its context."

Thus was he brought by degrees to the principle of development in the Christian church. The last year of his life at Littlemore was principally spent in working out this idea, which he had been brooding over, in the form of his "Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine." * There is an Oxford tradition of the great Tractarian which recounts that as Newman month after month stood at his desk writing "the Essay," he grew ever thinner and more transparent, till at last, when he suddenly dropt his pen and made up his mind that he must no longer delay his submission to Rome, on peril of sinning against the light, you could almost have seen through him.† It was on a wet October day in 1845 that Father Dominic, the Passionist, on Newman's invitation, shabbily dressed and dripping wet, arrived at Littlemore. On the day following, after a whole night spent in prayer, the Passionist father formally received him into the Roman Catholic Church.

* The famous "Essay on Development" was never finished, but even as it stands, Mr. Hutton, in his "Life of Cardinal Newman," tells us it has been adopted by the most orthodox school in the Roman Catholic Church, and it is now usually regarded by Roman Catholics as one of the most powerful of modern apologies for their specific theological doctrines.

† Mr. Hutton: "Life of Cardinal Newman," chap ix.

Besides the loved leader, a long, sad of distinguished men were lost at time, or soon after, to the Church England. Among these were Mr. W Mr. Ambrose St. John, Mr. Oak Mr. Dalgairns, Mr. F. W. Faber, others well-known in Oxford circles, whose names now to many w suggest little after all these years. A forty or fifty of the clergy went with them. The secession was, h ever, much less numerous than been looked for; out of some tw thousand of the clergy, only some after all, fell away. It turned out that Romanising party among the Tractar were but "a minute fragment." The the English church sustained in the g catastrophe, consisted rather in the liancy of the acquirements of the perv than in their actual numbers.

The Church of Rome, no doubt, ga enormously, at all events for a time; the new members of her commu brought to her service great and spicuous gifts in learning and eloque and, above all, in the fervid conviction wh naturally accompanied the conscious of their great self-sacrifice. They brou as has been truly said, "such writing preaching as had never been seen on Romish side before, at least in Engla Thanks to these men, more than all ot to Newman, the world of England seen the intellectual recovery of Roman Fifty years ago it was here a dying cr lingering in retirement in the halls chapels of a few half-forgotten fami Hopes have since been kindled " England herself, the England of Elizal and Cromwell, will kneel for absolu

gain before the Father of Christendom." * But these hopes have never been realised. After the great catastrophe above related, here were very few more secessions, and as ears went on, and the able and brilliant men ho had joined the Roman communion n the secession of 1845 and 1846, passed

The secession of Newman and his friends was undoubtedly a crushing blow to the party of the Tractarians, but it was not ruin, as many supposed it would be. The great school of thought which the movement had created, possessed too many serious and able men to be crushed even

LITTLEMORE CHURCH.

e by one away, the void they left hind them in the church they chose to opt for their own, has never been filled So far as England is concerned, Rome, ice that momentous epoch, can register real increase either in the number† or the character of her adherents.

by so calamitous a series of events as have been related. Besides a phalanx of less known adherents, two of the original triumvirate of leaders remained, unswerving in their loyalty to the Church of England—Pusey and Keble, with their equally staunch lieutenants, Charles Marriott and Isaac Williams. To these names should be added in such a roll-call those of the quiet thoughful scholar William Palmer, and of that great parish priest

* J. A. Froude: "Short Studies," vol. iv. The Third Counter-Reformation.

† The numbers of persons who have joined the Church of Rome during the last half-century is alluded to later, on p. 378.

Dr. Hook,* of Leeds, as representative men of the school. Pusey, however, far surpassed all the others in weight and influence. Unmistakably, when Newman had left them, he became the centre of the shattered but still powerful party.

Much that Pusey has since said and written, has been the subject of severe and hostile criticism. Not a few holy men in our church, including deeply read scholars and divines, would decline to endorse much of his teaching and views. But the more thoughtful and generous rejoice in the thought that the great Anglican communion is wide enough to include such teachers, recognising how profound are the mysteries about which such grave differences have existed and ever will exist in the church of Christ. There is so much substantial agreement in vital matters of the common faith, that some latitude of opinion in what must be deemed speculative theology may fairly be allowed. A spirit of mutual concession, of loving charity one towards another, has done much, and will in days to come probably do more, to bring parties in our great English church together, thus enabling her to carry out that high and gracious mission with which undoubtedly her adorable Master has entrusted her to carry out among the mighty English-speaking peoples.

Pusey, for nearly forty years, from 1845 to 1882, was the acknowledged leader of the Tractarian party. His high character and profound learning, his untiring labours in defence of certain parts of the Old Testament Scriptures, which were peculiarly the subject of the criticism or the German school of Biblical schola have won him the respect of ma who gravely differed from some of doctrinal conclusions. He may be said have outlived the bitter censure wh was once directed against him, a he died loved and honoured by majority of English churchmen. Dea as he loved Newman, with a love t knew no change, no abatement, wh allowed not a word of censure or blame to pass his lips, Pusey was ne tempted by that great wandering gen to falter for one brief moment from loyalty to the Church of England. T English Church, as has been well said, Pusey was "as well worth living in a fighting for as any other; it was only in England that light and dark w largely intermingled."* Pusey's words regards the great Roman errors are m morable, and should be graven on eve English churchman's heart: "There very serious things in the Roman co munion which ought to keep us where

* Afterwards dean of Chichester.

* Sir William Palmer: "Supplement to Narrative," chap. i. Also Liddon: "Life Pusey," vol. ii., chap. xxxiv., pp. 505–6. W great pathos Liddon, who knew Pusey as perh no one else on earth knew him, tells us in curiously interesting passage how Pusey deavoured to reconcile his own deep love and reverence for Newman with his own (Pusey absolute faith in the Presence of Christ in English Church. He (Pusey) entertained idea that "Newman was, at any rate for time, the subject of a special call or pensation, having for its object the promoti of some great blessing or improvement in Roman Church. He could not even bring hi self to allow that Newman was doing wro though he held it would have been wrong inde in himself or in any other member of the Engli Church to follow his example." . . . "T heart," goes on Liddon to say, "has a logic its own."

. I would instance chiefly this system
to the Blessed Virgin as the mediatrix
l dispenser of all present blessings to
nkind. I think nothing short of a fresh
elation could justify this. Then the
e of masses as applicable to the departed,
system of indulgences as applied to the
parted, the denial of the cup to the laity.
. . I feel at once held by the Church
England, and repelled by these things in
Roman Church. . . . I cannot think
t all this, so different from what one
ls in the early centuries, can be right."
On the Church of England the results
ich are traceable to the Oxford move-
nt and the work of the Tractarians
e been far-reaching. The catastrophe
1845, the secession of Newman and
rd and their friends, and the intense
general unpopularity which was the
outcome of the apparent victories of
Church of Rome, scarcely stayed its
gress, or at most arrested it for a very
e season. In Oxford itself, the de-
ion of Newman and the other leaders
more influence than in London and in
country generally. The effect of its
ching generally was too deep-seated to
permanently injured by a shock, even
that produced by what was popularly
ned "the going out of '45." It had
ght Englishmen to look upon their
rch as a great historic church, possess-
immemorial descent, unbroken con-
iance, agreement in doctrine with the
ient church. It had led Englishmen,
ve all, back to the study of the great
ers of the church of the early Christian
eturies, before the division of the east
west. Very weighty and remarkable
the words of the famous Tractarian leader on this study of the fathers: "I read them, learn of them, live among them, as a child; adopt their words, say what they say, do not say what they do not. I live in them as my home. I have not gone about proving to myself our identity with them; I feel it. Theirs is my native language; they are familiar accents. But it does impress upon me that the English appeal to antiquity is something real and substantial. I could preach volumes of St. Chrysostom and St. Augustine without rebuke; I do not think a Roman Catholic could. . . ." He examples here St. Augustine: "We have translated, straight through, two thick volumes of St. Augustine, all his sermons on the New Testament. There was not a word to explain; nothing which one might not, as far as doctrine was concerned, preach in our English pulpits." *

Gradually a great revival in church life became perceptible through the length and breadth of England. Churches were more reverently cared for, more richly adorned, within and without. New ones were built in ever increasing numbers. The Holy Eucharist was celebrated more often, and with increased reverence. Services were multiplied; efforts were made to render the services more attractive, brighter with music and hymn-singing. This change which gradually passed over the Anglican communion, was by no means confined to churches served by ministers of one party. But while, happily, the Church of England is at one in all vital matters of faith; while on the authority and inspiration of the Bible, on

* Letter of Dr. Pusey, quoted by Liddon in his "Life," vol. iii., chap. vi., pp. 142–3.

the great Articles connected with the Trinity, the Atonement, and the Godhead of the Lord Jesus Christ, there is perfect agreement, there has been during the second half of the nineteenth century considerable divergence as to the ritual and practice of our church.

The dissensions in these matters concerning Ritual, which have arisen between the two great parties into which, with various modifications, the Church of England has been divided ever since the Elizabethan settlement, nearly three centuries and a half ago, have been a source of real and ever-present danger to the Anglican communion. Too often the recriminations brought by one party against the other have been most bitter; love and charity have been forgotten, even their common Christianity has been seemingly ignored. Unedifying spectacles of brother proceeding against brother, solely for transgressions on points of Christian ritual, before civil tribunals, have been sadly frequent: one section openly charging the other with wilful disregard of ceremonies and practices, not merely legal in themselves, but hallowed by the universal Catholic tradition of many centuries; the other retorting by the grave accusation of a disloyal intention to Romanise the church of which they were members. Here the old feeling of dislike, mistrust, hatred of Rome and her ways, engraved in the hearts of Englishmen, comes in, and accounts for much of the bitterness. The Evangelical not unfrequently suspects Roman inclinations and a Roman bias when neither inclination or bias exist. High Churchmen, on the other hand, have not unfrequently ruthlessly disregarded such natural susceptibili and in certain instances have introd ceremonies and practices which have g just offence.

A High Church scholar of profo learning and experience, one of the orig founders of the Oxford movement,* w wise words on certain of the questions w were presented to the church at the pe of the great revival have been qu occasionally in this section of our Hist thus speaks of these errors of his party remember when, about 1845, Oakeley on foot a Ritualistic system at Marg chapel, before his secession to Rome; on visiting his church I was astonishe its ceremonial, which appeared to ex that of Romanism itself. Some years l Ritualism began in the English Ch by the adoption of the vestments certain young men; and we hear men adopting other customs from Church of Rome, and sometimes in face of strong opposition from their gregation and of disapprobation from bishops. I deeply regretted these m ments, which seemed to be dictated indifference to the unity of the chu and to be sometimes made as offen as possible. . . . I myself should h been glad," he went on to say, "to re the vestments, from a wish to restore customs of primitive antiquity adop in the universal church, and would h had them made of white linen only, knowing that they were not necessar

* Sir William Palmer, the learned author of "Origines Liturgicæ" and other important wo The words here quoted were written as lat 1883. See his Supplement to "Narrative Events connected with the Oxford Moveme chap. iv., 287–291.

ARCHBISHOP BENSON DELIVERING HIS JUDGMENT AT THE "LINCOLN TRIAL."

would not run the risk of causing division by adopting them. In the excited state of the public mind, I thought their introduction a great imprudence. . . . Lawsuits followed in which one view of the case was decided by temporal judges, and then another. . . ." He considered that the Ritualists should have been judged not by a committee of lawyers, but by a committee of churchmen impartially selected, as was soon afterwards happily done. On this point probably the majority of churchmen are agreed: that the judicial committee of the privy council, dignified though such a tribunal certainly is, possessing, too, among its members lawyers of the highest rank and of the most varied experience, is not the court, after all, best fitted to decide on mainly spiritual questions.

There is no doubt but that the Oxford movement, and all that this remarkable revival in church life brought with it in its train, drew into prominence many curious and debatable points connected with ritual. The newly-awakened study of primitive antiquity, the revived interest in the powerful mediæval church, its architecture, its ritual, its love of colour and decoration, its ornate and often gorgeous services, with their elaborate and often touching symbolism—all this appealed to the student, while the immediate outcome of the movement, the general restoration of so many churches to a condition of comparative beauty and in many cases even of magnificence, suggested generally a higher and more ornate service and ritual than had previously been adopted. The majority of high churchmen were content to adopt a striking ceremonial, which after long and careful examination has been c sidered, on the whole, to be that permit by the Prayer-book and sanctioned b partial if not by a general use in Church of England since the Elizabet settlement.* But a few, whose zeal of outran their discretion, without do introduced ritual and practices into services never contemplated by the El bethan, or later by the Jacobean divine the school of Andrewes, or even of La These were the men so sternly repro by high churchmen of the type of eminent scholar whose words have b quoted above.

All these things—not questions of pa mount importance, it would seem on f thoughts—have served sorely to distr and harass the church for many years, a succession of irritating and disturb contests and law-suits. It would see however, that a time for mutual forbe ance has come.† This attitude is pa due to the action of the late archbis Benson of Canterbury, who in 1890 t upon himself to hold a court to try

* See below, in the "Judgment of the A bishop of Canterbury" in the case of the Bis of Lincoln, November, 1890.

† We allow this hopeful anticipation to sta notwithstanding that even while these sheets passing through the press, fresh discussion arisen as to the amount of freedom permiss in the Church of England as to the adoption occasional services, or unauthorised additions to services included in the Book of Common Pra It is premature, of course, to forecast the outc of such a discussion: the writer of this Hist may, however, be allowed to express his convict that in this and in other matters concerning rit and practice, very small indeed will be the num of ordained ministers of the Church of Engl who will not eventually submit, in regard to such practices, to the judgment of the bishop the diocese.

st important ritual prosecution, in ich the defendant was the bishop of ncoln, a prelate held in the highest nour and veneration even by men onging to a school of thought op- ed in many particulars to that in ich the bishop was a distinguished der.

The constitutional and inherent author- t of the archbishop's court, after full and rned arguments, was affirmed in a pre- inary judgment delivered in the May 1889. Such a court, composed of the mate and other bishops of the province iing with him as assessors, commended lf to Anglican churchmen, who had been urally pained to see cases connected h doctrine and ritual tried before civil unals, however august, the validity of se judgments in such purely ecclesias- il matters many of them could not scientiously accept. No such objection, wever, existed to a court in which the ges were the primate of all England his suffragan bishops. It will be of s and advantage here to quote at some e length the words of the archbishop's ghty judgment on the important ts of ritual and practice which came re the tribunal over which he presided. questions which came before the court s constituted by no means exhausted list of disputed points of ritual, but y included perhaps the most important hem—certainly those which came more n and more prominently before con- gations.

he chief of them were as follows :— question of "mixing of water with sacramental wine"; the question of "ablution of the vessels" after the celebration of the holy communion; the question of the "eastward position" in the first part of the communion service; the question of "breaking of the bread before the people"; the question of the "use of lighted candles on the communion table during the communion service," when such lighted candles were not wanted for

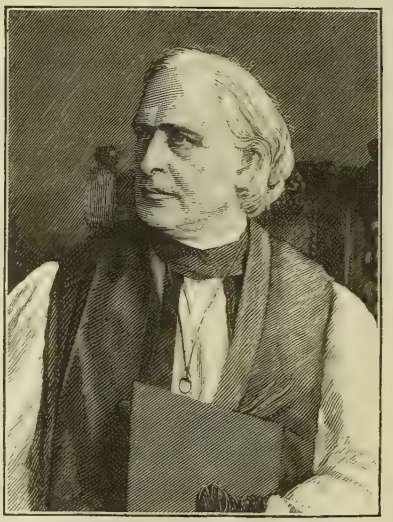


Photo: Walery, Ltd.

ARCHBISHOP BENSON.

the purpose of giving light. The complaints of rubrical irregularity brought against the bishop of Lincoln were, to quote the phraseology of the tribunal in question :—The lord bishop, when celebrating the holy communion, allowed two lighted candles to stand upon (or apparently upon) the communion table, such candles not being wanted for the purpose of giving light; added water to the wine and administered it so mixed; before the Consecration Prayer, stood in what is called the eastward position; during the

Consecration Prayer, stood so that certain "Manual Acts" could not be seen; took part in what is referred to as "the ceremony of Ablution." Two more "complaints" were made—the one, allowing a hymn, "O Lamb of God," to be sung after the consecration, and the other, that the bishop made the sign of the cross at the Absolution and Benediction.

Christ commends His Mother to St John.

"Do this in remembrance of Me."

(*From Isaac Williams'* "*The Altar.*" *London*, 1847.)

The lighted candles. The history of the law on this point was most carefully examined by the court. The result of the investigation showed that they were legal when and after the Prayer-book became law, and so remained. The following important and interesting facts were, ever, ascertained—viz. "that throug the whole period from Edward VI. recently [if we partly except the reig Charles I.] their use appears to have in the main attached to places or sions of marked dignity, to events as public thanksgiv and coronations of sovereigns . . . chapels of princes, coll cathedral and collegiate chur There was, however, no *privile* entitling such times or place fashions or ways otherwise ille Then follow some remarks on more dignified and solemn of service which belonged to c drals, etc., having during the half century become more diff together with enlarged c arrangements, the fittings and f ture of churches, etc., and th certain increase in the use of lights has gone along with things.* The summing up states: "It would be contrar the history and interpretatio the two lights on the holy tab connect them with erroneous strange teaching as to the natu the Sacrament"; closing, how with wise words, which may be taken to heart: "It is not likely they (the lighted candles) will ceas

* In other words, the court found upon in gation that, from the days of Edward VI. wards, lighted candles had been used, but use was confined to special occasions or to p of special dignity, such as cathedrals and chapels. In the recent multiplication of st services this use — never forbidden — of li candles had become more common.

distasteful to many minds, and when it is the case, even in a small degree, charity and good sense ought not be violated." This most important judgment on a point it has produced much discussion concludes, after the above words of warning, with the finding of the court "that the law is not broken by the mere fact of two lighted candles been not wanted for the purpose of giving light standing on the Holy Table continuously through the Service, nothing having been performed or done which comes under the definition of a Ceremony, by the presence of two still lights alight before it begins and until after it ends."

The mixed chalice. The point connected with the "adding water to the wine" was decided, after historical investigation, thus: The practice was custom existent in the churches of the east and west, in the east almost universal; but that the ceremonial mixture in the service was omitted from the Prayer-book in accordance with the truest and widest liturgical precedents. And the court decided "that the mixing of the wine in and as part of the service is against the law of the church, but it found no ground for pronouncing the use of a wine mixed beforehand to be an ecclesiastical offence."

The eastward position had, throughout the ritual disputes of the period we have been speaking of, ever been a burning question. Again, here, a careful and exhaustive historical inquiry was made. It was shown clearly and decisively that, subsequent to the framing of the rubric requiring the minister to stand at the north side or end, a general change in the position of the holy table had taken

CELEBRATION OF HOLY COMMUNION.

(*Frontispiece to Wheatley on Book of Common Prayer, 2nd Edition*, 1714.)

place. The change naturally threw considerable obscurity over the whole subject, considered historically. The most important by far, however, of the conclusions arrived at by the court was that the eastward position, if assumed, was not a sacrificial position. "A place at the west side of the holy table has not in the past been invested with sacrificial character. Many divines who have taught what is called the 'highest' doctrine of sacrifice in connection with the Eucharist tenable in the Church of England, have habitually celebrated at the north end, and many who have used the eastward postion have done so with no thought that they were teaching any doctrine by it, or that any doctrine could be either deduced from or expressed by the place they took.* . . . The imputed sacrificial aspect of the 'eastern position' is new and forced, and can take no effect in rendering that position either desirable on the one side or illegal on the other." The court concluded that "a certain liberty in the application of the term 'north side' existed—a liberty exercised not without consideration" (owing to the change made under authority in the position of the holy table about eighty years after the first publication of the rubric respecting the "north side"). "This liberty was less and less exercised for a long time, but it does not appear to be lost by that fact or taken away." The court reiterated in its finding that this somewhat obscure subject of the position of the celebrant was devoid of doctrinal interest.

* Respecting the curious variation in the position of the sanctuary and altar in the earliest known churches of Western Christendom, see Excursus H.

Breaking of the bread before the pe

The charge here was that the celeb (the bishop of Lincoln) stood whilst r ing the prayer of consecration with face to the east and with his back to people, in such wise that the communic present could not, when he broke bread and took the cup into his hands him perform these manual acts. court decided that the order of the I Communion requires that these ma acts must be performed in such wise a be visible to the communicants prop placed. The following very impor and interesting pronouncement was n in the judgment of the archbishop h "The tenor of the Common Praye openness. The work of its framers to bring out and recover the worshi the Christian congregation, and spec to replace the Eucharist in its chara as the Communion of the whole Bod Christ. By the use of the mother ton by the audibleness of every prayer, by priest's prayers being made identical the prayers of the Congregation, by part of the Clerks being taken by people, by the removal of the invisible inaudible ceremonial, the English Chu as one of her special works in the his of the Catholic Church, restored ancient share and right of the Peopl divine service. Both parties of the ch before the last Revision required that prescription of the Manual acts should 'explicit and distinct' (Savoy divines 'a needful circumstance belonging to Sacrament' (bishop Cosin), and the mony of the construction requires that People should follow the whole conse tion, acts as well as words."

The ceremony of ablution. In the charge re no objection was taken to the clergy- rn's using what he may think the best y of consuming reverently all that rnains of the consecrated elements, in der that no part should be carried out o urch ; and the court decided that if the rnister so pleased, the vessels might be cansed of all remnants in a reverent way aer the Service was ended and the Bene- ction given, without ceremony or prayers, fore finally leaving the holy table.*

The other two points with which this st important judgment was concerned re of comparatively little moment in the at ritual controversy which for so many ars has disturbed the church. The first o these questions merely dealt with the lrfulness of singing the anthem—"O mb of God that takest away the sins o t world, have mercy upon us"—im- diately after the reading of the prayer o consecration. Again the historical evi- dice was most carefully gone into, and t archbishop's court concluded "that the s ging of it by the choir was not an il gal addition to the service. Seeing t it there is no evidence whatever to s w that bishop Ridley, or anyone else, o ected to the choir singing this anthem a this place upon any doctrinal ground, a seeing also that the Savoy conference d ired the restoration at this very place o the words in a still stronger form, there is no ground left for believing that the words had then, or have now, any asso- ciation with those Roman doctrines or practices which the Church of England repudiates."

The second of these two minor points dealt with the charge that the celebrant (the bishop of Lincoln) in the adminis- tration of the Holy Communion, "whilst pronouncing the absolution, conspicuously and ceremoniously, having both his hands elevated, made with his hand the sign of the Cross, and also that whilst pronouncing the benediction in the same service, he made the sign of the Cross." This ceremony, in both cases, the archbishop in his Judgment pronounced to be an innovation which must be discontinued.

This judgment of the archbishop's court, pronounced in the November of 1890, was a memorable one, and will, it is hoped and expected, have far-reaching con- sequences in an internal dispute which has long disturbed the Anglican Church, and which now and again has threatened seriously to affect its work and influence. The court was memorable from its com- position, consisting as it did of the primate of all England, with episcopal assessors chosen out of his suffragans. It was the tribunal which for so long churchmen had been anxiously desiring to see established, for the settlement of purely ecclesiastical matters. The judgment in question has been termed an *eirenicon;* but inaccurately, for it was no attempt to mediate between two opposing schools of thought. The only attempt in this direction was in the few remarks which in two or three of its decisions were appended, pressing home

* The following remarks in the "Judgment" he, are noteworthy: "If it were the duty of this Crt to point out where and when, if not at the Hly Table, the minister would most properly cplete the consumption of the consecrated ements, in such way as he might think to be nessary in compliance with the rubrics, the Crt would unhesitatingly say, At the credence o in the place where they had been prepared."

ignored, and in 1871 was repealed. The truth was, Rome and Roman claims had ceased to be feared in England. The feeling that general toleration, which is so marked a sentiment in modern English life, should be extended to Roman Catholics, was accentuated by the conviction among most serious churchmen that Rome was no longer a real danger either to church or the state. The loyalty of the English Romanists to the crown is above suspicion. In their attitude towards the Church of England, they cultivate naturally a persistent hostility; but the Anglican church can well afford to look upon their efforts with equanimity, since, although a considerable network of Romish agencies is at work, no real progress is being made in what Rome is pleased to term the conversion of England.* "It succeeds in making (a few) converts among the aristocracy and upper classes, though th number is small in proportion to t whole, and is falling off. . . . T Church of Rome has considerably, it true, increased in England during the p half century. Its English adherents, deed, are so few that, if they stood alo Romanism would be the smallest sect the kingdom. But it has received accession of a million and upwards Irish immigrants, brought over by t manufacturers. This immigration, ho ever, is incapable of producing any eff upon the religion of the country." *

Considering the events sketched above, the decision come to at Tre and the subsequent excommunication a formal deposition of Elizabeth in 1570 Pope Pius V. (the Dominican Mich Ghislieri), the present position of t Roman Catholic body in England is a po tion undoubtedly of schism, thoroughly English. Their position in England af 1570 was that, to use the contempor term, of "Recusants."† Their priests w foreign-bred, trained at such seminar as Douai, or else largely educated foreign Jesuit colleges. They have b with justice termed "an alien body; th methods and their ways, like their liturg and devotional books, have been for most part foreign. They failed to ma tain a succession, and made no claim formal continuity. . . . The mod Romanist English leaders have done w they can to repudiate such histor

* The following are the totals of the collections in London on Hospital Sunday for twenty-five years of the different religious bodies, reckoned from the denomination of the places of worship where the collections were made:—

Church of England ...	... £627,447
Congregationalists ...	... 46,767
Jews	... 25,512
Baptists	... 24,897
Wesleyans	... 24,115
Presbyterians	... 20,435
Roman Catholics	... 12,615
Unitarians	... 6,044
Society of Friends ...	... 3,446

Without, of course, making too much of any figures, for various considerations have probably to be taken into account, such a table of statistics as this gives *some* index as to the position and weight of the Roman Catholic community in the great metropolis in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the metropolis containing roughly a population one million in excess of the population of England in the days of Elizabeth. The cause, too, for which these sums were received was one which would equally evoke the sympathies of all religious denominations.

* Sir William Palmer: Supplement to "Na tive," chap. iv. (1883).

† "Recusants."—The term recusancy may defined as "refusing to acknowledge the su macy of a sovereign or obstinately declining conform to the established rites of a church.

osition as they have; they even glory being a 'new mission' recently organised from Rome; they boast in being not descended lineally from the pre-Reformation Church of England."*

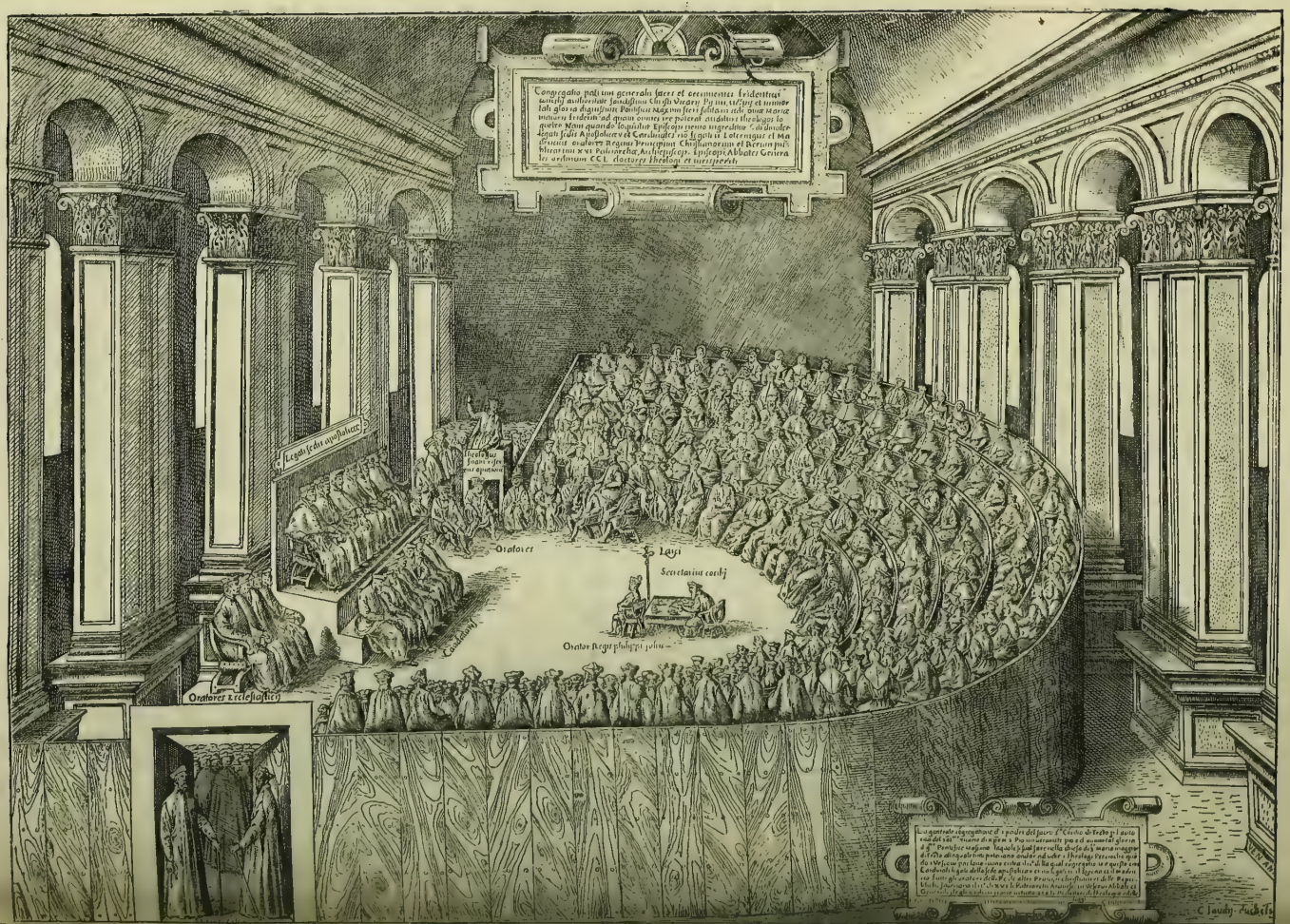
In the last years of the nineteenth century Pope Leo XIII. published a Bull "Apostolicæ Curæ" (1896), which has caused considerable interest, declaring that Anglican orders were invalid. This, of course, as all acquainted with the past are well aware, was no new assertion on the part of Rome. The interest in the pronouncement of Leo XIII. lies (1) in the somewhat novel reasons given for this declaration of the Pope, and in the complete ignoring in the Bull of the old and exploded fable—so long a favourite and popular controversial piece with Roman teachers—of the supposed consecration of Archbishop Parker and other nominees for several bishoprics at the "Nag's Head" Tavern in Cheapside by Scory, described in the Romish fable as having intruded himself without consecration into the episcopate; and (2) because the arrogant contention in the Bull of the invalidity of Anglican orders, has evoked from learned Anglican divines an elaborate and complete refutation of the arguments advanced in it, the latest manifesto of the Roman See on this subject.

The public interest in the question being considerable, we may give just a sketch of these objections, and the Anglican replies to them. The Pope in his Bull "Apostolicæ Curæ," dated 1896, states his reasons for deeming Anglican orders invalid. They mainly turn on two points. Leo XIII. affirms that in the Edwardine ordinal there is a *defect of form* (which would be a grave question were it the fact), and also that there is in the English Church, or was in the sixteenth century, a *defect of that intention* which is necessary if holy orders are to be validly transmitted.

In the learned Anglican treatises which have been lately published on this subject, it has been clearly shown that the Edwardine ordinal, which is now used in the service of the Church of England, instead of showing a "defect of form," is *closer than the present Roman use* to the more primitive formulæ and custom of the Catholic Church. Nothing is indeed wanting in the Anglican ordinal. The oldest form seems to have been simply a prayer, as in Acts vi. 6, and then came laying on of hands. The Roman use of giving to the ordinand the chalice, with wine and water, and the paten with a host, accompanied by the words "Receive authority to offer sacrifice to God, and to celebrate masses as well for the quick as the dead, in the name of the Lord," was absolutely unknown for the first thousand years, and was purely Roman.* In the Leonine sacramentary, and indeed in the Roman sacramentaries generally, *anterior to the tenth century*, there was no giving (porrection) of the instruments, and in these

See generally Mr. Frere's "Treatise," published for the Church Historical Society by the S.P.C.K., No. v. (1896).

* See, among other treatises, the XVI. Tract published under the auspices of the Church Historical Society by the S.P.C.K. (1897), by F. W. Pullen, the VI. Tract of F. E. Brightman, and the V. by the bishop of Bristol. In these treatises this subject is discussed at great length and most exhaustively, and the references to the older "uses" and quotations from the words of the schoolmen and other mediæval theologians will be found.


Congregatio publicum generalis sacri et oecumenici Tridentini
Oratores
Legati
Secretarius concilij
Oratores ecclesiastici

ancient sacramentaries in their unadulterated form there was no allusion to the power of offering the Eucharistic sacrifice. "Nearly all the schoolmen," wrote the deeply learned oratorian, Jean Morin (1591–1659), "who dispute concerning the matter and form of the episcopate, place its form in these words*—*Accipe spiritum sanctum* (Receive ye the Holy Ghost), which the consecrator and the assistant bishops pronounce together while they touch the head of the ordinand." †

Thus the first allegation of Pope Leo XIII. respecting the supposed "defect of form" in the Anglican ordinal, is fully answered. The second—the *defect of intention* dwelt upon by Pope Leo in his Bull—is a much vaguer charge, but it has been also exhaustively refuted in the learned tracts above referred to. "In order to prove this *defect of intention*, Pope Leo XIII. lays emphasis on the fact that in the Edwardine ordinal (the present Anglican use) no mention is made of the sacrifice . . . of the power of consecrating and offering sacrifice. . . . Now what the English Church did was simply to revert to an earlier type of ordination service. She went back in several respects from the mediæval type to the primitive Roman type (as is found, for instance, in the Leonine sacramentary). *In this early service there is no allusion anywhere to the offering of the Eucharistic sacrifice.*" *

To what is popularly known as "practical" work in the church, a vast impetus has been given during the last forty or fifty years of the nineteenth century. The day school, the Sunday school, the classes of preparation for confirmation, communicants' classes, mothers' meetings, religious guilds composed of both sexes, and last, but not least, foreign missions—all felt more or less the vivifying breath of the new religious spirit which was brooding over the Church of England. Other and powerful influences,† besides that exercised by the Oxford movement, were at work, and have largely contributed to these results. The Low Church school of practical philanthropy, of which lord Shaftesbury was for long years the honoured leader, and, somewhat later the great school of Cambridge expositors of the New Testament Scriptures, must by

* The following are the words used in the Anglican ordinal for the consecration of bishops: "Then the archbishop and bishops present shall lay their hands upon the head of the elected bishop kneeling before them, the archbishop saying: "Receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a Bishop in the Church of God now committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands," etc. In the Anglican use for the "ordering of priests" the words are (the bishop with the priests present shall lay their hands severally upon the head of every one that receiveth the order of priesthood): "Receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a Priest in the Church of God now committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands," etc.

† "De Sacris Ordinationibus," pars. iii., exerc. unica, cap. ii., sec. i. (ed. 1695), quoted by F. W. Puller in Tract XVI. (S.P.C.K., 1897).

* Compare Tract XVI. (S.P.C.K., 1897), where this is discussed very fully, and see especially pages 44, 45, 49, 50, 51, where the opinions of Cranmer, Jewel (bishop of Salisbury), Bilson (bishop of Winchester), Andrewes (bishop of Winchester), Field, dean of Gloucester (representative Anglican divines of the reigns of Henry VIII., Elizabeth, and James I.), on the subject of the faith of the Church of England in the Eucharistic sacrifice, are quoted at some length.

† So H. O. Wakeman: "Introduction to History of the Church of England" (who comes to the same conclusion as to the several influences at work, though he lays especial stress on Tractarianism).

no means be ignored in any general summary of the various factors which contributed to the church revival of the second half of the nineteenth century. But, when all due allowances have been made for strongly-flowing contributory streams of influence, the fair critic must confess that a large share in the remarkable awakening of all church life during the long and singularly prosperous and peaceful reign of queen Victoria, belongs to the Tractarian or Oxford movement, the rise and progress of which we have been recounting.

Among the novel agencies discovered and developed in this great revival of church life, the more universal employment of women in religious and philanthropic work in the Church of England must not be forgotten. It is one of the strangest and saddest omissions in the Reformation work: the almost complete ignoring of this mighty agency in all religious effort in behalf of the poor—so often ignorant, sick, and destitute. The rude and arbitrary sweeping away of the nunneries and the sisterhoods, one of the darkest and saddest episodes of the years of stress and storm, 1530–40, destroyed at one blow all that vast machinery of female devotion and heroic self-sacrifice which for ages had existed, which had received its due recognition not only in the mediæval but also in the primitive church, and which in the Roman Catholic communion on the Continent was still effectively carrying on the work of mercy and Christ-like love. The popularising—so to speak—of so many of the writings of the Fathers of the early Christian centuries, one of the noblest of the works of t Tractarians, brought into light the wide extended character of women's work the church, in those far-back days. T was to many of the readers almost a n revelation, and gave a wonderful impu to the revival of female energy in works mercy and love, so marked a characteris of the renewed church life during the l fifty years.

The Anglican sisterhoods, revived in very humble way by Dr. Pusey as ea as 1845, and which have since received great development, have without dou exercised a powerful if an indirect influen upon women's Christian work general The first foundation in Park Villag West, Regent's Park, was "the beginni of a series of experiments which r sulted in many sisterhoods." The ke note of these female institutions was n religious contemplation, but active wo among the poor and the sick at the own homes, in hospitals, in workhouses, prisons. It included the teaching of de titute and neglected little ones. In t earliest rules of these communities fi hours daily were set aside, to be spent these active works of mercy.* The in pulse, which was thus given to women work among the poor, the suffering, a the ignorant, was felt in many centr where the teaching of the Tractaria never reached, and where it was eve viewed with suspicion if not with positiv dislike. But it is only just to ascribe t the work of Pusey and his friends a larg share in the awakening of the spirit whic has since inspired the noble female churc work, one of the great features of th

* Dr. Liddon: "Life of Pusey," vol. iii., chap.

cond half of the nineteenth century, d which has developed into the great ny of nurses and teachers, women of rious classes and orders, belonging to ferent schools of religious thought, gaged in ever-increasing numbers in spitals and workhouses, in rescue work, arity organisation work, and such-like cieties. With great justice it has been narked,* "that whatever may be said its priestcraft, the Oxford movement s filled the land with church-crafts of kinds."

To sum up in a few words, the great ford revival has by degrees largely isted to transform the Anglican urches — the ministers of its com-nunion, its services, its ritual, its art, ecially its architecture; and a curious ward uniformity in ritual is now per-ptible in the large majority of parishes, in country districts as well as in cities. Still, it would be a grave mistake to suppose that the doctrinal teaching of Pusey and the great Tractarians of his school, on certain long disputed points, has by any means been accepted even by high Anglicans in its entirety. That English churchmen have become more and more "High Churchmen" is indubitable. But even in the case of the majority of pronounced high churchmen, in the nobler and truer sense of the appellation, the teaching has been that of the school of Harold Browne, bishop of Ely and then of Winchester, rather than that of the more advanced teachers of the Tractarian school.*

* By Mozley.

* As examples of this teaching may be instanced *Dr. Hook*, in "Lives of the Archbishops," vol. vii. chap. iii., pp. 152 and 153, and *Bishop Harold Browne:* "Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles" (9th Edition), Article xxviii., section i., pp. 708–9, and Article xxix., section i., pp. 726–7 and 730.

CHAPTER LXXVI.

EVANGELICALISM IN THE LATTER PART OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. THE SO-CALLED "BROAD CHURCH" SCHOOL.

Outward Uniformity in Church Ritual—The Puritan Party still Existent—Reasons for its L Prominent Position—Opposition to Church Progress and Development—The Church Associat and its Legal Prosecutions—Effects of these Mistakes—Evidences of Evangelical Influence—T Church Pastoral Aid Society—Church Missionary Society—English Protestant Feeling—Willi Wilberforce—Lord Shaftesbury—Some Account of his Factory Legislation—The Ten Ho Bill—The "Good Earl's" Practical Beneficence—The Ragged School Union—His Views Religious Education—Death and Funeral—Influence on the Popularity of Evangelicalism Undenominational Enterprises—The Mildmay Conference—Keswick and other "Conventions" The Islington Clerical Meetings—Present Development and Influence of the Evangelical Party The so-called Broad Church School — Dr. Thomas Arnold — Frederick Denison Maurice Charles Kingsley—Dean Stanley—Their Work in Liberalising the Church.

WHILE on the one hand it is indisputably true, as we have already remarked, that as a result of the Oxford movement English churchmen have become more and more High Churchmen, and that a remarkable uniformity in ritual is noticeable in the vast majority of Anglican churches, in rural districts as in towns, on the other hand it is equally true that in a large number of instances this general uniformity in ritual has not affected the teaching or touched the doctrinal belief. Outwardly, the casual observer might be tempted at times to conclude that Evangelicalism had well-nigh disappeared from the Anglican communion. But the historian, whose province it is to look beneath the surface of things, would be strangely at fault if he did not recognise that beneath the seeming general Anglican uniformity still existed, as sharply defined as ever, the old and striking differences which have for so long been the characteristic features of the two great parties which make up the Chur of England. While wishing to b the fullest and most ample testimo to the far-reaching influence of t Oxford movement; while granting th many of its lessons have permeat *the whole* Anglican Church, and large coloured its ritual and practice; wh acknowledging to the full the deep de of gratitude which the Church of Engla owes to that great revival, which l stirred up such enthusiasm for all th was venerable and precious in t past, has deepened the reverence the Sacraments, and emphasised t notion of the corporate aspect of Christi life, and has shown with a schola precision the unbroken continuity of t Church of England with the Church the earlier times; we would desire the same time to remind the thoug ful student of the Church's story of truth which some writers among us wou seem curiously to ignore—that the gr

ier-school of thought is still a living, in a growing power in the Anglican mmunion.

nd it is better so. The Church of numbers of the Anglican communion; how, while the great fundamental doctrines of Christianity are equally precious to all, certain groups are specially affected by

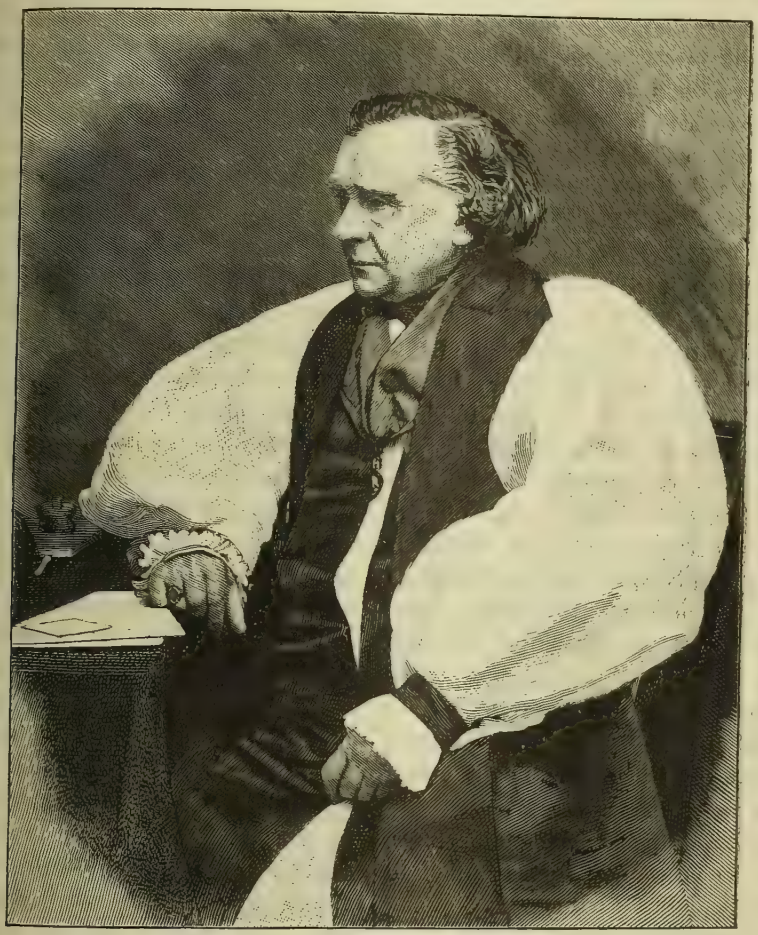


Photo: S. A. Walker, Regent St., W.

DR. WILBERFORCE, BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.

land would sadly lose in vigour and in o er, in its influence over the souls of n and women, if a dull uniformity in e hing universally prevailed. It must e emembered how diverse are the minds f he great multitude who make up the one presentment of religious truth, certain groups by another. What touches the hearts of some, fails to make any grave impression upon the hearts of others. The existence of the two great schools, as many now see, serves to quicken the spiritual

life of the whole church. Each is tempted, too often, to exaggerate its own peculiar and favourite views; it is good that these possible exaggerations of one school should be somewhat neutralised by the teaching of the other. The high churchman, in his beautiful reverence for antiquity and his touching belief in the efficacy of the blessed sacraments, is tempted at times to ignore, if not to forget, the action of the Holy Spirit sometimes working in men independent of all sacraments; and even to prefer—perhaps unconsciously—the authority of tradition in the church to the plain words of the Bible. On the other hand, the low churchman, in his conviction of the ever-presence of the Holy Spirit, in his passionate attachment to the inspired Word of God, is too apt to neglect, if not to ignore, the priceless treasure of tradition; to undervalue if not to forget the glorious heritage of the unbroken continuity of his church; even at times to think too little of the blessed sacraments, those divinely appointed channels of grace. The teaching of one school serves to correct the omissions of the other, and to recall to earnest serious men aspects of truth they might otherwise lose sight of.

But beneath these seeming differences, common to the two great Anglican parties there exists, deep-seated, a strong determination to hold fast to the great fundamental principles of "the faith once delivered to the saints"; the essentials of the Christian religion are held by both parties with an equal fervour of belief. Very strikingly was this "oneness of faith" expressed in what then appeared to be a moment of common danger by the two great party leaders in 1864—Shaftesbury and Dr. Pusey. Dr. P wrote to the *Record* newspaper, ing upon all Christians to forego n differences, in mutual resistance to great doctrinal errors of the day.* ferring to this letter, lord Shaftes wrote to Dr. Pusey as follows: "You I are fellow collegians and old frier Time, space, and divergent opinions separated us for years, but circumst have arisen which must, if we desire bined action in the cause of one com Master, set at nought time, space, divergent opinions. We will fight a these *another day*; in this we must ' tend earnestly for the faith once deliv to the saints'; and it must be together. . . . We have to stru not for Apostolical succession or Bapt Regeneration, but for the very Atone itself, for the sole hope of fallen man vicarious sacrifice of the Cross. For C sake let all who love our Blessed and His perfect Word be of one heart mind, one action on this great issue show that, despite our wanderings, doubts, our contentions, we yet ma one in Him. What say you?"

To this Dr. Pusey replied: "I thank for your letter and for the renewal o friendship. I always sought to liv friendly relations with those who love dear Lord and adore His redeeming m Those few lines in the *Record* ex what has for these thirty years been deep longing of my soul, that we sh

* The occasion was, when the case agains once celebrated volume of "Essays and Revi broke down before the Judicial Committee o Privy Council.

† Pusey and Shaftesbury were cousins.

rerstand one another and strive to-
eier against the common enemy of souls.
. *I have ever loved the Evangelical*
ty (even while they blamed me) *because*
lieved that they loved our Redeeming
d with their whole hearts. So now I
n one heart and one mind with those
I will contend for one common faith
gnst this tide of unbelief."

ishop Wilberforce of Oxford (later of
Vichester), another well-known High
hrch leader, wrote at the same time in
nlar terms to lord Shaftesbury: "It is
nearnest desire that the terrible wound
nis judgment (in the case of "Essays
n Reviews") should become the means
ealing the wound which the separation
igh and low church inflicts upon us,
bringing together all who believe
nly in the Bible and in the plain
ruage of our Creeds."*

or many years the Evangelical party
ne Church of England have occupied
ks prominent position in the eyes of
public than their numbers (for while
ededly in the minority, they form a very
re minority) and their earnestness would
en fairly to claim for them. How is this
e accounted for? The reasons seem to
cire a few words of explanation.

or some fifty years the Evangelical
dy has undoubtedly suffered by its long
nsomewhat stubborn resistance to eccle-
aical developments. Every kind of
hrch organisation—such as, for instance,
ne revival of Convocation, Diocesan Conferences, the Church Congress, and to some extent, the Lambeth Conference, and, in certain instances, Church development in the Colonies*—has been steadily opposed by the leaders of the Evangelical party and by its public organs. To take a well-known example, while bishop Wilberforce (of Oxford) and his friends were endeavouring by every means in their power to restore freedom of discussion to the long-silenced assembly of the church in Convocation, lord Shaftesbury, the trusted Evangelical leader, and the *Record* —the recognised organ of the party—were denouncing his proposals in the most vehement language. Indeed, the school as a whole looked upon the movement for restoring to the Church a powerful voice in the regulation of her own affairs as an attempt to limit the power of the State, as an effort to infringe the Royal supremacy,† as the manifestation of an evident desire to subject the laity to priestly

*ee "Life of the Earl of Shaftesbury," by
d'n Hodder, chap. xxvii., where these letters
re ven at length. The date of this correspond-
ncis February, 1864.

* That this is *not* the spirit which lives in the Evangelical party at the beginning of the twentieth century is emphatically shown by the action of the Church Missionary Society, which *entirely* supports fifteen Anglican bishops abroad, and contributes to the maintenance of four others.

† The Evangelical leaders always strongly upheld the Royal supremacy. But they were not open to the charge brought against them by both Tractarians and Dissenters, of looking to the Queen as "Head of the Church." "She is supreme," said Hugh Stowell, at the anniversary of the Church Pastoral Aid Society in 1851, "over all *causes* ecclesiastical; but she is not the 'Head of the Church.' That title was arrogated by Henry VIII., who was neither more nor less than a Pope himself. . . . But Queen Elizabeth refused the title. 'It belongs,' she said, 'to no mortal—to none but Christ Himself.' My friends," went on Hugh Stowell to say, "we could never give our Queen, much as we love and revere her, the title of 'Head of the Church.' The Lord Jesus Christ alone is our Head.'—See *Missionary Register*, 1851, p. 372.

domination. On one memorable occasion, at a great public meeting, lord Shaftesbury even went so far as to say that Convocation meant priestly despotism.

It is clear that the old strong Church and State feeling which coloured the whole Church of England during the first half of the nineteenth century, survived chiefly in what is called the Low Church party. Their regrettable opposition to church development, which has been since universally recognised as an absolute necessity, was owing, in the first instance, to undue backwardness in perceiving the signs of the times. It has been, no doubt, a great cause of weakness among the Evangelicals, this prolonged and obstinate refusal to throw themselves heartily into church movements. Things have gradually changed, and the party now unreservedly accept what they once so strongly disliked and tried to hinder. It is a pity, however, that they did not do so long before. They sorely injured their position by their ill-judged opposition to the church's fair agitation for the recovery of ancient privileges, as well as by their hostility to certain necessary ecclesiastical developments at home and in the Colonies; and it will be long before they recover the influence and position they justly claim, but which in a measure they forfeited by a policy, which they in time came sadly to recognise as a mistaken one.

Another cause of the loss of influence of the Evangelical party must be briefly touched upon. We have already dwelt upon the disputes which have somewhat disturbed the church during the last fifty years of the century in the matter of Ritual observances. The Evangelical party for a long time strenuously resisted all advance i church in the direction of a more o and elaborate ritual. Here, again, action was not endorsed by the ev wishes of a large number of En churchmen. Still, it was per legitimate, and in accordance with views of many, to endeavour to pre a plainer and more simple ritual and tice than what was being gradually ad in a vast number of churches, gen with the approbation of the congrega This striking difference of opinion indeed, no new feature among Ang churchmen. We have, in the cour our history, often had to chronicle divergences of opinion. As early the times of Elizabeth, archbishop Gr and his school gravely differed on point from his predecessor, archbi Parker, and from his successor in primacy, archbishop Whitgift. A little we find that archbishop Laud was aga opposition to several of his suffragans.

Some of those we have allude above (we are speaking of Evang churchmen of the last forty years o nineteenth century) who disliked r developments formed a society, kn as the Church Association, which the grave mistake of attacking what conceived to be malpractices thr individuals, by carrying the matter dispute before the law courts: a pr which resulted in the imprisonme technically, for "contempt of court of certain clergymen who declined obey the ruling of the courts on questions submitted to their deci These prosecutions and the conseque greatly shocked a vast number of per

had no special sympathy with the liar views of the prosecuted persons.* re can be no sort of doubt that the ression produced in the minds of of course, was shared by the Evangelical body in general.

Nothing, in fact, has during recent years so much harmed the Evangelical cause in

WILLIAM WILBERFORCE.
(From the painting by George Richmond, R.A.)

rage people to whom the importance he controversy *per se* did not appeal that prosecution was persecution—ch in effect it almost invariably is. Hence the Association itself incurred no te odium, much of which, as a matter England as these unhappy and mistaken prosecutions; and it is to be deplored that the low church leaders did not more openly dissociate themselves from methods which are unquestionably, and rightly, at variance with the best instincts of all serious Englishmen, who feel that legal prosecutions are not the way to advance spiritual truth.

* Among these were notably Maurice, Kingsley, and Stanley, and their disciples.

But when we have admitted to the full the grave mistakes of the Evangelicals, and the inevitable consequences of their mistakes, pains must be taken to counteract a common error, into which many historians and writers in late years have fallen—viz. that the Evangelical cause is a failing cause. The contrary is, in fact, the case. The hold which the party have on the people is a strong one, and not only shows no sign of diminishing, but indeed the opposite. For instance, the total population of parishes aided by the Pastoral Aid Society is, at least, between five and six millions. That is to say, that the teaching in these parishes is absolutely Evangelical in character, that being a necessary condition of the aid being granted; and this vast population, it must be remembered, belongs exclusively to large poor districts, since comparatively well-to-do parishes scarcely, if ever, ask for assistance from a society whose funds are, after all, but limited, and whose operations are necessarily confined to large and more or less poor centres of population.* This considerable number of five to six millions, then, is only a very small part of the population of England under the influence of the teachers of the school of thought of which we are now speaking.

The splendid and ever-growing enthusiasm evoked by the Church Missionary Society—which is mainly, though not entirely, supported by the Evangelicals in the Church of England—may also fairly be quoted as a striking instance of the hold on the affections of the people to which we alluded. The Church Missionary Soc with the wide extent of its operations, its elaborate and admirable organisa with its noble income—an income, remembered, largely made up of the o ings of the masses—ranks as the first most influential of the various Chri missionary companies formed for evangelisation of the heathen. examples, among many, are simply qu in this place as instances of the affec of at least a very considerable sec of the English people for this schoo thought.

That affection is largely fostered by hereditary dread and dislike—we m almost use the term hatred—of the pe to Rome, and to anything which in ei doctrine or practice seems to lea the direction of favouring Romish* vi The Low Church school is popul regarded as providing the great bulw against the introduction of the dre teaching.

Again, during the century, two g Evangelical leaders have arisen, wh the eyes of the people of England, disputably have filled the foremost p as the champions of the oppressed the down-trodden : William Wilber (1759–1831), and the great and good of Shaftesbury (1801–1885). These eminent philanthropists, who as persis and successful toilers for suffering huma

* The income of the Church Pastoral Aid Society is, roughly, about £50,000 per annum, mainly derived from voluntary yearly offerings.

* It is, however, a fact—which ought t pressed home, as perhaps it is not gene recognised by the people—that the great ma of High Church responsible leaders and tea are as much opposed to Romish errors and pretensions as are the Evangelical leaders teachers.

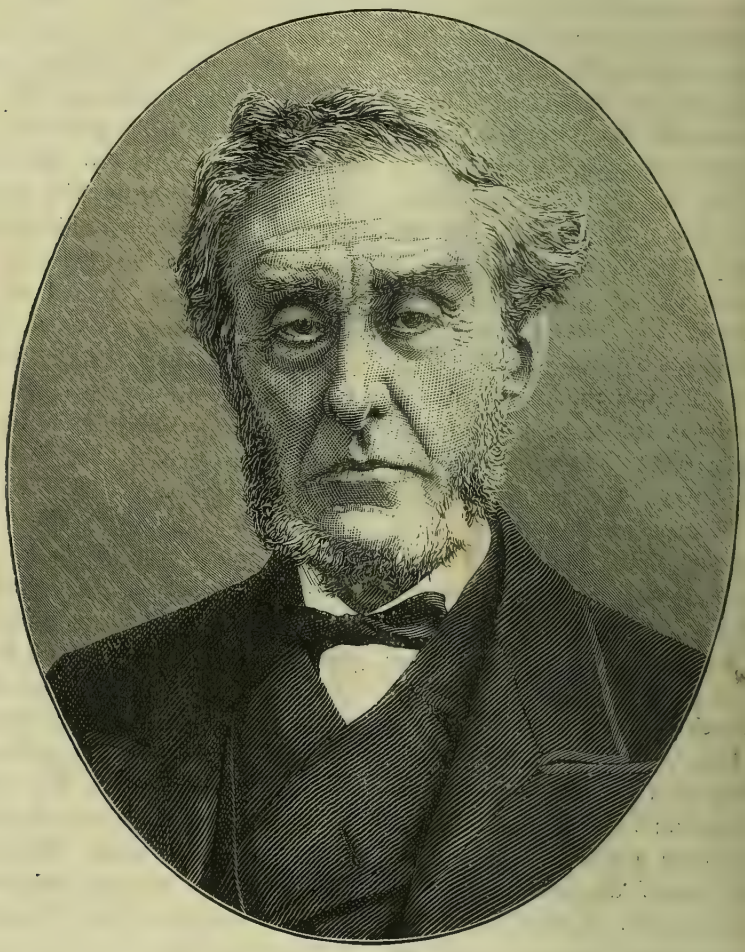
tally tower above all their contem-
oraries, are with justice looked upon
he representatives of the Evangelical
ty. The story of the first of them,
Vliam Wilberforce, has been already
ated at some length, and his inde-
gable labours—in Parliament and out of
liament—for the slaves whose treatment
the darkest blot upon Christianity, for
poor, and for education, have been
ady narrated. Wilberforce was the
il of the great Evangelical teachers of
eighteenth century, and the friend and
er of the chief supporters of the same
ol during the earlier years of the
teenth. He was the centre and the
ling genius of that famous Evangelical
up known as the "Clapham Sect."

ord Shaftesbury, the second of the two
-loved Evangelical leaders, has been,
he England of the second half of the
teenth century, a yet more command-
personality. His successful efforts on
elf of the poor and oppressed have
en more exclusively confined to "home"
es. Much of our first great philan-
pist's time was devoted to the cause
he slaves in the Colonial possessions
Great Britain; while the work of the
ond has been exclusively devoted to
amelioration of the lot of the suffer-
poor in England. If it were possible,
Lord Shaftesbury was even more than
berforce a representative Evangelical.
own words may be quoted as a just
ression of his position in the religious
of the Church of England. "I am
ntially," he said on one occasion, "an
ngelical of the Evangelicals, from deep-
ed conviction. I have worked with
n constantly, and I am satisfied that
most of the great philanthropic move-
ments of the century have sprung from
them. I stand fast by the teachings
held by that party." These remarkable
words, spoken far on in the life of this
noble toiler for God (as late as 1884), not
only emphatically declare his own re-
ligious position, but express his conviction
that to the party to which he was
referring, was owing the majority of
unselfish, helpful, charitable developments
during late years. He bore this emphatic
testimony to the school of religious
opinion which had ever stood by him
in all his "works and days," helping him
earnestly and loyally to devise and carry
out those great public measures and bene-
ficent projects with which the historic
name of Shaftesbury will be for ever
linked.

Deep rooted also in the hearts of the
people, is the old love of Protestantism;
at times, we confess, a somewhat un-
reasoning love, but it must be allowed that,
after all, it rests on lessons painfully learnt
in the past. This old love for Protestantism
has been wonderfully strengthened in the
past hundred years by the part played
by those two great Evangelicals of whom
we have been speaking. The people have
seen, and they will not soon forget, that
from the counsels of the Evangelical chiefs
have sprung—again, to use Shaftesbury's
words—"the great philanthropic move-
ments of the century." Before giving
a few details of the more prominent
recent efforts of the party of which
we are speaking, a short account of the
beneficent and far-reaching reforms planned
and carried out by the great Evangelical
leader and his party in the amelioration

of the lives of various groups among the working classes of England, will be useful and interesting, and will justify the assertion

which the name of Lord Shaftesbury known as Lord Ashley) and his f will be for ever identified in the ann



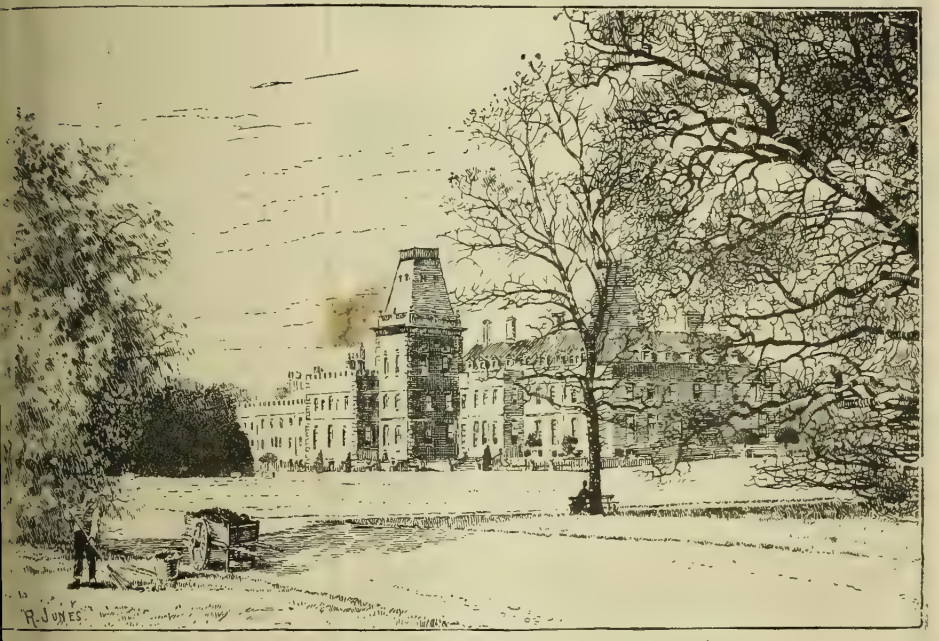
THE EARL OF SHAFTESBURY.

above advanced, as to the degree in which the practical work of the men of the Evangelical school of thought has stormed the hearts of a large number of our fellow-countrymen.

It was as early as 1833 that the great work of "Factory-legislation" began, with

England, whenever successful religiou philanthropic toil is chronicled. For than thirty years a conviction had growing throughout the country, bitter wrong was being inflicted on wo and children, especially on the latter, were employed in ever-increasing num

the rapidly multiplying factories and s, especially in Lancashire and the ch. The hours during which these appy, helpless beings worked, were ssive; the treatment to which they e subjected was harsh, at times even l; the time allowed for rest and re- ment utterly insufficient; for education frightful. Day and night the machinery was kept going, one gang of children working at it by day, and another set by night; while in times of pressure the same children were kept working day and night by remorseless task-masters. The horrors of the Factory system are scarcely conceivable to this generation."* From



ST. GILES, THE SEAT OF THE EARL OF SHAFTESBURY.

moral and religious training, never oment was set aside. At first the and for youthful labour was met the "apprentice" system, by which e bodies of children were drafted from workhouses of cities, and placed in mills and factories as apprentices, re they were too often worked un- ifully, and treated with sickening ality. "The waste of human life in e mills and factories was simply morning to night, in an overheated atmosphere reeking with the fumes of oil, and amidst the whirring din of machinery, sick, with aching backs, and often lacerated fingers, parched and half suffocated by the dust and flue—the weary slaves toiled on:

"For all day, the wheels are droning, turning,
Their wind comes in our faces,
Till our hearts burn, our heads with pulses burning,
And the walls turn in their places:

* "Life of the Earl of Shaftesbury," chap. iii.

Turns the sky in the high window black and reeling,
Turns the long light that droops adown the wall,
Turn the black flies that crawl along the ceiling,
All are turning all the day, and we with all.
And all day the iron wheels are droning,
And sometimes we could pray,
'O ye wheels (breaking out in a mad moaning),
'Stop! be silent for to-day!'" *

WORK HOURS
OF THIS FACTORY
MORNING 6 O'Clock
DINNER ½ Hour & 12
to Leave off
10 O'Clock night
Here's the half hour
quite expired and by the
time you get to work it
will be full three seconds
fast, I'll refer you for this
you little wretch!

THE HAPPY FREE LABOURERS OF ENGLAND.

(*From a print published in* 1833.)

In 1802 the first Sir Robert Peel championed the cause of these unhappy ones, and carried through Parliament a modest measure providing in some degree for their care and education. But his "merciful" Act only went so far as to limit the hours of labour to twelve, exclusive of meals! and to abolish ni work. It also appointed visitors to ins the factories, with the view at all ev of diminishing the most crying grieva of the system. In 1819 Sir Robert succeeded in obtaining another Act, wh forbade children *under years of age* working i cotton factory, and no yo person under sixteen wa be allowed to work *than twelve hours a day*, clusive of meals. In another Bill promoted Sir John Hobhouse bec law, which rendered it lawful to employ any c in a cotton factory should be under eight years of age for more t sixty-nine hours a week, *eleven and a half hours a d* But this somewhat fe legislation related only the cotton factories, wh many other industries w growing up in that pe of rapid industrial devel ment, day by day. In 1 a greater and more comp hensive movement c menced, which embraced idea of limiting somewhat the hours work not only for children in cotton m but for children employed in the ma facture of textile fabrics throughout kingdom. But the legislation attemp in 1830–1, although in the right directi was miserably insufficient to remedy cruel, awful wrong which confesse existed in these dreary homes of labo

* Mrs. E. B. Browning: "The Cry of the Children."

At this juncture the Evangelical leader, Ashley (afterwards the earl of Shaftesbury) appeared on the scene, and constituted himself as the preacher, as the general tribune, in season and out of season, of the new crusade against the factory system; the champion of these thousands of rosy-cheeked, suffering little ones, and of sad-eyed, helpless women employed in these cruel industries. Antony Ashley-Cooper, Lord Ashley, was only thirty-two years of age, when in good earnest he commenced the labours of his great and beneficent life. Intensely pious, an Evangelical of the Evangelicals, a follower of the wise and purest teachers of the school he loved so well, a disciple of the Venns, of Romaine, of Cecil, and of Simeon, he brought religion into every-day life, referring every action to a Higher Power, and seeking hour by hour fresh strength from the source of all power and light—the blessed Redeemer, Jesus Christ.

What he accomplished in the course of the next twenty work-filled years, is succinctly and admirably told in the words of his own private diary, dated Christmas day, 1851:—"It would be curious to take an impartial review, if I could, of what I have gained by many years of toil, for myself, *for the public*, and, may I say it? for the cause of our Blessed Master. What have I gained for the public? That is according to my own estimation. . . . Seventeen years of labour and anxiety obtained the Lunacy* Bill in 1845, and five years' increased labour since that time have carried it into operation. It has effected, I know, prodigious relief, has forced the construction of many public asylums, and greatly multiplied inspection and care."

Then the diary dwells but very lightly upon the great work of his life, in which he gained so vast a notoriety, the beneficent factory legislation, which has made tolerable and even sweetened the condition of life for so many thousands of our toilers, especially for the young and helpless. (2) "Seventeen years from 1833 to 1850 obtained the Factory Bill. The labour of three hundred thousand* persons, male and female, has been reduced within reasonable limits, and full forty thousand children under thirteen years of age attend school for three hours every day! Let the people themselves, let the reports of the inspectors, let the records of bygone days, be heard against the contempt, the misrepresentation, the ignorance, the hatred, of those who opposed or discouraged me.

"(3) A commission, moved for in 1841, reported in 1842, and in 1843 passed a Bill to forbid labour of females in mines and collieries. No one can deny the blessed results of this measure. (4) Passed Bill to regulate and limit labour of children and women in print-works."† . . . "Thus

* Reference is here made to the early efforts made by lord Ashley in behalf of the "insane." His special care, however, was directed to the treatment of that unhappy class in our community called "pauper lunatics." The awful revelations of misery and misery, which were too often the lot of these helpless sufferers, are almost incredible in our days, when lunatic asylums are conspicuous for their order and cleanliness, for the wise and humane treatment of the unfortunate inmates. These efforts, crowned with success, although comparatively little remembered now, were the beginning of the great Evangelical philanthropist's life-work in behalf of the suffering poor of England.

* These numbers, quoted from 1851, of course have enormously increased since that period.

† Other Parliamentary work is here chronicled in the diary—of the same kind, but of a less important character.

far Parliament: out of it have spared no trouble nor expense (and both have been excessive) for Ragged Schools, Model Lodging-houses, Emigration committees, and meetings by day and night on every imaginable subject."

great host of underground workers, m of them of a very tender age, were sin deplorable. The poor little ones labo like beasts of burden, and, toiling the long week through in their terranean workshops, scarcely ever ca

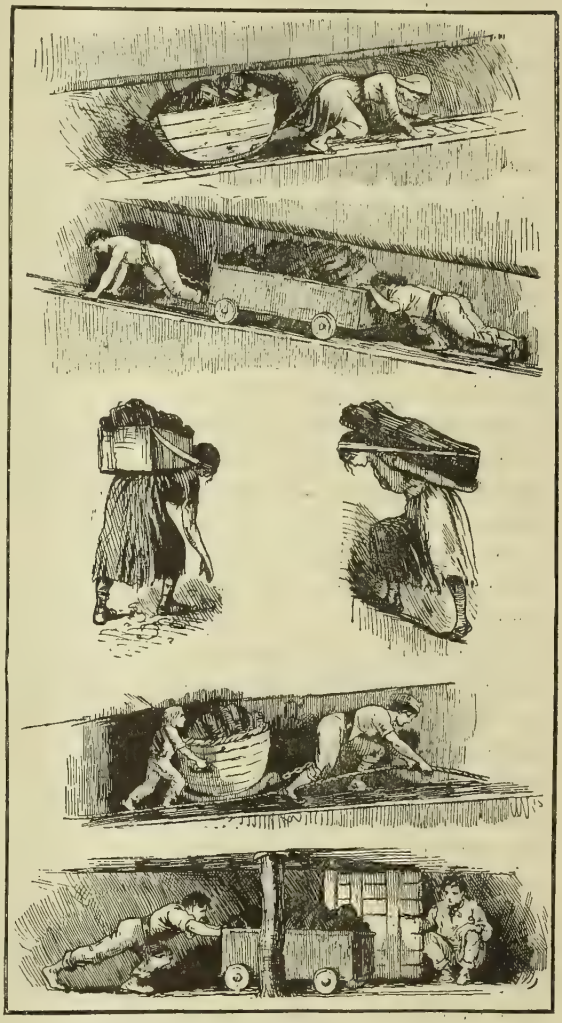
"JACK CADE'S INSURRECTION."
(*From the cartoon by "H. B."*)

The "Colliery" Bill, to which reference is made in this summary, was one of the greatest boons ever granted to the working classes. It dealt with a state of things which existed in the great coal industry—a condition of things almost incredible for the amount of suffering endured by the wretched toilers. Children and young people of *both* sexes were largely employed and shamefully ill-treated; education was totally neglected, and the morals of this

a sight of the sunshine during the days of unremitting work. The seed many diseases were thus early sown. M became permanently sickly, and not a died. Scenes of revolting cruelty were common in these mines and collieries.

The foes to the urgent demands reform urged the impossibility of work the pits with profit, unless child lab was largely used. Lord Ashley enormous pains made himself maste

most complicated question, procured appointment of a Government Commission of Inquiry, exposed in liament and outside Parliament awful iniquities of the system, laid bare the undreamed-of erings it involved. He writes his diary the following: "I r that no such sensation has n caused, since the first disure of the horrors of the slave le. God, go before us, as in pillar of a cloud!" Debing the scene in the House Commons when he brought ard his great measure, "the lies and Collieries Bill," which t a death-blow to the iniquisystem of cruelty and oppresn, on which occasion the Evanal chief thrilled the House his terrible picture, "Oh." writes in his diary, "that I had tongue of an angel to express t I ought to feel! God grant I may never forget it, for I not record it. On the 7th ght forward my motion. The ess has been wonderful. . . . two hours the House listened ttentively you might have d a pin drop, broken only loud and repeated marks of obation. . . . As I stood he table, and just before I ed my mouth, the words God came forcibly to my — 'only be strong and of a courage.' . . . . From that moI was as easy as though I had sitting in an arm-chair. Many men, I hear, shed tears. . . . God prosper the issue."*



CHILD AND WOMAN LABOUR IN THE COAL MINES PRIOR TO 1843.
(Drawn from contemporary prints.)

This earlier legislation on behalf of the downtrodden, oppressed working classes was only obtained after years of toil and in the

* "Life of Lord Shaftesbury," chap. x.

teeth of the bitterest opposition. In 1844 we find such entries in the diary as follows: —"Nearly eleven years have elapsed since I first made the proposition to the House which I shall renew this night. Never at any time have I felt greater apprehension or even anxiety. . . . I know well the hostility I have aroused, and the certain issues of indiscretion on my part affecting the welfare of those who have so long confided their hopes and interest to my charge."* But in spite of the long, sickening delay, to the great Evangelical, confident in the righteousness of the sacred cause to which he had devoted his life, supported by the strong religious conviction of his party, victory came at last all along the line. The "Ten Hours Bill" of 1847 was one of his greatest triumphs, and proved only the precursor of a long series of kindly legislation, which has effectually remedied many of the crying evils that his great heart burned to do away with. How important was that early piece of legislation to mankind, when we remember that out of 544,876 persons employed in the various textile industries, no less than 363,786 were young persons and women, whom the Act directly affected. The great parliamentary victory, we read, was received throughout the country with intense enthusiasm, the rejoicings in the manufacturing districts being such as had never before been witnessed. Ovations everywhere greeted the champion of the poor operatives. Medals were even struck in commemoration of the event.

Evasions of the law were, however, attempted, and more legislation on the subject again occupied the attention of the House of Commons, every stage anxiously watched and guided by Ashley and his friends. In 1850 a complete Bill at length received the assent. The principle laid down by "Ten Hours Bill" of 1847 was established, and since that memo date, owing to the tireless perseve of lord Shaftesbury, that principle been gradually extended, till no the last years of the nineteenth ce we have "a complete, minute, and minous code for the protection of la Buildings must be kept pure of eff dangerous machinery must be fe children and young persons must not it while in motion; their hours ar only limited, but fixed; continuou ployment must not exceed a given nu of hours, varying with the trade, bu scribed by the law in given cases; a s able number of holidays is imposed children must go to school, and the ployer must every week have a certi to that effect; if an accident hap notice must be sent to the proper au ties; special provisions are made for houses, for lace-making, for collieries for a whole schedule of other special ca For the due enforcement and vigilant s vision of this immense host of m prescriptions there is an immense h inspectors, certifying surgeons, and authorities, whose business it is 'to and post o'er land and sea' in *re guardianship of every kind of labour*, that of the woman who plaits stra her cottage door, to the miner wh scends into the bowels of the and the seaman who conveys the or materials of universal industry to

* "Life," chap. xii.

between the remotest parts of the
be."*
Such have been the results of nigh half a
ıtury of ceaseless endeavour on the part
the great Evangelical and his friends;
h the splendid results of perhaps the
olest crusade ever undertaken on behalf
uffering, toiling humanity by a devoted
l earnest churchman. Well indeed have
labours of Wilberforce and Shaftesbury,
ead over about a hundred years, though
ierent in their direct object and varying
heir detail, been classed together. They
h were distinguished and loyal sons of
Church of England, and both not only
onged to, but were most distinguished
lers of, that great school in the church
ed Evangelical. They and their school
eligious thought have left an ineffaceable
k on the story of England, and the
ple will never forget what they owe to
Evangelical leaders Wilberforce and
ftesbury. Very admirably, and withal
r grandly, one, long an ardent and
a bitter antagonist, but who was
he end converted by the exceeding
eness of the saintly work, thus speaks
the lessons of the great crusade.
writer, after stating that he had
me a convert, and that he, as far as
vas able, had been led to imitate the
mple and follow in the footsteps of the
e Evangelical earl, goes on to say:
e present state of these poor women
children† is a serious lesson to all legis-
s. It teaches us in a way not to be
aken, that we ought never to trust to
the justice and humanity of masses of men whose interests are furthered by injustice and cruelty. The slave-owner in America, the manufacturer in England, though they may be individually good men, will, nevertheless, as slave-owners and masters, be guilty of atrocities at which humanity shudders, and will, before the world, with unblushing faces, defend cruelties from which they would recoil with horror if moral judgment were not perverted by their self-interest."*

But this bringing of practical religion into actual common life, was not confined to the classes who toiled in the great and widespread industries covered by the mills and factories, and the innumerable toilers in all textile crafts, nor was it limited to the army of workers in the collieries and mines whence come the vast mineral wealth of our island. We can only venture barely to give a catalogue of the minor industries and crafts in which the poorest of people earn their daily bread, which were helped and materially benefited by the same tireless religious zeal and Christian love. We may just instance such half-forgotten industries as those which employed flower girls, water-cress girls, shoeblacks, chimney-sweeps, costermongers. To these poor children of toil, among the clients of the good earl and his Evangelical friends, must be added the great army of sewing-girls, and the unnumbered crowd of boys of our great cities, well-nigh homeless and destitute—all these in their turn have had occasion, in good truth, to arise and

* Morley's "Life of Cobden."

† The writer is alluding to one special industry, but could apply it to the great mass of helpless children.

* "Mr. Roebuck, M.P., to Lord Shaftesbury," quoted in the "Life," chap. xv. The letter bears date March, 1860.

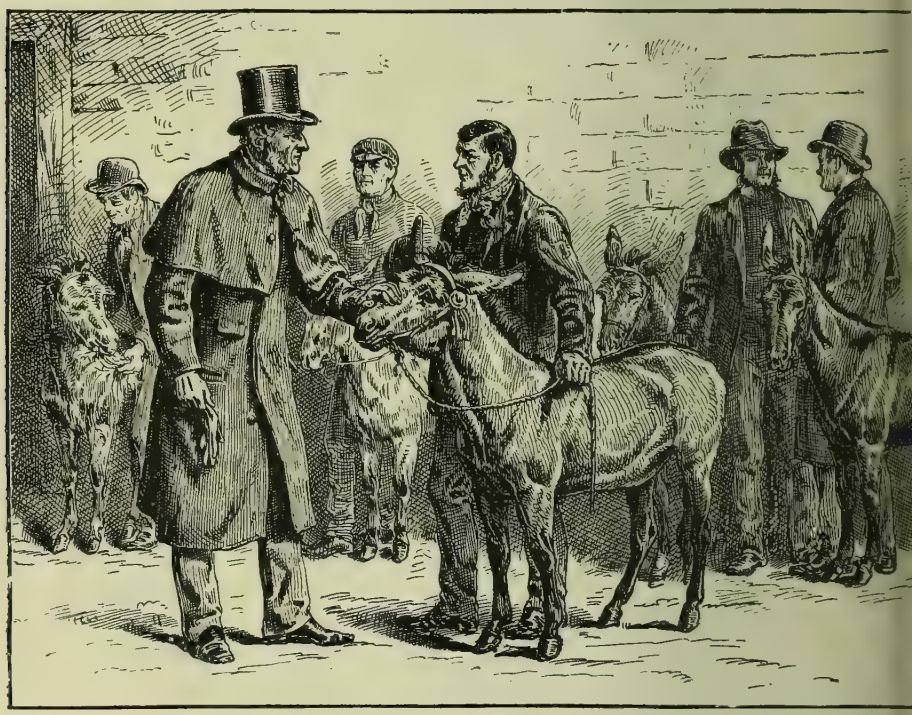
dl Shaftesbury and his company blessed. or were the public deeds of the good angelical earl and his friends by any means nfined to great arenas. His memory will, course, float down the stream of history as e unwearied public philanthropist, as the rliamentary orator and eloquent advocate his well-loved sad-eyed clients, as the tesman who piloted the far-reaching ctory and Colliery Bills through the nzes of House of Commons opposition, the impassioned defender of God's Holy ok, as the unwearied advocate of angelical religion upon a thousand tforms. These things must be his le of honour in the many-coloured ronicles still to be filled with the story the second half of the nineteenth ntury. But the great love which filled e people's hearts for Shaftesbury, was sed upon something else besides his endid public services on their behalf. ncounted thousands, it is true, who had ver looked upon his face or heard his voice verenced him as their fearless and ccessful champion, as the one who had ught their battles for them in the senate d the council chamber. But not a few ong the suffering poor, loved him be- use they knew him. "If a poor flower gl or little children in distress called at house in Grosvenor Square to tell ir troubles to 'the good earl,' they uld never be turned away. They new, too, that as in past years he had ited day after day, night after night, mills and the factories, the collieries and mines—those scenes *once* of nameless fering—so in later life, by day as by ht he went to the common lodging-houses d sought out men and women there . . . they knew how on the day after his visit the bare walls of their sad homes were made gay with bright pictures that produce the semblance of a home-look; they remembered how when on some of these quiet visits, as one or other of them told him of cruel worry or heart-breaking sorrow, they saw the tears pouring down his face, and heard his faltering expression, 'God help you, poor dear!' It is no wonder surely that the poor worshipped the ground upon which he trod, and that his name was held in veneration in every hovel from Whitechapel to Westminster." *

In this too brief sketch of the work of the Evangelical school and their great leader † during the last fifty or sixty years of the nineteenth century, some notice should be especially taken of the Ragged School Union, of which lord Shaftesbury was the indefatigable president for some forty years. Indeed, he was its virtual creator, and he and his friends were ever the main supporters of the "Union" and of the vast work which gradually clustered round it. The question of the enormous population of London and the consequent rapid increase of vagrant and outcast children, began to be a pressing question to many religious men as early as 1843, and a small beginning of a ragged school in Field Lane attracted lord Shaftesbury's attention. He and his friends devoted themselves to the object, conscious of the

* "Life," chap. xxxvi.

† Some of these "memories" were of course *personal*, but such a personality as Shaftesbury's touches the hearts of a whole people; while his public deeds were not only endorsed, but were enormously helped on by the religious party in the church of which for so long he was the foremost figure.

rapidly-increasing numbers of neglected children and young people in the great metropolis. Too wild, ragged, and dirty for the church schools which in those days represented well-nigh the whole machinery available for the education of the poor, these adults engaged in some daily occupati women's evening schools for impro character and extending domestic us ness ; homes for boys, night refuges the utterly destitute, Bible classes, other organisations of a similar nature.



LORD SHAFTESBURY INSPECTING A COSTERMONGERS' DONKEY SHOW.

utterly neglected ones were growing up trained by their sad surroundings for a life of degradation and crime, rather than for a useful, happy existence. The "ragged school," under the powerful and able guidance of the Evangelical leader, rapidly developed. Round the original little "ragged school," struggling for a precarious existence, grew up a network of healthy, happy institutions—such as day schools for infants, evening schools for youths and

With extraordinary rapidity these rag schools and their various satellites, as ab faintly detailed, grew in London. A about seven years, in 1853–4, more t a hundred of these strange, novel "s inaries" for the outcast and almost desti class were included in lord Shaftesbu famous Union. Considerably over thousand children (and the numb rapidly increased) were, before 185 brought into the sphere of their ble

ıfluence. The difficulty was evidently to eep these ragged schools down to one ıark. To use the words of their President ıd chief supporter: "You must keep ıem, as I have said a hundred times, in ıe mire and gutter, as long as the mire ıd gutter exist. So long as this class xists, you must keep the schools adapted) their wants, their feelings, their tastes, ıd their level. I feel that my business es with the gutter." But among the use- ıl practical things taught in this great agged School system was the simple eligion of Jesus. This was ever placed ı the forefront of the simple curriculum. What is wanted," wrote lord Shaftes- ury, years later, to canon Wilberforce, for my small, sorrowing, abject children, ıd when obtained, relished by all that ass, is the notion and feeling of a per- ıal Saviour, of one who can understand ıem, enter into all their sorrows, be, as it ere, near them, almost visible."

The time, however, came when this ıost useful and beneficial work was no nger needed. With the "Seventies" ıe Board School system came into eration, and State provision was made r the education of all children, even of ıe most destitute, ragged, and forlorn in ondon and the provinces. In 1872, in ıe "Shaftesbury" Diary, we come upon is pregnant entry: "The Ragged Schools e sinking rapidly. To attempt their olonged existence will be a waste or me, health, and strength." Then, as the agged School under the new State velopment was dying, we catch sight the master-passion of the good earl. ar above the material things with which i longed to endow his poor, helpless clients, he desired the weal of their immortal souls. He dreaded—no baseless dread, as we have seen since—the exclusion, or at least the discouragement, of religious teaching in State-aided schools. Very earnestly and unceasingly he resolved to resist any such movement to the death. The burning, eloquent words of the great Evangelical on one famous occasion deserve to be quoted at length, for the peril is ever with us: "What we ask simply is this, that the Bible and the teaching of the Bible to the children of this vast Empire shall be an essential and not an extra, that religious teaching shall be carried on within school hours. Take conscience clauses and time tables enough to satisfy the greatest cormorant for things of that kind, but they will in my opinion be all useless. The people of England will never require them. What! exclude by Act of Parliament religious teaching from schools founded, supported by public rates! Declare that the revealed Word of God and religious teaching shall be exiled to the odds and ends of time, and that only at such periods shall any effort be devoted to the most important part of the education of the youth of the Empire! It is an outrage upon the national feelings, and more than this, it is without exception the grossest violation of the rights of religious liberty that was ever perpetrated or even imagined in the worst times by any Government whatever. . . . We have now come to a period in the history of our country when there has just been granted to the people almost universal suffrage. Is this a time to take from the mass of the people . . . the checks and restraints of religion? Is this a time to harden their hearts by the mere

secularity of knowledge, or to withhold from them the cultivation of all those noble and divine influences which touch the soul?"*

We have dwelt at some considerable length upon some of the works and days of Antony Ashley-Cooper, earl of Shaftesbury, because, to a great extent, they cover many of the efforts of the Evangelical party between 1840 and 1885; also, because in many respects Shaftesbury was a typical Evangelical. It has been well said that millions in our land have thanked God —these thanks are still rising—for the noble and successful efforts of Shaftesbury and his party for the poor and the oppressed; such efforts, such successes, considering they were carried out and accomplished in about half a century, as are perhaps matchless in the world's history. Still toiling in the causes he loved so well till the last, at the ripe age of eighty-four he passed to his well-won rest. Before all that was mortal of Shaftesbury was laid in the quiet village church, under the shadow of his ancestral home of St. Giles (Dorset), there was a solemn funeral service in Westminster Abbey. The scene in the storied Abbey, where sleep the kings and queens and a great crowd of the illustrious men and women of our England, was such as never before had been witnessed in the sacred national sanctuary. It was a striking testimony to the work the great Evangelical had done, and to the popular love which he had won for himself and his cause. The mighty Abbey was full of mourners—and true mourners, not sight-seers; it was no impressive pageant such as a great St funeral provides. "Never before, in t memory of living men, had there be brought together at one time and in o place, and with one accord, so ma workers for the common good, impelled a deep and tender sympathy in a comm loss. For no other man in England or the world could such an assembly ha been gathered together. While the cof stood under the lantern of the chur buried beneath the masses of wreaths—t offering of the Crown Princess of Germa resting beside the 'Loving tribute from t flower girls of London'—strong men wo as they gazed on the sea of upturned fac every face bearing traces of sorrow.' The most remarkable feature in that v company of mourners was the number religious and philanthropic institutio represented that day. There were de gates from some 200 to 250 of such ins tutions, many of them of world-wi notoriety, with which the "good ear was more or less directly connected.

A hundred instances could be massed t gether indicative of the love his works h kindled in the people's hearts, and, to a ve large degree, the love is yet reflected popular affection for the "party" of whi he was so faithful, so genuine a rep sentative. Over his bed, for instance, in l London house, hung a rough but careful worked piece of needlework, the offeri of factory girls. The clock in the ear dining-room was the gift of poor flower a watercress girls. The bed coverlet he ev used at St. Giles' House, was a lovi present from a number of ragged childre Well was the sorrow of the people voic

* See the "Life," chap. xxxi.

* "Life," chap. xxxvii.

l a poor artisan in the crowd, with ragged ›thes but with a piece of crape sewed on ls sleeve, who stood silent near the Abbey ‹or as the coffin passed within: "Our ɛrl's gone! God A'mighty knows he loved ι, and we loved him." Very deeply has tɛ memory of these great and successful Church of England stands by her formularies, her articles, and her homilies, and so long as she crowns all by declaring that the Bible is the sole ground of her faith, rejecting every argument of human invention, so long may she confidently assert that she is a true church in the sight of

ALMSHOUSE WALK AND CHURCH, ST. GILES.

ɛorts for the people sunk into the hearts of Englishmen, and that memory hs in no slight degree helped to keep ɛrning the old love for Evangelicalism a.ong vast numbers of our population.

Lord Shaftesbury, for so many long yars the leading and typical Evangelical ɛurchman, was devotedly loyal in his afɛtion for the Church of England. Such pblic words as the following well express tɛ feeling of his party: "So long as the God. . . ." "Leave her! (the Church of England)," cried the great religious leader in a noble outburst of true oratory, spoken in reply to some who were deeply pained at what they deemed grave errors in matters of doctrine and ritual; "leave her! Why, I should just as soon have expected that St. Paul would call upon Timothy to renounce his grandmother Lois and his mother Eunice." This was far on his life in the 'seventies. In his

diary in 1872 we come upon the following entry:—"Must and will do much under God's blessing to resist Disestablishment, and secure the parochial system."

Loyal and devoted churchman though he was, grave criticism advanced by certain earnest Anglican churchmen, which cannot be ignored by an impartial historian of the Church of England, has been urged in respect to some important branches of lord Shaftesbury's religious and philanthropic work; a similar criticism has to be met in the case of certain widely extending religious operations undertaken by other prominent members of the Evangelical party during the last forty or fifty years. The works to which this criticism applies. cannot be said to be solely and distinctively in connection with the Anglican Church—notably such causes as the Ragged School Union, the Young Men's Christian Association, the London City Mission, the British and Foreign Bible Society, and other important religious movements of the Evangelicals presently to be alluded to. These and not a few more are what is termed undenominational. In some of them, however, the great majority of workers are churchmen, and in the opinion of many, the Church of England owes much to their self-denying labours, for it is indisputable that through these varied and various agencies the Anglican Church is brought into close touch with masses of the people, who otherwise would have no contact at all with her teachers. It is of course a thing which many regret, and with good reason, that all these religious and philanthropic movements are not distinctively Church of England movements, but the historian has to accept facts, and has honestly to chronicle them. Advantages the church counterbalance disadvantag and are weighed differently according the stand-point occupied by the critic. number of smaller but at the same ti powerfnl religious agencies which exist England, such as the Railway Missio the Policemen's Mission, the Postme Mission, the Navvy Mission, the Childre Special Service Mission, the Childre Scripture Union, the various prayer unio for civil servants, lawyers, etc.—all the come under the same non-denominatio category. Still they are in great measu practically worked by loyal members of t Church of England of the Evangeli party, and they have been and still a exercising a vast and perhaps little s pected influence upon the general Christi life of England.

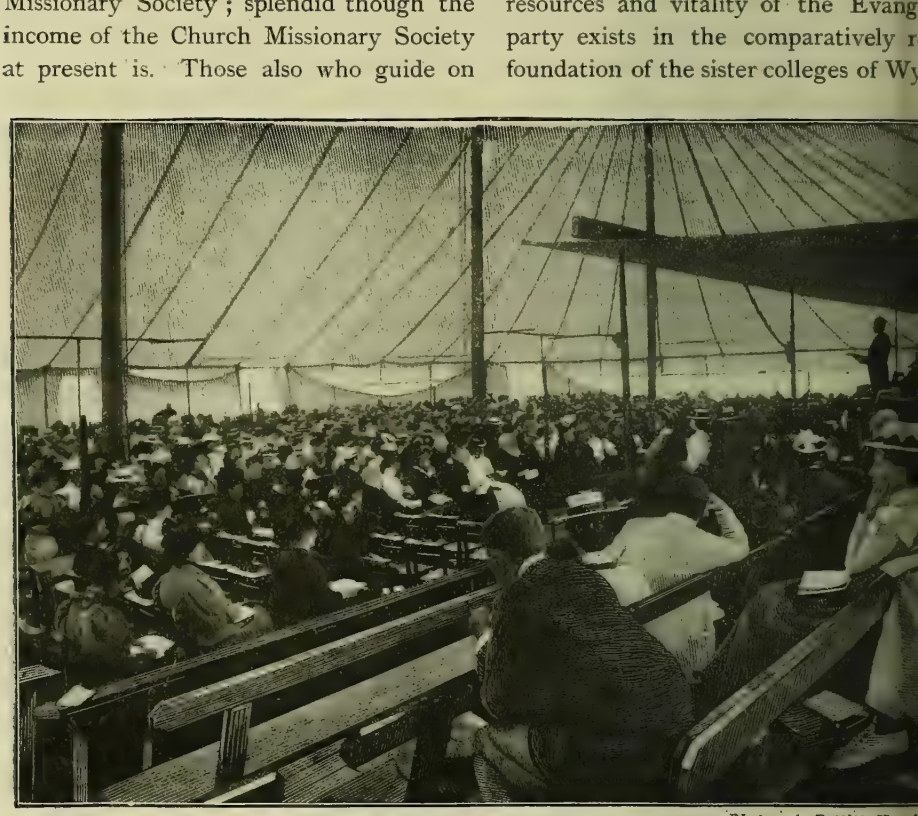
A very brief notice at least is called among this somewhat bare catalogue religious agencies, not distinctively Chur of England movements, but all the sa largely worked by Evangelical churchme mostly laymen, of two most remarkab movements of which the world at lar knows little or nothing. To a few perha they are the shadow of a name but no mo and yet the quiet influence they are exe ing is very great, and it must be borne mind the influence widens considerab with each year. These are the "Mildm Conferences" and the "Keswick Conve tion." The first of these two—the "Mi may Conferences"—have been at work a good many years, but since 1864 ha been considerably developed. Origina founded by Mr. Pennefather, an Eva gelical clergyman, subsequently vicar

S Jude's, Mildmay Park, London, these
nferences have now grown so as to
quire for those who attend them one of
l largest halls in London, in which
200 persons can be seated; and every
ne this great hall is filled three times
ay for three days. Among other things
l Deaconess' Institution, which has had
widespread influence in promoting women's
rk among the sick and poor, is an
shoot of these conferences. The "Mild-
ay Conferences" are professedly non-de-
minational, but are largely in the hands
Church people. The main object held
view is the deepening of the spiritual
e but a strong missionary element runs
ough them. This peculiar missionary
pit fostered in these really notable
atherings deserves a word of notice; it
y probably one day, and that not a far
liant day, bear abundant fruit. What is
pecially pressed home is not a question of
support of a particular society; nor is
question of the raising of funds for
carrying out missionary operations
noted. The teaching confines itself espe-
ally to the solemn command of the
ine Founder of Christianity, to preach
Gospel to all nations; it urges as an
disputable fact the conspicuous neglect
f his command by the *whole* church of
Christ. It enforces the inescapable duty
f every individual to take his part in
ning the holy mission cause, in some
or other, either by taking up the
rk himself, or by inspiring others, or,
ing these, then by giving of money.

The "Keswick Convention" was origin-
ted in the year 1875 by Canon Harford-
attersby, vicar of St. John's, Keswick.
At first, for several years, it was little more than a holiday gathering in the beautiful lake country, where a few hundreds of religious people met together to pray, and to endeavour mutually to deepen their spiritual life. The little religious holiday gathering has, however, grown into the now mighty Keswick Convention, where some 10,000 persons every July come together for prayer and for religious teaching. Of late, as in the "Mildmay Conferences," the missionary element has become a very marked feature in the vast Keswick gathering. This has been notably observable since 1887. Similar local conventions are being held in imitation of Keswick in different parts of the country. The Keswick, like the Mildmay gathering, while nominally undenominational, is virtually under the direction of members of the Church of England. Like Mildmay, Keswick aims not at the support of any existing society, but at infusing a deeper and more earnest missionary spirit among the people; *personal service*, in obedience to the Lord's last command, is the burden of its teaching. The question of money is rarely, if at all, referred to. There is no doubt but that the fervour and zeal which lives, especially in these latter years, in the Church Missionary Society, and which year by year increases, is indirectly to be largely referred to the influence and teaching of these strange quiet gatherings, so little known outside a comparatively small circle. The seed sown is bearing already a notable harvest. Indeed, very many thoughtful men feel a far greater satisfaction, and recognise the grounds for a deeper sense of gratitude to the Master, in the numbers and earnest self-denying spirit of those

who devote themselves to the work of evangelising the heathen world, than in the vastly increased revenues of the Church Missionary Society; splendid though the income of the Church Missionary Society at present is. Those also who guide on

strength from its ranks, to the regular Evangelical body within church, a most striking proof of resources and vitality of the Evang party exists in the comparatively r foundation of the sister colleges of W



A MEETING OF THE KESWICK CONVENTION. *Photo: A. Pettitt, Keswi*

earth the fortunes of the Church Missionary Society consider *men* as much more important than *money*. It is a fact well known that between 1887 and 1897, a period of ten years, the number of Church Missionary Society missionaries has been positively doubled.

Passing from these somewhat irregular powerful religious movements of Keswick, Mildmay, etc., which owe their genesis to this great party, and mainly draw their

Hall in the University of Oxford, Ridley Hall in the University of Cambr These two colleges, now recognised an the foundations of the older univers were projected, roughly speaking, in year 1876, but were not formally op till a few years later. They differ slig in their object from the other college Oxford and Cambridge, being dest *only for graduates* of the University. "Ridley" as in "Wycliffe," men

ve taken their degrees receive especial
ological training preparatory to their
ing holy orders. The teaching is purely
angelical. Both colleges are always over-
l of students, and the result is a constant
w of earnest and well-equipped clergy-
n belonging to the school of thought
which we have been speaking, who
l previously received a university
ining, into the Anglican communion.*

The living power in England of a school
thought which not a few curiously sup-
e is fading fast away, is singularly mani-
ed by the growth of the Islington Clerical
eting, which assembles at the beginning
each year to hear a few selected speakers
readers of papers, on subjects peculiarly
nate to Evangelical thought and teach-
n. It is almost exclusively confined to
lgymen, and to clergymen of the Church
England whose loyalty to the Church is
doubted; but it would not be an exagger-
tn to style the gathering as exclusively
aposed of loyal "Evangelicals of the
ngelicals." This annual meeting was
un by Daniel Wilson the elder, vicar
slington, afterwards known as bishop
Calcutta, some seventy years ago. One
he speakers† at the Islington Clerical
eting of 1898, in the course of his
dress, mentioned how fifty-two years
, in 1846, he had been first taken
this Clerical Meeting. It was held, he
, then in Mr. Daniel Wilson's study,

and some *thirty or forty persons* were present on the occasion. The speaker, looking round the great hall where the Islington Clerical Meeting of 1898 (January) was being held, and where some 750 *Evangelical clergymen* were assembled together, asked his brethren if that remarkable gathering had the appearance of being a meeting of men who belonged to a fading school of thought in the Church of England. "This, my brethren," went on the venerable speaker to say, "does not look like it. As long as the great truths of Apostolic and Reformation times are firmly held and fearlessly proclaimed, Evangelical life shall know no decay; it builds upon Christ, and resting upon the Rock, it must and will prevail."

A quiet, thoughtful comment which was made upon the general tone of this important and numerously attended gathering of 1898 at Islington, gives some index to the spirit which now lives and inspires the Evangelical party in the Church. It was, that in the papers read and in the words spoken there was an almost entire absence of party spirit, the whole atmosphere being deeply spiritual and uncontroversial. There was a lack, perhaps, of the rousing orations of former days, in which Popery and Ritualism were denounced; and in the place of these there were high-toned addresses fearlessly pointing out the weaknesses of Evangelicals, while at the same time the old Evangelical doctrines and truths were as firmly held as in the old days when Romaine or Cecil, Venn or Simeon, held their listeners spell-bound as they preached and taught the beauty and the truth of the old paths.

With great power one of the most

*Ridley Hall and Wycliffe Hall are at present respectively under the government of two known scholars, both of whose predecessors now honoured occupants of the episcopal th.

†The Rev. Sir Emilius Laurie, Bart., of Max-on, N.B.

Rectory Study
St. Andrew by the
Wardrobe and St. Ann,
Blackfriars.

holarly of the selected speakers* described .e place held by the Bible in the closing ·ars of the nineteenth century among the nglish people, and then pressed home the ·gent necessity for a clergy learned in and ·nversant with the science of theology ·this, as the outcome of the work of the ıurch of England after so many centuries, a statement of the deepest interest :† Never, I believe," urged the speaker, ·was there an age when a larger section the English Church were more willing be taught about the Bible, or out of the ble, than at the present. The extraordi- ·ry prominence given to biblical subjects secular newspapers and magazines a remarkable and significant fact. But e people naturally require that those who ıch them should have some knowledge the subject they teach ; and knowledge the Bible can only be gained by hard, ıtient, earnest, continuous, prayerful ıdy. . . . Let us read, study, medi- ıe, pray, and they will listen to our ıessage." The Evangelical teacher was ı-echoing the words of Alfred, the great ·nglo-Saxon king, when he wrote a letter t his archbishop, Plegmund ; was repeating te teaching of the famous Dunstan when]lgar reigned ; was reiterating the weighty hortations of men like Grosseteste and lshop Hugh of Lincoln, of mediæval fame, ıen he dwelt on the necessity of a body of clergy in the Church of England at once *learned* as well as *devout*.

Very grandly in his peroration the same eloquent and thoughtful speaker summed up the position in 1898 of the great party in the loved Anglican communion to which he belonged : " As Evangelical Churchmen we bear a great name ; we are heirs of a splendid inheritance ; we are entrusted with a noble work. But we are not what our forefathers were. The fact cannot be gainsaid. And the reason lies here, that they were more diligent in prayer, and in reading of the Holy Scripture, and in such studies as help to the knowledge of the same, than we are. On their knees before an open Bible, they won a sanctity and light to which we are partial strangers. They walked with God in peace and equity, and did turn many to righteousness. But we, as a school, grew worldly and ambitious ; we did not lay aside, as we promised, the study of the world and the flesh. We were too little alone with God ; we were too much in public before men.

" ' The world was too much with us, late and soon ;
Getting and spending, we laid waste our powers,
Little we saw in heaven that was ours ;
We gave our hearts away, a sordid boon.'

" And even to-day cries are heard in our ranks, which would have sounded strange indeed in the ears of those great and unworldly men of old, that Prime Ministers overlook us, that Bishops ignore us, that society looks down upon us. If they do, may not the fault in some measure be our own ? So long as this is our temper, God cannot use us. The ambitious and the worldly, the murmuring and the

* Dr. Chavasse, Bishop of Liverpool.

† The words and the spirit of very many of the ırds spoken by the Evangelical teachers at the lington meeting of 1898 will, the writer of this istory for the people " is assured, be heartily elorsed and sympathised with by all the more sious and thoughtful of the sister school of glican thought, popularly known as the High Church school, one with the Evangelical school i all essential doctrines.

complainer, He sweeps on one side as out of harmony with His will, and as incapable of accomplishing his purposes. It is when we are content, like our Master, not to be ministered unto, but to minister, to be amongst men as those who serve, to

the century which is fast closing* yet succeeded in stirring the heart England. The English people, as a wh are sturdily Protestant. They still thi much of the Bible. . . . For their sa let us sanctify ourselves."

THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY'S HOUSE, SALISBURY SQUARE.

count it our highest glory and happiness to be soul-winners and soul-strengtheners, to heal, to sweeten, to purify our national life with the love of God, to leaven the Church with His truth, to evangelise the world with the Gospel of His Son—it is then that we live out our great and beautiful name, and fulfil our high destiny. The door of opportunity still, thank God, stands open. No religious movement of

In this little fragmentary study on t "Evangelicals" of the last fifty years of t nineteenth century only the fringes o great subject have been touched upon, the last chapters of our History must p force be of a fragmentary character—not out of which history must one day be wr ten, rather than history itself. But enou

* The words, we must remember, were spo in the January of 1898.

as been said to show that, as the sands f the century were running out, the reat historical school of Evangelicalism as still a real spiritual power in the hurch of England. Its mistakes during

deep and permanent impression upon the minds of a very large proportion of Englishmen.

The influence, too, of the Evangelical school upon religious thought and upon

BOARD ROOM OF THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY'S HOUSE.

at period have not been glossed over; t the shortcomings in question have ot partaken of the nature of lethargy or careless indifference; they were simply rors in judgment and in policy. Such as ey are, however, they belong to the past, d are not likely to be repeated; while s work, as we have shown, has been oble and beneficent, and has left a

religious action is a far-reaching one. It would be a comparatively easy task to dwell upon the numbers of the many congregations in London and in the important provincial centres guided by Evangelical teaching; to write of the growing work of great Evangelical societies like that of the "Pastoral Aid," and of the many smaller and less known

societies more or less closely allied with the school of religious teaching which is here occupying us; to dilate upon the glowing enthusiasm of the Church Missionary Society, and upon its great income, due, as it has been well said, "in a wonderful measure to the gifts of poor givers who love from the soul the Gospel of the grace of God." But it would be a less easy task, perhaps, to tell of that new and nobler spirit which is beginning to inform and to inspire this great school. Evangelicalism—as is well known to that small circle of men to whom religion is all in all—is gradually, in its more influential centres (but not slowly by any means), largely divesting itself of polemical bitterness; it is, while accepting much that is good and true and real, taught by men who think differently from itself on many points, all the while holding firmly as ever the great distinctive truths affirmed by its most trusted teachers in old times. It is pressing home to the younger members of the school the urgent, pressing necessity of earnest, prayerful, continuous study in all things connected with Biblical scholarship and learning. In the future which lies before the Church of England—an unknown future, but a future full of hope—the Evangelical party has undoubtedly a great part to play. Those most conversant with its inner life look forward to that part with a serene confidence, for they are conscious that "underneath are the everlasting arms."

We have now spoken at some length of the genesis of the Oxford movement, and of the far-reaching influence of the school of thought which may be said to have sprung from it. The position and work of the Evangelical school in the Church England during the second half of the ni teenth century have also been sketch The High Church and the Evangeli schools of thought roughly, perhaps, still fairly represent the large major of Anglicans in the present day, as they a century ago and earlier. A third sch is, however, sometimes popularly reckon to exist beside these: men speak not u frequently of the "Broad Church" scho This is, however, a mistake; there is such party in the Church of England. T term is used carelessly, and serves, as rule, to designate this or that teach writer, or preacher who, in the mind the speaker, fails to sympathise who with his particular views, and who c be scarcely classed among definite p fessors of what is generally term high or low church teaching. It is t common to brand with the somewh obnoxious epithet men who would shri from latitudinarianism in any form, a whose Catholic orthodoxy is unimpeac able.

The supposed party or school is popular credited with having sprung from a singul and strangely lovable little group of m who arose in the church during the peri upon which we have been dwelling, a whose words and writings, directly a indirectly, have exercised a very consid able influence upon their contemporari generally, and especially upon the teache of the two great Anglican schools. The names—household words among us—a Arnold, Maurice, Kingsley, and de Stanley. To these must be added as, many though by no means in points deeply sympathising with muc

c their teaching, Thirlwall, bishop of
s David's, F. W. Robertson, and arch-
acon Julius C. Hare.

Of these, the earliest in point of time,
rhaps the most eminent of them all,
homas Arnold, the famous headmaster of
lgby, died in 1842, after presiding over
te well-known Midland school for some
irteen years. It is as the greatest school-
ister ever known in England that he has
n his undying fame. We must not dwell
re upon this phase of his influential
reer, simply contenting ourselves with
ing that he infused new life, and a
bler, purer, more religious spirit into
te peculiar system of our English public
hools. He was something more than a
eat teacher; he recognised, in a way no
e before him had done, the importance of
te moral and religious training of the
ys of the higher classes of the country,
ucated in our public schools. His chief,
ough by no means his only instrument
f the work he set himself to accomplish
vs the college pulpit of his Rugby school.
Here, Sunday after Sunday, in those
mple but impressive school sermons, in
nguage the youngest boy could under-
nd, he set before his pupils the besetting
s and temptations of schoolboy life. He
d them of their duties and high responsi-
bities, and described to them, as only
Arnold could describe, their eternal destiny.
Those who listened to him have never
rgotten his burning words, which went
me alike to their hearts and heads.
Since Arnold's days, as we have said,
new and nobler spirit has lived in and
spired all our greater English schools.
His friends, and they were many, love
paint his generous, pure-minded, and
withal intensely devout character, full of sympathy with the suffering, scorning all that was base and selfish—a very knight *sans peur et sans reproche*.

As a theologian he was less happy. In his famous pamphlet on Church Reform, he advocated the embracing of almost all Dissenters within a church which should be founded on an Erastian basis, in which the distinction between clergy and laity should be virtually obliterated.* "He divides the world into Christians and non-Christians. Christians were all who professed to believe in Christ as a Divine Person, and to worship Him; and the brotherhood of Christians was all that was meant by 'the church' in the New Testament. . . . Church organisation was, according to circumstances, partly inevitable or expedient, partly mischievous, but in no case of divine authority."† But, with all his unhistorical and revolutionary views on the church, Arnold was an intense and fervid believer in the great cardinal Christian doctrines. He was, too, ever a persistent foe to the Oxford or Tractarian movement, which he assailed in language strangely bitter, and even violent.‡ And yet, in spite of his inveterate rancour against the Oxford Tractarians, he could write of their great leader, whom he admired and even reverenced, in the following chivalrous

* Canon Overton: "History of the Church of England," vol. ii., chap. xi., who adds here that Dr. Hawkins, provost of Oriel, Arnold's old friend, told him "he was writing on a subject about which he knew little or nothing."

† Dean Church: "Oxford Movement," chap i.

‡ See especially his well-known article in the *Edinburgh Review* on the "Oxford Malignants and Dr. Hampden."

terms, to a friend who was in communication with Dr. Pusey, asking his advice on patristic reading: "From Pusey you will learn, I am sure, nothing virulent or

was not in sympathy with either of church parties. He detested, howe the appellation of "broad churchma Kingsley, who ever spoke of Maurice

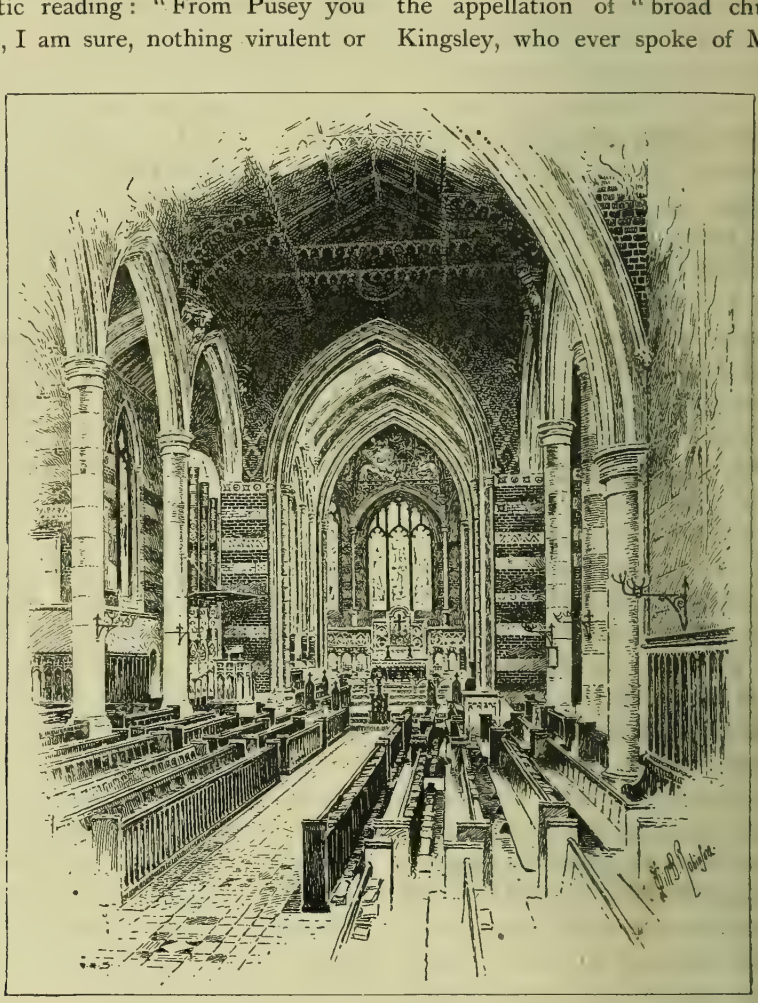


Photo: A. H Fry, Brighton.

THE CHAPEL, RUGBY SCHOOL.

proud or false, but self-denial in its true form, combined with humility and honesty." *

Frederick Denison Maurice, who died in 1872, was ever a loyal churchman, but

"my master," describes him as "the m beautiful soul whom God has ever in mercy allowed me to meet with on t earth; the man who, of all men I ha seen, approached nearest to my concepti of St. John, the apostle of love." T

* Liddon: "Life of Pusey," vol. ii., chap. xviii.

n church party, however, suspected
orthodoxy; and the opinion of the
ngelicals also is clearly expressed by
ftesbury, who wrote of him thus:
r. Maurice is one of those who must
anked according to old Foxe's defini-
, as 'neither sound Protestant nor
papist.'" *

harles Kingsley, who passed away in
, though of course not to be reckoned
theologian in the sense of Maurice
who, perhaps, exercised through
charming and fascinating stories a
r influence even than his master,
been classed as the apostle of mus-
r Christianity—a term he, however,
liarly disliked.

ean Stanley, who survived until 1881,
hed another and far-reaching public

Photo; Elliott & Fry, Baker St., W.
CHARLES KINGSLEY.

s brilliant studies on Old Testament
cts, as well as by his writings on
dder: "Life of Lord Shaftesbury," chap. xi.

many important points connected with ecclesiastical history. Men of all schools of thought, quite outside the little world

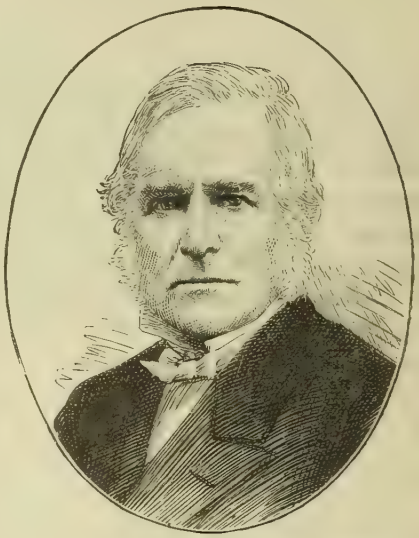


Photo: Elliott & Fry, Baker St., W.
F. D. MAURICE.

or scholars and students, were led, through the wonderful charm of his style, by his graphic and descriptive power, to interest themselves in subjects which, as a rule, few save those specially interested in history or theology had cared to master.

All these, and a few other distinguished men, whose names, however, are less known, were, without being in any definite way his disciples, more or less influenced by the spirit of Arnold. With scarcely an exception, the group were bitterly opposed to all prosecutions, whether directed against ritual excesses or errors in doctrine. Indeed, their vehement dislike to all doctrinal prosecutions has caused them not once or twice to be suspected of sharing heresies, with which they had no sympathy what-

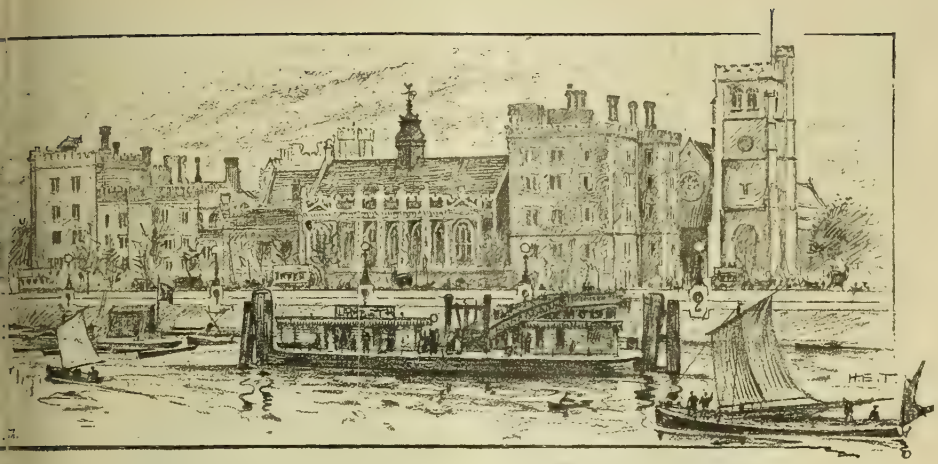
ever. The Evangelical dislike of dean Stanley, a dislike and suspicion shared by high churchmen, is fairly expressed by the great Evangelical leaders. In his diary (July, 1881), Shaftesbury writes: "Dean Stanley died last night. I deeply regret him. He was kind, friendly, genial, affectionate. He was full of love and interest for the poor, and rejoiced in every thought and act of generosity. His abilities and acquirements were brilliant. *I trembled at the contemplation of his theology*, but I loved the man. Another who showed me attachment, and who always did me more than justice, is now gone."

The power that these independent writers, teachers, preachers, and thinkers, who are generally classed by the well-known term, Broad Churchmen, have exercised in the Church of England, has been well and fairly summarised by a recent historian, when he says that their work and influence has "tended general liberalise both high churchmen and churchmen alike. Let anyone com he goes on to say, "a typical high ch man and a typical low churchman present day [he is writing of the last of the nineteenth century] with a of either class of fifty years ago, a cannot fail to observe the enormou ference which half a century has in widening the horizon of both the change seems to be largely d the influence, direct or indirect, o remarkable men we have just been sidering."* But it would be inacc and misleading to class these "teac as belonging to any definite party. power they wielded and the influence exerted were rather wielded and exer *individuals*, not as leaders of a school

* Canon Overton: "History of the Chu England," vol. ii., chap. xiii.

Photo: S. A. Walker.

DEAN STANLEY.



LAMBETH PALACE, FROM THE RIVER THAMES.

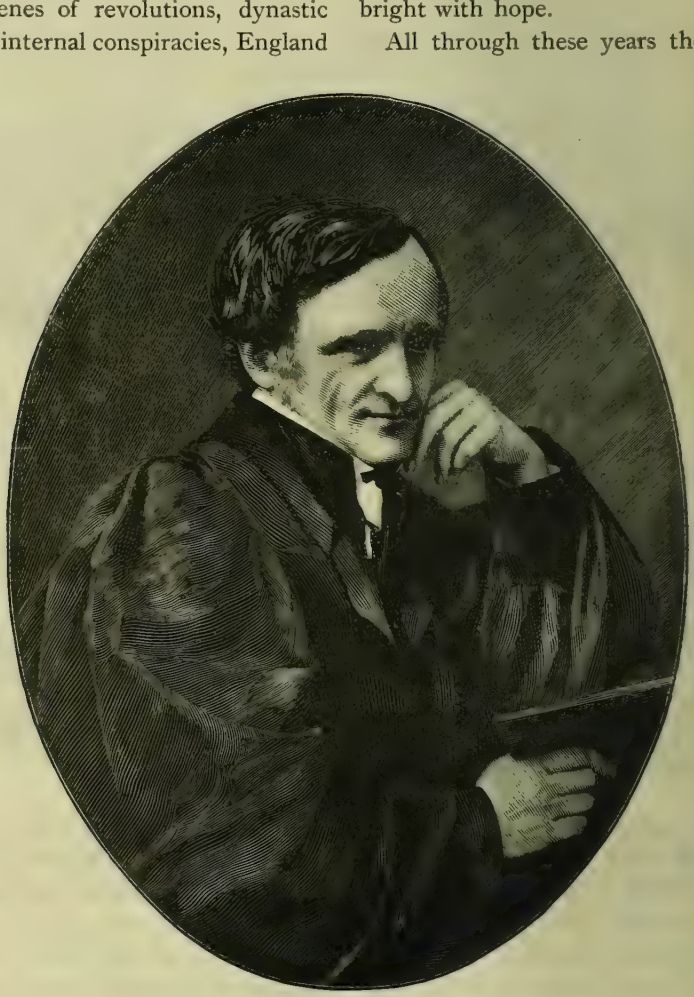
CHAPTER LXXVII.

I: ANGLICAN CHURCH DURING THE SECOND HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

el Growth and Progress of the Church—The "Essays and Reviews" Controversy—Failure of Judicial Proceedings — Synodical Condemnation — The Modern School of Criticism — The 'Colenso" Controversy—The Resuscitation of Convocation—The Church Congress—Diocesan Conferences—The Pan-Anglican Conferences—Foreign and Colonial Expansion—Extension of the Hierarchy—Vast Increase in Pastoral Work—Building and Repair of Churches—Cathedral Services—The Gothic Revival in Architecture—Apparent Finality of Gothic Art—The New Music—The Higher Criticism—Summary and Conclusion.

ORE than half a century has passed since the revival which we related in some detail under eneral name of the "Oxford move- n" took place. Sufficient has been especting the special work and in- ıe during that period of the two a schools into which the Anglican ı h may be said to be divided; but hing remains to be said respect- ne more general history and de- nents of the church at large. It een a stirring time, a somewhat ls period, but a period marked by enormous activity, by rapid growth in population and in national wealth and power. The sounds of war and its attendant suffering and sacrifice have never reached our favoured shores, though once in the far east of Europe and several times in India great and world-famous campaigns have been conducted with conspicuous success. But, on the whole, the fifty years have been for Great Britain a period of peace and generally prosperity. All through this long time one sovereign has sat upon the English throne, to whose quiet wisdom and devoted patriotism the

prosperity in question has been very largely owing. While other countries have been the scenes of revolutions, dynastic changes, and internal conspiracies, England alone has witnessed none of these things. Whatever changes have taken place in the British Empire, have been carried out quietly, peacefully, with the consent of the crown and people, acting together; and, as far as men can see, the future



ROWLAND WILLIAMS, D.D.
(*From a photograph.*)

of the Anglo-Saxon race, although anxious questions tarry for a soluti bright with hope.

All through these years the Chu

England has played an important Never, through the thousand ye more of the eventful story we have telling, has its influence been so gr so far-reaching. With the cynicism age, the great statesman, lord Beacon

ported to have said, lamenting over disappearance in modern times of that was venerable and impressive: re are not many grand things left ngland, but the national church is f them."

some future hand must write the h's story in detail during that erful half-century. It is all too t now. Of the men who played ading parts, many are with us still; se we can, of course, say but little. have too lately passed within the or any writer to be able to estimate their virtues or their shortcomings. can only venture to give a brief nt, little more than a dry summary, work and progress of the church, f the events which seem noteworthy history, in what we must call our time. That work has been most e, the progress has been enormous, here are features in its history of great est during that memorable period, nly in our own England, but in the r England beyond the seas.

ring the period (roughly dating from to the closing years of the nineteenth try) now under consideration, some controversies have arisen in the h of England, which seem to call me account. That which affected any important questions connected he ritual and practice of the Angli- hurch has been already dealt with; here were two others, known as the *s and Reviews* controversy, and the enso" controversy, which touched ticles of the Catholic faith.

the year 1860 appeared a volume, under the somewhat ambiguous title of *Essays and Reviews*. The names of the seven contributors to this book, invested it with an importance independent of any literary power or research and scholarship which may have characterised the several essays. They had no direct connection one with the other, and the preface formally disclaimed any responsibility of the authors beyond the limits of their respective essays. But six of the seven writers were Anglican clergymen of position and ability, and several of them occupied posts of influence and dignity; and "the book was at first read as a whole, in the light of its more startling portions."* The six papers to which grave exception was taken were the "Review of Bunsen's Biblical Researches," by Dr. Rowland Williams, somewhiles vice-principal of Lampeter college, and, at the time of the publication of the book, vicar of Broad Chalk, in the diocese of Salisbury; an "Essay on the Study of the Evidences of Christianity," by Professor Baden Powell; "The National Church," by the Rev. H. B. Wilson, vicar of Great Houghton, formerly an Oxford tutor of high reputation; "The Mosaic Cosmogony"; "The Tendencies of Religious Thought in England—1688–1750"; and "The Interpretation of Scripture"; the last three written respectively by Mr. Goodwin, Mr. Mark

* It is only just to remark that the *first* essay in the book—on "The Education of the World," by Dr. Temple, who subsequently filled with conspicuous ability and universal approval the position of bishop of Exeter, bishop of London, and, later, that of archbishop of Canterbury—is simply a *résumé* of a university sermon, preached on the occasion of his appointment to the head-mastership of Rugby. No charge on the score of orthodoxy has ever been raised against this essay.

Pattison, and Professor Jowett. Of these six essays, the papers of Dr. Rowland Williams and Mr. Wilson were subsequently the subjects of public litigation.

Before the end of the year (1860) public attention was called to the book by a highly commendatory notice in the *Westminster Review*. This was followed, in the January of 1861, by a strongly condemnatory article by Dr. Wilberforce in the *Quarterly*. The press generally also took notice of and called attention to the startling statements advanced by these responsible writers. The result of these various criticisms was a general arousing of public attention to the volume, six large editions of which successively appeared; and the mass of churchmen were seriously disturbed. Dr. Stanley (afterwards dean of Westminster), who was then Regius professor of ecclesiastical history at Oxford, before the great outburst of indignation, expressed his own opinion of the two essays of Mr. Wilson and of Dr. Rowland Williams, in the following terms: "Wilson's (essay) has committed the unpardonable rashness of throwing out statements, without a grain of proof, and which can have no other object than to terrify and to irritate, and which have no connection with the main argument of his essay. . . . Williams is guilty of the same rashness as Wilson, on a larger scale, casting Bunsen's conclusions before the public, without a shred of argument to prepare the way for them or to support them." *

* The words occur in a letter of Stanley's to the editor of the *Edinburgh Review*. See "Life of Dean Stanley," ii., 34; and Liddon: "Life of Pusey," vol. iv., chap. ii. This early estimate of Dr. Stanley, whose subsequent article in the *Edinburgh Review* excited some attention, is remarkable.

Without attempting to set fort various destructive conclusions arri in this mischievous volume, the matter of the two essays which publicly challenged in the courts, n briefly given. Dr. Rowland Willi his paper proposed to exhibit the d tive criticism of Baron Bunsen o books of the Old Testament. Buns generally accepted "many of the theories which were flying about Ger in the matter of Biblical research, a enumerated them in a confident t though they had been established by Dr. Williams reproduces these, not professing his agreement with the describing them as "suggestive" or worth consideration."* Mr. H. J. whose careful, accurate scholarshi high qualities as a divine and thinke been already dwelt upon at some le the course of our history, speaks of H as "denying the genuineness of h books in the Bible, and as treating portion of its history as mere idle t legendary myths."† . . . .

The other essay which obtain greatest notoriety, that of Mr. Wil yet more vague in its language. been described as manifesting a des the part of the author "to show hi tempt for all received opinions and ac creeds." In the extracts subsequent

* See Canon Perry: "History of the Church (Third Period)," chap. xx.

† Bunsen's striking and winning persona pure and stainless life, his many and vari his high position in the diplomatic world, g theological writings a weight they would no wise have obtained. His was a strange c character. It is noticeable that many writings, however, breathe the spirit of th exalted devotion and piety.

ited to the Judicial Committee of the ivy Council, Dr. Williams was charged it saying that the Bible is not the Word God, and Mr. Wilson was charged it contradicting the Articles and formu-ris, by holding that the Bible was not ri en under the inspiration of the Holy pit, and that it was not necessarily at and certainly not in parts, the word God.

The judicial proceedings resulted in a remnation by Dr. Lushington in the rt of Arches, and in a subsequent quittal by the Privy Council, to whom e condemned essayists appealed. The i, however, of the Church of England, vast majority, unhesitatingly con-med the book and its views. A most rtant declaration was drawn up at rd, which, among other points, de-ed the firm belief of the signatories a the Church of England, in common t the whole Catholic Church, main-ed without reserve or qualification the ration and divine authority of the e canonical Scriptures, as not only aining but being the word of God. weighty declaration was signed by ess than eleven thousand Anglican ymen. It was formally presented he archbishop of Canterbury, and e next month it was followed by a lical condemnation of *Essays and ews* by both Houses of the Convo-n of Canterbury. This controversy e together into one solid phalanx of iance the two great schools of thought e Anglican communion, thus demon-ng that the Anglican High Church-n and the Anglican Evangelical are utely one in all the really great points of fundamental Catholic doctrine, many of which had been lightly spoken of if not put aside in the reckless pages of the book so justly condemned. The Bible, as it came down to the church of the present day unchanged from the church of the first days, was a priceless heritage, equally precious in the eyes of Shaftesbury the Evangelical, as of Pusey, the High Church leader.

The *Essays and Reviews* of 1860, which at the time so alarmed the Church of England, and which called out so unparalleled an expression of opinion, so general a repudiation by the church,* were, however, soon forgotten. The book had no successor. The various assertions and deductions contained in it were ably and exhaustively answered by more profound scholars and divines than the writers of the essays in question. It created no new school of thought ; the number of disciples of the new views was insignificant. The defence of the faith called forth in the form of replies by such men as Thompson, archbishop of York, Ellicott, bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, H. J. Rose, of Cambridge, McCaul, the learned Hebraist, and others, has been a permanent and

* The formal acquittal by the Privy Council, which reversed the condemnation of the book previously pronounced by the Court of Arches, and which for a time gravely disturbed earnest churchmen, when carefully examined, will be found to have been based, to use the words of the judges themselves, on "the meagrest disjointed extracts" contained in the reformed articles as they came from the lower court; the judges stating that they had no power to decide doctrine, and could but examine the plain grammatical meaning of "the extracts" placed before them ; and these extracts, they decided, were insufficient to justify a conclusion that they were in conflict with the true construction of the Articles and other formularies of the Church of England.

valuable addition to the theological library of the Anglican communion. Among the pieces of defence thus evoked, the *Lectures on the Book of Daniel* by Dr. Pusey deserve a special notice. This work of the great scholar and churchman is rather a text-book for the student than a work adapted to the ordinary reader, and though some of his conclusions are by no means universally accepted, the treatise will ever remain a noble contribution to the study of this difficult but precious book.

In the later years of the century, since Pusey, ever the stalwart defender of the old canons of Old Testament criticism, fell asleep, a new school of theologians has arisen in the older universities. Their deductions in respect to certain dates, and also as to the composition of much of the Old Testament,* are varied, and in some cases even startling; but the adversaries of this s of higher criticism, as it is comm termed—and these adversaries are n ous—frankly admit that the tone o writers of the new school is very dif from the flippant and reckless asse of the men of the *Essays and Revi* 1860, and especially from the som scornful tone in which these spe Catholic creeds and Catholic doctrin is characterised by scholarly researcl generally its conclusions are couch guarded and reverent language. are now accustomed to listen to the dent hope, which speaks of the time the terms of reconciliation betwee New Criticism and the Old Faith m stated without compromise and wi surrender. . . . Pusey (years b saw there was 'death in the pot

* After all, the conclusions of the advocates of the so-called "Higher Criticism" are most precarious, and the attitude of students towards the deductions of scholars of this school of thought should be one of extreme caution, not to say of distrust. The last pronouncement of one of the most distinguished writers in the department of theology which is especially devoted to the study of the Old Testament Records (Mr. Sayce, Professor of Assyriology in the University of Oxford), made at the close of 1897, is a startling one, and his weighty words cannot be lightly passed over. For instance, in his Preface to "The Early History of the Hebrews" (Rivingtons, 1897), he says: "Over against the facts of archæology stand the subjective assumptions of a certain school, which, now that they have ceased to be predominant in the higher latitudes of scholarship, are finding their way into the popular literature of our country. Between the results of Oriental archæology and those which are the logical end of the so-called 'higher criticism,' no reconciliation is possible, and the latter must therefore be cleared out of the way before the archæologist can begin his work." In chapter ii., pp. 110–111, Professor Sayce writes: "At last we are able to call in the aid of the scientific method, and test the age and character, the authe and trustworthiness of the Old Testament h by monuments about whose historical au there can be no question. And the result test has, on the whole, been in favour of tra and against the doctrines of the new critical s It has vindicated the antiquity and credibi the narratives of the Pentateuch. . . . We a only at the beginning of discoveries; those during the past year or two have, for the s of Genesis, been exceptionally important enough has now been gained to assure us th historian may safely disregard the philo theory of Hexateuchal criticism, and trea Books of the Pentateuch from a wholly di point of view." Again, on pages 129 an he writes: "The philological theory, wi hair-splitting distinctions, its priestly code 'redactors,' must be put aside with all th torical consequences which it involves. The philological theory, with its minut mathematically exact analysis, is brushed it is as little in harmony with archæology is with common sense. The Pentateuc longs to the Mosaic age, and may the be accepted as, in the bulk, the work of himself."

ntained the wild gourds of the young
ophets. Now the young prophets are
gaged in casting in the meal; time will
ow whether they have succeeded in
aling the pot." *Adhuc sub judice*
*l est.**

The second important controversy, also
i matters connected with the Catholic
fth, sprang also from within the ranks
c the ordained ministers of the church,
al again the heresy
nplained of concerned
t: Bible. As we have
s n, in the first contro-
vsy the position of the
witers of the heretical
bk gave it a weight,
al invested it with an
influence quite incom-
nnsurate with its lit-
e ry power and ability.
S in the second case,
t: rank and conspicuous
pce of the bishop of
Ntal in South Africa,
g:e his strange writings
a importance which they would never
h:e obtained had they been put out
u ler different circumstances—in other
wrds, had anyone save a bishop of the
Aglican communion been their author.

n 1853 the vast diocese of South Africa,
wich since 1847 had been under the
gernment of bishop Gray, of Capetown,
w: divided into three dioceses. To carry
o the re-arrangement, bishop Gray re-
i ned his see, which he had hitherto

Photo: Elliott & Fry.
DR. COLENSO.

occupied as a suffragan of the archbishop of Canterbury. He was immediately re-appointed as metropolitan, with jurisdiction over the two new sees of Grahamstown and Natal. For the new see of Natal, Mr. Colenso, a distinguished mathematical scholar of Cambridge, then working in the diocese of Norwich, was chosen, being already well known for his zeal in the missionary cause.

For some time after his appointment, bishop Colenso distinguished himself in his distant and lonely diocese by activity and earnestness. It was in 1856 that he incurred the displeasure of his metropolitan by innovations he had introduced into the Prayer-book, and by certain imprudences in his dealings with the heathen population of his diocese. Still, bishop Gray spoke kindly of him, writing in the following terms: "If he [Colenso] will only learn caution and deliberation, this will do no harm. His fine, generous, and noble character will overcome all difficulties." Alas! Dr. Gray's hopes were never fulfilled, and in 1861 we find the bishop of Capetown speaking thus of his suffragan: "The bishop of Natal is a very wilful, headstrong man, and loose, I fear, in his opinions on vital points. . . ." And again: "I am very anxious about 'Natal'; his views are dangerous. I fear we may have taught in South Africa another Gospel which is not another."

* Liddon: "Life of Pusey," vol. iv. chap. iii., ded (since Dr. Liddon's death) by Mr. Johnston, rincipal of Cuddesdon, Dr. Wilson, late warden f eble College, and Mr. W. C. E. Newbolt, canon n chancellor of St. Paul's.

In 1861 Dr. Colenso put out a new translation, accompanied by a commentary, of the Epistle to the Romans, containing many strange ideas. Bishop Gray in vain entreated him to suppress it. The work was carefully examined and considered in England by the archbishop of Canterbury and his suffragans,* with the result that it was agreed Colenso should be requested to withdraw the work ; and, failing this, he was desired not to officiate in English dioceses in the course of a visit to England he was proposing to make.

Between 1862 and 1866 the bishop of Natal published the unfortunate book with which his name will be always connected, "The Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua critically examined." The work was published in parts. The second part contained a violent diatribe levelled against the Anglican clergy, whom Colenso charged with dishonesty in upholding the doctrines of the church, and with teaching what he was pleased to call "transparent fictions." The book, as a whole, was a crude, ill-digested work, mainly based on second or third-hand sources, containing little that was original or suggestive. The bishop of Natal was no theologian, and had little real knowledge of the Hebrew language ; was, indeed, miserably equipped for the task he had taken upon himself. The caustic remark of the great statesman† was well founded: "The bishop of Natal commenced his theological studies after he had grasped the crozier." His conclusions in respect to the Old Testament writings were that they contained much matter that was not historical, and t in consequence, he could no longer the Anglican ordination service, in wh the truth of the Bible is assum while the baptismal office in its pre condition must, he considered, be aside, on account of its allusion to Deluge.

In England the book was at o generally condemned, even by th who deemed that it would be ill-adv to take any formal proceedings agains In South Africa, after a judicial inqu the bishop of Capetown as metropoli with two episcopal assessors, formally posed Dr. Colenso from the see of Na Upon this Dr. Colenso appealed to privy council at home. The privy cou reversed the South African judgment, purely on technical grounds ; curio enough alleging that the letters pa creating the South African bishopric no force, as, previously to their be issued, the colony had received re sentative institutions; and that, in sequence, there were no bishops of N and Capetown known to the law, and metropolitan with any rights of judg The action of the bishop of Capetown however, very generally approved, in So Africa as in England, the Convocat of Canterbury, through the archbish conveying to Dr. Gray and to the bish associated with him the expression their admiration of the courage, firmn and devoted love of the Gospel manife by him and them under most difficult trying circumstances.

Dr. Colenso, however, insisting upon rights as bishop, returned to Natal. 1866 a sentence of excommunication

* There were only two bishops who dissented from this course of action.

† Mr. Disraeli, afterwards earl of Beaconsfield

sed upon him by the bishop of petown, which sentence the dean of ritzburg was directed to read from the ir of the cathedral church. We need not approval of his proceedings. The Rev. W. K. Macrorie, vicar of Accrington in Lancashire, was consecrated in 1869 "bishop of the church in Natal and

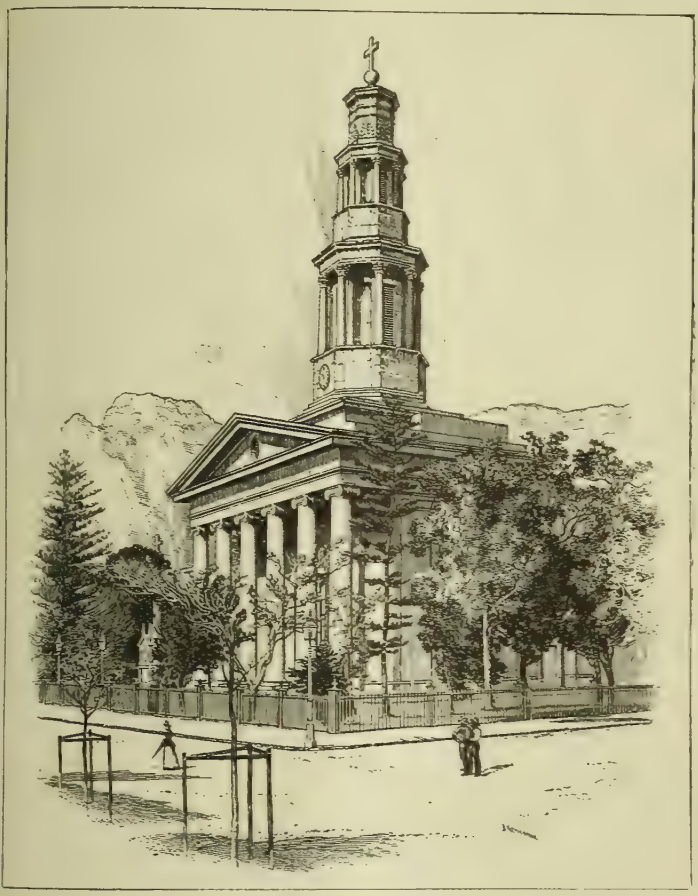


Photo: Cassell & Co., Ltd.

ST. GEORGE'S CATHEDRAL, CAPETOWN.

l any further upon the details of this ful case. The action of the bishop of town was not only generally approved the church in England, but the rican convention and the provincial l of Canada had previously conveyed e South African metropolitan their Zululand, in communion with the bishops of the province of South Africa and with the Church of England." Mr. Macrorie took the title of bishop of Maritzburg. The great Anglican church societies, the S.P.G. and the S.P.C.K., also transferred their grants for Natal to bishop Gray, of Capetown.

Still Dr. Colenso refused to vacate his office, and much difficulty for a considerable period existed, as the churches and schools generally, in Natal, were vested in him. New work had to be recommenced in the distracted diocese, fresh churches and schools had to be built; and, as the result of quiet, patient endeavour, the churches under bishop Macrorie after a time became four times as numerous as those which still acknowledged the authority of the schismatical Dr. Colenso.

The author of all this trouble and confusion died in 1883, and the unhappy affair is now well-nigh forgotten. Like the famous controversy of the "Essays and Reviews," it cannot be said to have left any permanent scar on the life of the Church of England.

Our register of the important developments of the Church of England since 1845 naturally commences with the resuscitation of Convocation. The ancient synod of the church had been virtually suspended for a century and a quarter; having fallen under the displeasure of the Whig government of the day in 1717, when George I. was king, owing to its action in the case of the Latitudinarian bishop Hoadley of Bangor. Convocation was regarded as unwisely taking sides in the political controversies of the time, by its implied censure of the Whig bishop. It was, therefore, by the advice of the ministers, prorogued, and never suffered again to meet for the despatch of business until the year 1852. Its existence was publicly recognised by its being formally summoned at the beginning of a parliament, when it voted an address to the crown, and then immediately separ
In later times various spasmodic atte
were made to revive its activity. In
Samuel Wilberforce, when archdeac
Surrey, had urged its revival, and
prominent churchmen had joined in
agitation, which was principally kept
by a body of earnest men who in
formed themselves into a "Society fo
revival of Convocation." Wilberforce,
had become a bishop, seconded by bis
Blomfield and Philpotts, and a lay
lord Redesdale, pressed the m
vigorously forward.

In 1852 the earl of Derby, who
then prime minister, saw no objectio
the revival of the ancient church asse
The question excited much interest,
vehement opposition was displayed
some quarters. Amongst other advers
the press was conspicuous; and the
ment was advanced that the meetin
Convocation for the despatch of bus
would be perilous to the Church of
land, and inimical to the order and
quillity of society. But in spite o
opposition, the government of the
being decidedly favourable to its re
the efforts of Churchmen were cro
with success, and on November 5,
a day ever memorable in the anna
the Church of England, the synod o
province of Canterbury met in St. P
Cathedral.

It was a curious moment for the asse
to meet, for the great cathedral was b
prepared for the imposing state funer
the duke of Wellington, and was
state of extreme confusion. We
quote here from a vivid and picture
contemporary account of this gath

CONVOCATION OF CANTERBURY: THE "UPPER HOUSE," ARCHBISHOP TEMPLE PRESIDING.

of the representatives of the church under the vast dome of the cathedral :—

"The crowd of dignitaries, arrayed in their quaint official costumes, showed that Convocation had mustered in large force. Deans, archdeacons, and proctors glided about, full of mutual recognition and enquiries, and presented a curious and suggestive scene. We saw a highly educated and ecclesiastical-looking collection of men. They looked like what they were, and the sight gave strength and reality to our convictions that Convocation had met for business. From the dome a movement was made towards the morning chapel at the north-west corner of the cathedral. Here the bishops assembled in their red chimeres, and were shortly summoned to the west door to receive the archbishop of Canterbury. The procession, which forthwith commenced towards the choir of the cathedral, was a wonderful phenomenon. Here was the Church of England by representation in the most stately costume. Then followed in the rear, as the climax of honour, the archbishop himself, with his long scarlet train borne by an attendant. All marked to a thoughtful eye the majesty of Lambeth, which enjoys a longer pedigree and a more uninterrupted history than any temporal throne or dynasty in Europe." *

Thus was the action of Convocation, after the intermission of more than a century, at last restored. The work of the northern Convocation of York was, however, longer delayed; and it did not formally meet for the transaction of business until 1860, when Dr. Long was archbishop of the see. Since 18 when the southern province assemb in St. Paul's, Convocation has constar sat, and has been busily engaged in great variety of ecclesiastical matters. has effectually disposed of all the vari objections which were urged against and has largely contributed to the effec work of the church. Its debates h been conducted with moderation dignity. It has brought to bear on m important questions learning, experie and forbearance. On the whole, its fluence has served to heal party divisi and to quench party spirit. Many various have been the subjects which h been discussed in this representative sy of the church ; important have been reforms and developments of church w advocated in its sessions, not a few which reforms and developments h been successfully carried out. We wo instance, among the questions which h been debated in the church assem clergy discipline, lay co-operation, ca dral chapters, rubrics of the Book Common Prayer, ecclesiastical fees, spirit provision for soldiers and sailors, the vision of the authorised version of Bible, a revised table of lessons, diaconate and the employment of agency, cemetery fees, law of marria hours of divine service, etc. etc., besi many practical reforms, such as meth of reaching the masses.

Convocation has a great future bef it, and its rare prudence and sagac in the past, which has effectually disarm all hostile criticism, give high promise even vastly extended usefulness in

* From the *Christian Remembrancer*, December, 1852, quoted by canon Perry: "English Church History," vol. iii., chap. xvi.

ture. The revival of Convocation in 852 has, indeed, proved a real accession the power and influence of the church. he comparatively recent addition, in the rm of a house of laymen, supplies, with-t in any way detracting from its ancient mposition, the element which was im-eratively needed to keep it in touch ith the people, for whose welfare the urch and the synod exist. One of the forms, however, which are still in the ture, and which it is to be hoped will ot be long delayed, is the inclusion among e members of Convocation of a much rger number of representatives of the rochial clergy. The present number *ex officio* members of the synod, being gnitaries, is apparently out of all pro-rtion to the number of elected members the whole body of clergy. But all actical suggestions for the settlement of is and other important reforms may be ell left to the thoughtful wisdom of a dy which has shown itself in difficult mes so thoroughly capable of wisely con-dering measures which are best adapted the true interests of the great church hich it represents.

The revival of Convocation in 1852 led other movements of a similar character. was felt how extremely desirable it as that the laity should be interested nerally in all ecclesiastical questions, pecially in those which more immediately ncerned the relation of the church to ne masses. This feeling led to the estab-shment in 1860 of general Congresses of hurchmen, lay and clerical. The first of ese now famous gatherings of churchmen as held in 1861, in the hall of King's College, Cambridge. The idea of this first Congress was simply that a large local representative meeting should be summoned by the Cambridge Church Defence Society. It was repeated on a somewhat more extended scale in the following year at Oxford, under the presidency of bishop Wilberforce, and since 1862 it has gone on increasing and developing. The Church Congress, now an annual institution, is an open assembly of clergy and laity; the solitary condition existing is that the speakers at the Congress and the readers of the papers must be really members of the Church of England. Since the first comparatively small gathering at Cambridge, the "Congress" has gradually grown in numbers and in importance. The number of tickets sold for these important gatherings has even reached 5,000 and upwards.

In these congresses, subjects previously arranged are treated first in papers, carefully prepared by writers selected for their knowledge of the subject dealt with in the paper, and are then discussed by (1) speakers previously chosen, (2) by any member of the congress who sends up his name to the chairman. These gatherings of members of the Church of England have, at the close of the nineteenth century, become a considerable power in church life. Among various noticeable points connected with them may be mentioned:—(1) Indirectly they have contributed to promote harmony and kindly feeling between the different schools of thought represented at them, by showing, in the course of the discussions which have followed the papers read formally, how beneath much apparent divergence of opinion, substantial agreement in all

really vital points exists among serious Anglican churchmen. (2) They have served to bring the laity into direct contact with the responsible clergy, and the laity have been enabled in these gatherings to express their opinions freely on many questions connected with discipline, church order, and other matters in which they feel reform is desirable if not absolutely necessary.

Out of the same universal desire of the church for the revival of synodal action, which resulted in the restoration to activity of Convocation, and which led to the

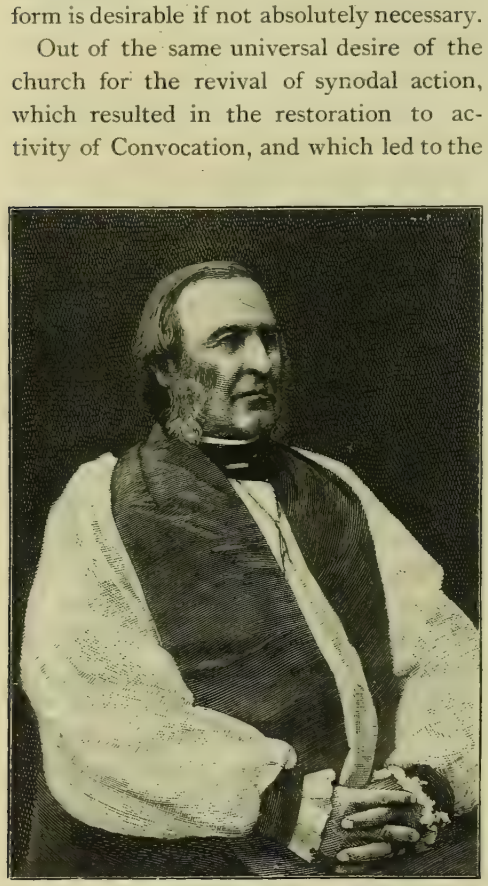


Photo: Russell & Sons, Baker St., W.
DR. TEMPLE, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

assembling of the Church Congress, sprang the idea of "Diocesan Conferences." Here, too, as in the case of the general Church Congress, the desire to associate the laity in the deliberations of the church was arranged in the constitution of the Diocesan Conferences, that the laity should be amply represented in the composition of the conferences. Again the diocese of Ely took the lead, and the first of these important gatherings took place in the diocese of Ely in 1864. Its utility was quickly seen, and the Diocesan Conference has been adopted, with slight different modifications, in all the dioceses of England.*

In order to bring the result of the various conferences together, a Central Committee of Diocesan Conferences has been since arranged, this committee being composed of a small number of representatives, clerical and lay, chosen by the members of the several conferences. A fairly perfect system of representation has thus been created in the Church of England. It has been found to work admirably, and no doubt will, as time goes on, receive further developments.

One more, and that a most important feature in the matter of united action on the part of the Anglican communion in the last fifty years, must be briefly chronicled. In 1867 it was determined that the bishops of the Anglican communion in all parts of the world should be invited to meet at Lambeth, under the presidency of the archbishop of Canterbury,† in conference. In this first Pan-Anglican Conference, as it was named

* The indefatigable work of archdeacon Emery of Ely, formerly tutor of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, in this work deserves special mention. It has earned the gratitude of all Anglican churchmen.

† Archbishop Longley.

nty-six bishops responded to the invi-
n, and met at Lambeth. An important
yclical was published by this council of
lican prelates. The special occasion
h called forth this "Address to the
hful," was the consideration of the
of Dr. Colenso, the bishop of Natal,
e writings on the Pentateuch had
already condemned by the Con-
tion of Canterbury. In the Encyclical,
g other things specially dwelt upon,
the canonical Scriptures of the Old
New Testaments, which were alluded
the "sure word of God" and as "the
es of God"; and the Godhead of the
Jesus Christ, who is styled, in the
clical, "our Saviour, very God and
man, ever to be adored and wor-
ed." "The pretension to universal
over God's heritage asserted by the
f Rome," is mentioned as among "the
ing superstitions and additions with
in these latter days the truth of
has been overlaid," as is also "the
ical exaltation of the blessed Virgin
as mediator in the place of her
e Son, and the addressing of prayers
er as intercessor between God and
' Of such superstitions the faithful
o beware.

der archbishop Tait, in 1878, another
Anglican Conference was held at
eth on a yet larger scale; and in
Lambeth was again the scene of
f these memorable episcopal gather-
when nearly two hundred prelates of
Anglican communion met in solemn
rence under the presidency of Dr.
le, the archbishop of Canterbury.
bishops came from all quarters of the
—from India, Australia, Africa, New Zealand, Canada, and the United States, as well as from all the home dioceses in England, Ireland, and Scotland.

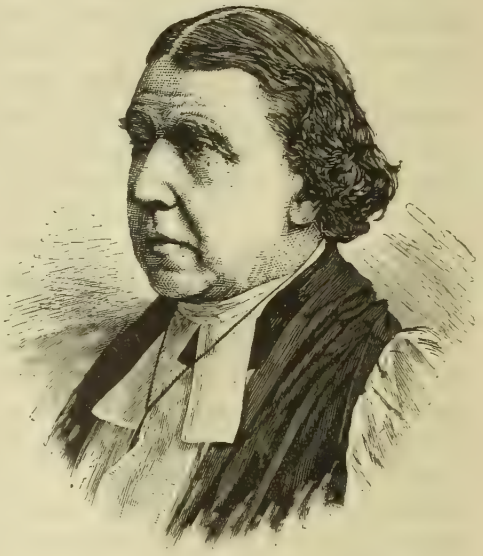


Photo: London Stereoscopic Co.
DR. TAIT, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

Very marvellous has been the expansion of the Church of England beyond the limits of England proper. Some fifty years ago there were only seven Anglican bishops in "foreign parts"; now there are ninety-one, besides those of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States.* It must be borne in mind that the extension of the episcopate means the

* The bishop of Kentucky, in a sermon preached during the Lambeth Conference of 1897, at St. James's, Piccadilly, after explaining the circumstances of the church in the United States, spoke of the present outlook of his church as being most glorious. In the bishop's words: "In the last decade of which we have national census, the church increased more rapidly than any other religious body, and four tmes as rapidly as the population."—"*The Anglican Communion*: Its Position," etc., edited by bishop Barry (1857).

strengthening of ecclesiastical organisation, as well as the expansion of the church's work. To give some of the details of this progress in the two great colonies: In Australasia, which includes Australia and Tasmania, at the accession of queen Victoria, there was only one bishop. This state of things continued until 1842, when a second bishop was sent out; there are now fourteen dioceses in Australasia, and the number of the clergy at work there amounts to eight or nine hundred.* In North America, in the whole consolidated church of the dominion of Canada, there are now, in all, twenty dioceses: ten in the ecclesiastical provinces of Canada, and eight in the province of Rupert's Land, as well as two extra provincial dioceses of Columbia and New Westminster. The archbishops of Ontario and Rupert's Land rank as metropolitans.† In India and in South Africa there has also been a large subdivision of the original sees, and a corresponding augumentation in the number of the working clergy. "The whole Anglican communion, which half a century since numbered about fifty dioceses and bishops, has, notwithstanding the suppression of half the Irish episcopate in 1833, increased to more than four times that number."

With this vast augumentation in the number of Anglican bishops in foreign parts, the name of bishop Blomfield, of London, will be ever honourably connected. The formation of the episcopate in the English colonies was one of the objects of his busy, active life; and society which he founded for the in of the colonial episcopate, was the agent in the early days of this urg necessary completion of church go ment abroad, which is destined to p great a part in the future of the C of England.

At home, in view of the enorm increasing population, among other cies devised so as to adapt its orga tion to meet the new responsibiliti the country, a considerable extensi the episcopate was arranged. In seven new sees — St. Albans, T Liverpool, Newcastle, Southwell, W field, and Bristol—were constituted; last five endowed solely by the libe of churchmen; and by the revival old Act of king Henry VIII. a c number of suffragans, as assistants t overworked diocesan bishops, have appointed.

But, after all, the vast growth o Church of England during the second of the nineteenth century is most spicuously exhibited in the marked re of pastoral work in many and most v forms. "Half a century since, the cl man stood alone, the sole represent of religion in the parish. . . . all is changed; wherever it is possibl him to obtain help, he is surrounde ready and willing assistants in all grad life. He is aided perhaps by three or curates (often by more), through va societies, and these curates multiply ser in mission chapels. He has the a mission women or sisters, who d their time to works of mercy and ch

* The archbishop of Sydney: Sermon in St. James's, Piccadilly, 1897.

† The archbishop of Rupert's Land: Sermon in St. James's, Piccadilly, 1897.

H has numbers of visiting ladies and
a nen endeavouring to aid his people in
l temporal and spiritual matters, and
f Sunday-school teachers of both sexes.
cieties of all kinds for religious objects
round him. In every direction his
a urs are increased enormously, but with
h increased labours have come help,
:e and general, often from distant
rters, and he is enabled to do a great
rk, amidst great self-denial, perhaps
i ress, and many severe trials."*

o take, among many examples of men
rh have given a new conception of the
t es and influence of the parish priest in
h Church of England, a few conspicuous
r well-known instances of men who have
rked in different centres and who be-
ged to different schools of thought, we
ld instance Dr. Hook, of Leeds; Dr.
iler of Wantage; Dr. Miller of Birming-
a; Mr. Champneys, of Whitechapel,
n then of St. Pancras; Mr. Thorold, of
t Giles's, and then of St. Pancras; †

Mr. Hampden Gurney, of St. Mary's, Bryanston Square; Mr. Maclagan, of Kensington; Mr. Wilkinson, of St. Peter's, Eaton Square. These are, however, only well-known examples of an almost countless number of earnest and devoted parish priests of different schools of thought, but all working for the same ends.

Nowhere has the extraordinary vitality of the Church of England, during the second half of the nineteenth century, been more conspicuously shown than in the construction and repair of her churches, which, as it has been well described, has become a "national passion." We give the figures in round numbers. From the returns laid before Parliament on the motion of lord Hampton in 1875–6, it appears that, in the building and restoration of churches belonging to the Anglican communion at home, a sum of over twenty-five millions and a half sterling had been expended between 1840 and 1874, a period of thirty-four years. From the return, presented to the House

*Palmer: Supplement to "Narrative," chap. iii.

†As an example of the organisation of one of the great parishes, we would briefly put down the "heads" of the work organised in the great London parish of St. Pancras. No explanation will be needful for the selection: the ten years' direction of the writer of this History with the parish in question, enables him to put these few memoranda down with absolute certainty. St. Pancras, again, is but an example of many others in London and in the great provincial centres of population. The district of the mother church of St. Pancras contains some 15,000 or 16,000 souls; it possesses a staff consisting of the vicar and four (sometimes five) curates, two churchwardens, two sidesmen, three Scripture readers or city missionaries, four biblewomen or nurses, forty members of the choir, eight church attendants, 240 to 250 Sunday-school teachers, and four more teachers in the day schools attached to the church, thirty to forty district visitors. In all, the working church staff of St. Pancras' mother church numbered, roughly, at least 350 persons. For the education of the poorer parishioners, two groups of public elementary schools exist, each with separate departments of boys, girls, and infants; two groups of immense Sunday schools, the numbers of scholars and teachers in these amounting, roughly, to about 3,000. Several small free libraries of well-chosen books are attached to the schools and church institute; Bible classes are held for young men and women; seven large mothers' meetings are assembled weekly. There are also a very considerable temperance organisation, a working men's institute, a young men's institute, with club rooms annexed, besides various guilds and clubs, an invalid kitchen and soup kitchen, penny dinners for poor school children, etc. etc. Several mission rooms, where short services are constantly held, supplement the regular services in the great parish church. (From a farewell address issued by the vicar of St. Pancras in 1887.)

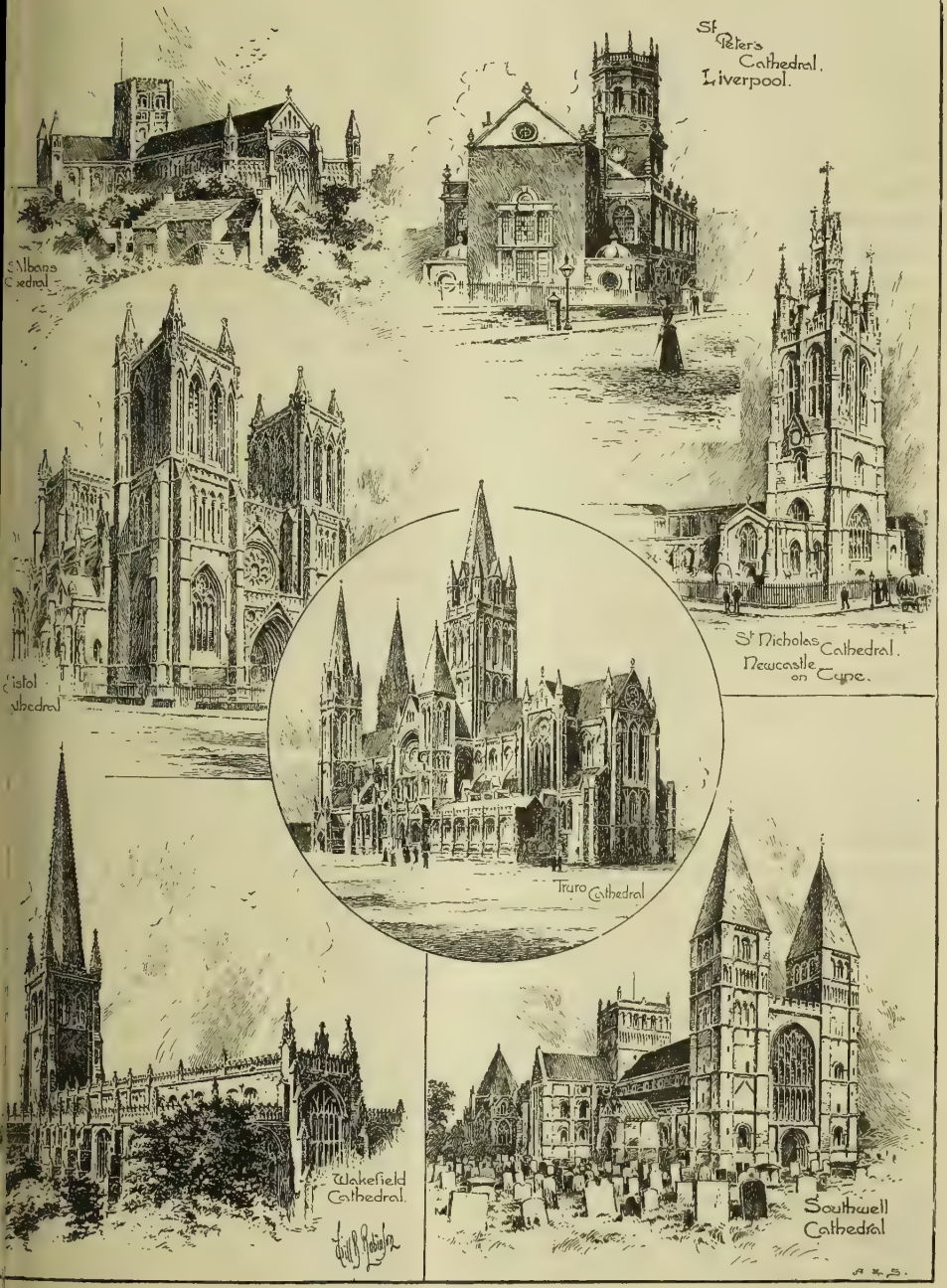
of Lords in 1892, for the eighteen previous years, we find a sum of twenty millions and a half more has been raised and spent upon the same objects; amounting in about half a century to the amazing sum of forty-six millions sterling, the later period —and this is a specially encouraging fact —showing by far the larger sum in proportion. During the following eight years (*i.e.* from 1892 to 1900) further enormous amounts were raised and expended upon similar objects, making a huge aggregate. And out of these great sums thus spent solely upon the fabrics of our churches, comparatively very little was derived from any source, save from private voluntary gifts and contributions from loyal and devoted English churchmen.*

In the course of the last half-century it would be difficult to find a church in England which has not been more or less thoroughly restored and put in order, or entirely rebuilt. It is no exaggeration to say that the number of churches has been generally doubled, while in the larger towns and in centres where the population has been considerably augmented, the number of churches has been trebled, or even quadrupled. Of these new churches, although the secret of the power of the great mediæval builders, alas! is no longer with us, not a few are really beautiful. Some are even magnificent, and will bear comparison with the wondrous beauty of the creations of the great architects of the Middle Ages, being indeed, within and without, fitting te for the worship of the Most High.

The mighty Norman and Gothic c drals of England, the pride and of our country, which were some years ago fast falling into ruin decay, have one and all been mo less restored at vast cost by skilful, l hands. The threatened ruin has averted, and we may fairly hope that precious reliques of the piety of our fathers will now stand unharmed centuries, a joy and a delight not o Englishmen, but to the countless pil from the greater Britain beyond the to whom some English cathedral is the first object of their pilgrimage.

Nor in our brief catalogue of the prominent points in the mighty c revival of these last fifty years mus omit to dwell for a moment on the al tone and work of these great hom prayer and praise. Not many years English cathedrals attracted few be the scholar, the antiquary, and love the splendid architecture of the past. they have become centres of spiritual they are filled constantly with crow devout worshippers, to whom their pat loveliness and elaborate symbolism utterly failed to appeal. The cathedr late years has become a mighty reli power among the masses of our pe and this power is increasing day by For many generations the vast nav the great minster churches of Engl save on rare and special occasions, had been used for public worship; they deserted, save by their custodians and curious visitor. It was in 1858 that idea of popular services being held in t

* Compare Sir Roundell Palmer, earl of Selborne (sometime lord high chancellor): "Defence of the Church of England," part ii., chap. ix.; and "Official Year-book of the Church of England," 1895–6–7–8.



CATHEDRALS OF NEW SEES.

beautiful buildings first took root, mainly owing to the suggestion of the then bishop of London, Dr. Tait, afterwards the wise and thoughtful primate. Westminster Abbey, and then St. Paul's, led the way, and showed what a splendid use could be found for these long-deserted sacred piles. The example set in 1858 by the abbey and cathedral in the metropolis, was followed by the cathedrals and minster churches in the provinces,* till in well-nigh every diocese the cathedral, the abbey, or the minster is no longer simply the recognised school of church music, the type and model of an elaborate and perfect Anglican service, the scene of the daily offering of morning and evening prayer, with all the adjuncts of trained musicians and singers, but on week-days as well as on Sundays the cathedral has become *the* church of the people, the acknowledged centre of innumerable popular gatherings for worship and for teaching.

Among the works accomplished by the great Anglican revival which we have been dwelling upon, the restoration of a purer taste in the architecture of sacred buildings will ever hold a distinguished place. It has been already remarked, that while the Middle Ages from the end of eleventh century were especially remark for the costly and magnificent chur which were erected—churches not costly, but exquisitely beautiful in de and execution, the period which follo the Reformation was absolutely barre this particular. Church architecture completely neglected during the ag Elizabeth and the first Stuart kings. Puritan domination, as might have b expected, was generally hostile to especially to all ecclesiastical art. A the Restoration, Sir Christopher W the first really great English church ar tect who had arisen since the Refor tion, was curiously hostile to the media school of Gothic architecture, and e termed the magnificent cathedrals of Middle Ages "vast and gigantic buildi indeed, but not worthy the name architecture." And public opinion c cided with the views of the pop architect. Evelyn, whose well-known d admirably reflects public opinion at period, speaks of mediæval buildings "congestions of heavy, dark, melanch and monkish piles, without any proport use, or beauty." Sir Henry Wott writes of "the natural imbecility and very uncomeliness of pointed arche they ought, he thinks "to be banis from judicious eyes among the relic of a barbarous age." Milton, whose be tiful lines on a mediæval cathedral his "Il Penseroso" have been alre quoted,† was some two hundred years

* As a good instance of a great provincial cathedral: Gloucester, with which the writer of this History has been closely associated for several years, is now the recognised headquarters of all important diocesan gatherings. Its vast Norman nave, so long deserted by the people, is now, some sixty or seventy times each year, thronged with crowds of devout worshippers. Not unfrequently the great nave is unable to contain the congregation; and the choir, and even the transepts, have to be used at the same time. Each year the love of the people for these magnificent homes of praise and prayer and teaching evidently increases.

* Sir Henry Wotton wrote "Parallels of An and Modern Architecture," published in 1664. this work Evelyn wrote a dedicatory epistle.

† See p. 100.

nce of the revival of taste for Gothic citecture.

S. Paul's cathedral, and the churches erally of Sir Christopher Wren and sschool, were Greek, or, to use the ciary term, rather "Renaissance" in e architecture; and the style of Wren a followed as a rule by most church-ilers all through the eighteenth century. u the architects were men of little le t, and scarcely an ecclesiastical building l rough the Georgian period possesses merit or beauty. Greek architecture e its lineal descendant, the so-called Renaissance," even under the hands of great master like Wren, is not adapted e climate of northern Europe, and, e in the case of the mighty London tedral, "is wanting in religiousness. spires to magnificence, and nothing nd magnificence." All through the e'gian times—indeed, until the age of e great revival of the nineteenth cen-ir—the number of churches built was paratively very small. For instance, ewhole number of churches erected at elatter end of that period (1800–1807) a only twenty-four. With the close of e great continental war, however, at e the number of new churches in-re.es, and between 1821 and 1830 as ay as 308 were erected. Shortly after i last date the "revival" set in, and c the birth of a new spirit in church rc.tecture has to be chronicled.*

) the "Oxford movement" undoubtedly a owing in great measure the revived s for Gothic architecture in churches. It awakened a new and vivid interest in mediæval worship, and inculcated a more elaborate and striking ritual. Men came to see that no school of church building was so adapted for public Christian worship, when carried out with dignity and reverence, as the Gothic. Simultaneously with the re-awakened love for the architecture of the beautiful pre-Reformation churches and abbeys, arose several distinguished men of real genius, who were able to give effect to the newly revived taste for the ancient style; among these we may fairly instance the names of Pugin, Pearson, Gilbert Scott, and Street. The first of these great artists, Pugin, was fanatically devoted to the "new school." He held that the only true architecture for churches was that produced by the mediæval artists under the guidance of the Catholic church, and that only by casting aside pagan models, and humbly following in the footsteps of our forefathers, could we hope to bring about a revival of Christian architecture. His influence during the early years of the revival was very marked, but he died comparatively young in 1852.

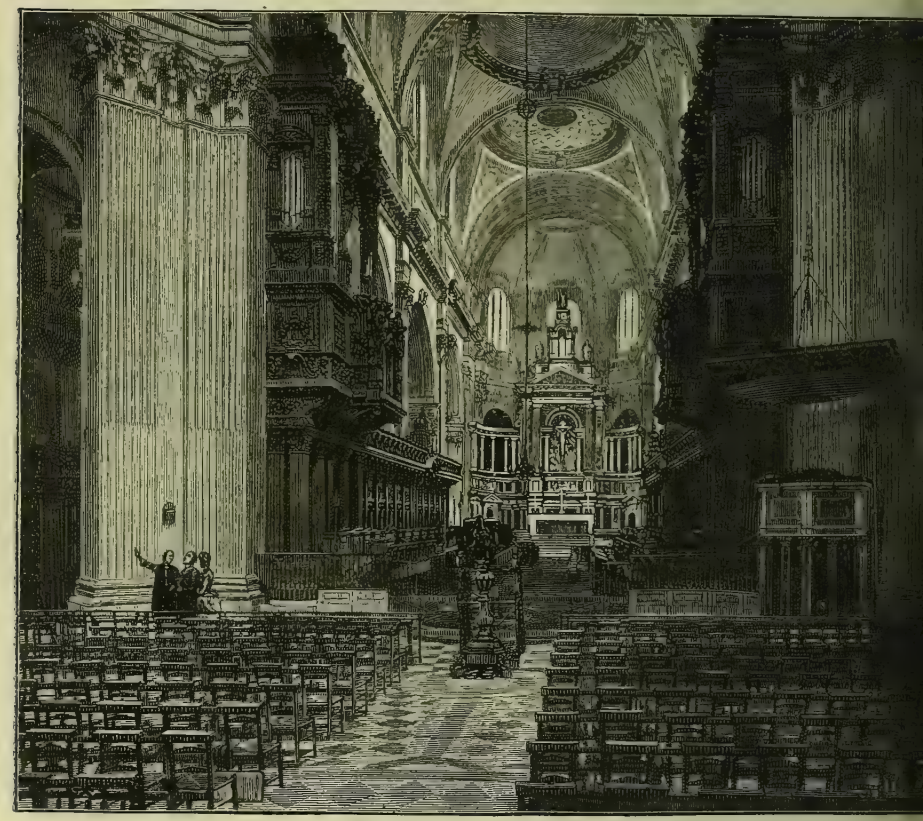
A yet more famous name in the "new" school is that of John L. Pearson (1817–1897), who through a long and laborious career has perhaps more than any other man contributed to the popularising of the various mediæval styles of Gothic in England. He may justly be regarded as the founder of the modern school of Gothic architecture.*

* ome of the statistics of sums expended in ii ing and restoring churches during the years e church revival have been already given.

* Even those who in many points differ from some of the principles laid down by Mr. Pearson, would unite in this high tribute to his scholarship, his reverent care for his work, and his undoubted power.

The list of churches built and restored, of abbeys and minsters saved from impending ruin, by this great artist, is indeed a long one. In the new cathedral of Truro, still unfinished (1898), it is allowed

tecture—roughly, about 1843—the re in church building was still very y and few men knew much of G architecture. From that date on through the remainder of the ninet



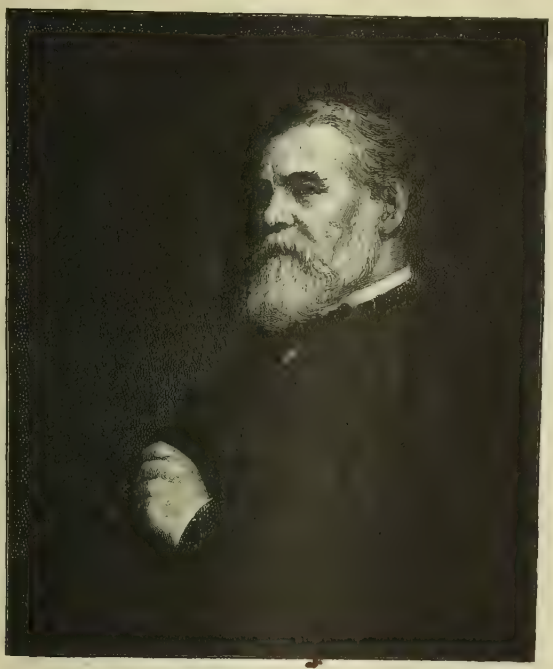
ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL. *Photo : F. G. O. Stuart, Southampt*

that Pearson has provided the only great modern church which "possesses true cathedral character, and does not rather suggest that it is merely an overgrown parish church ; indeed, the only important criticism that has been passed upon it is that it is too truly mediæval." When Pearson began to influence church archi-

century, in the vast works in conne with Anglican churches which have continually undertaken and carried the Gothic spirit has been the domina well-nigh the solitary influence.

On the whole, much of the vast done during the second half of century in the restoration of exis

rdiæval churches and in the erection of lv ones, has been admirable. If any :icism be hazarded, it would be in the lection of the monotony of the prevail- tone of architecture. The church artist ually contents himself with faithfully churches so plentifully dotted over our country—abbeys, minsters, and churches which the churchmen of the second half of the nineteenth century so reverently and wisely restore and seek to copy stone by stone, arch by arch, window by window,



J. L. PEARSON, R.A.
(From the painting by W. W. Ouless, R.A.)

bying the creation of the architects of thirteenth and two following cen- ies; rarely, if ever, does any sign pear of an attempt to strike out new ths. As far as can be seen, ecclesiastical hitecture had reached its highest point development about five centuries ago. is a somewhat saddening reflection, but re is no escaping from the conclusion t the art which created the glorious beys and minsters, the beautiful parish down to the smallest bit of ornament—is a lost art! Men have come reluctantly to the conclusion that mediæval architecture, with its many and exquisite developments, is the close of that long and stately line of architectural styles, "commencing in far-back ages in Egypt and passing on in continuous course through Assyria, Persia, Greece, Rome, and Byzantium, and thence taken up by the infant nations of modern Europe, and by them prolonged through

successive ages of continuous progress till it terminated in the beautiful thirteenth and fourteenth century Gothic, and has never since produced a link of its own. . . . Alas! it is the last link of that mighty chain which had stretched unbroken through nearly 4,000 years—the glorious termination of the history of original and genuine architecture." Well may men love it and seek to preserve the examples they possess of it, and aim at copying it as well as they can, for "it is the only Christian style which has arisen or is likely to arise, and has been entirely developed under the influence of the Christian religion. It is not only exclusively but *par eminence* Christian." *

Nor has this Gothic revival of which we are speaking only affected the *fabric* of the Anglican churches; an equally reverent and discriminating care has been bestowed upon the internal fittings of the houses of God. The masses of ecclesiastical metal work, which necessarily form an important part of the furniture of a church, are well and skilfully designed; but, like the fabrics, they are but faithful copies of ancient pre-Reformation designs. A similar observation will hold good in respect to pulpits, lecterns, reading-desks, and stalls; here, again, skilful reproductions of mediæval patterns alone are aimed at. The result is generally happy, it must be allowed; still, at the same time, the inventive faculty in these matters also has to all appearance died out from amongst us, and the curiously pathetic saying of the great French Romancist is sadly justified: "The book has killed the building." * In other words, the invention of printing, which turned men's minds into other directions, and to a certain extent superseded the necessity of the teaching symbolism of "the book of stone," arrested the progress and development of architecture, and even to a certain extent of its kindred arts.

In this very brief sketch, the recovery to some extent of the old skill in the craft of glass-painting, must not be ignored. Much of the wondrous beauty of the mediæval churches was owing to the glory of colour possessed by their windows. Many, alas! of these frail treasures perished, as we have seen, in the stress and strife of the Reformation, and more in the days of the Puritan domination; and little serious effort to replace these exquisite creations of our forefathers seems to have been made during the centuries which elapsed between the reigns of Henry VIII. and queen Victoria. But the same spirit which in the Anglican revival has inspired the ecclesiastical architect and designer, has awakened the glass painter; and although the glories of the windows of York and Canterbury, of Gloucester, and King's at Cambridge, and the yet grander and more perfect colouring of Chartres and Rheims, of Bourges and Rouen, are apparently inimitable,† beautiful glass is now produced among us, and

* Sir Gilbert Scott: "Mediæval Architecture," Lecture I., delivered at the Royal Academy.

* Victor Hugo: "Notre Dame de Paris."

† We can scarcely speak of any modern glass, beautiful though some of it is, in the following terms: "It is as though in a dream" (the writer is speaking of Chartres), "you found yourself in some huge cavern, lit only by the light of jewels, myriads of them gleaming darkly through the gloom. It is difficult to imagine anything more mysterious, solemn, or impressive."—"Windows," by Lewis F. Day (1898).

in countless instances is being daily introduced into the now reverently adorned cathedrals and churches of England.

One marked addition to the services of the Middle Ages deserves especial notice as a great feature of the Victorian age—the new music. It is strange that amidst all the gorgeous and striking ceremonial of the mediæval services, with their wealth of colour and ornament, with all their touching and elaborate symbolism, music, as it is now understood, was unknown and comparatively neglected. In the noblest cathedral of the Middle Ages, in the stateliest Benedictine or Cistercian abbey, while the eye was filled with sights of solemnity and beauty, each sight containing its special and peculiar teaching, the ear was comparatively uncared for. Strangely monotonous, and even harsh, would chaunt and psalm and hymn, as rendered in the mighty abbeys of Westminster, Durham, or Gloucester in the days of the great Plantagenets, of the White Rose or Red Rose kings, sound to the musically-trained ears of the worshippers of the second half of the nineteenth century. There were organs, it is true, in the great churches of the Middle Ages; but the organ, with the vast forest of pipes and elaborate machinery we are accustomed to see in our cathedrals and larger churches, and which, on a smaller scale, is now a necessary adjunct even to the smaller churches, was then absolutely unknown. Indeed, music as a great science was unknown in pre-Reformation times. The popular anthem-book may be searched through by the curious scholar; but scarcely a musical composition of any note will be found in these collections, of a date earlier than the reign of queen Elizabeth.* It would seem as though, when architecture ceased in the sixteenth century to be a living craft, a new art was discovered and worked at by men. And with rare skill and persistence has this new art of music been adapted by churchmen in their services. It has become a marked feature in all Anglican public worship. Indeed, so much attention, so much pains and thought have in the latter years of the century been devoted to this, comparatively speaking, novel adjunct to the services of the sanctuary, that not a few thoughtful, serious men even see some danger of injury being done to the purely spiritual side of prayer and praise, owing to exaggerated attention being given to the musical portion of public worship.

Through all the many centuries of the life of the Church of England, ever and anon we come upon grave and earnest reminders addressed by eminent ecclesiastics holding positions of power in the community, to the rank and file of ordained ministers, pressing upon them the inescapable necessity of a good equipment

* "It is a question," said Professor Hullah, in his lectures on the history of Music, delivered at the Royal Institution of Great Britain in 1861, "whether before the time of Josquin Desprès, the Flemish composer who flourished at the end of the fifteenth century, any so-called musician had attained to anything beyond the vaguest conception of the effect of what he was putting upon paper." Indeed, there was no regular music school in Rome before the year 1540. It was Arcadelt, the Fleming, who in the first half of the sixteenth century helped to lay the foundation of the Roman school, subsequently so famous as the school of Palestrina and his contemporaries. Palestrina was born in 1524 and died in 1594.

in the various fields of sacred literature. The influence of the pastor over his flock, these thoughtful ecclesiastics clearly saw, in a large measure depended on the possession by the pastor, alike in a village community as in the case of a town parish, of a greater or less proficiency in the various branches of sacred learning. The danger of neglect of sacred study, in the wonderful revival of active pastoral diligence, so noticeable a feature in the church life of the Victorian age, is no slight one. The innumerable agencies at work in the many parishes of England; the schools, day and Sunday, the guilds, the clubs, the temperance societies, and many other agencies, absorb in too many cases all the time, the thoughts, and energies of the minister. These practical labours often prevent any attention to patient study; and not a little danger is incurred that a body of earnest and zealous, instead of learned clergymen, may grow up in the Anglican communion. The close of the nineteenth century is emphatically an active rather than a contemplative period; and with much that is admirable in these developments of work, there is some danger in such an absorption of energy.

One great and enduring monument of sacred scholarship, however, belongs to the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and deserves more than a passing notice. In 1870 the Convocation of Canterbury decided that a revision of the Authorised Version of the Holy Scriptures should be undertaken. Among the principal reasons which called for this Revision, the following may be noted:—(1) the large amount of fresh critical and exegetical matter which had been collected since the date of the putting out of the Authorised Version in 1611 (this, of course, chiefly refers to the New Testament); (2) certain necessary grammatical emendations in the translation; (3) alterations required in obscure and ambiguous renderings; (4) re-arrangement of paragraphs, italics, and punctuation (these evidently required reconsideration and attention, for in the Authorised Version they were sometimes arbitrary and often even incorrect).

In the case of the New Testament, the labours of the Revisers were spread over some ten years and a half. In the case of the Old Testament, the company of scholars sat for some four years longer.

The most important feature in the work, perhaps, was the revision of the Greek text of the New Testament. The Authorised Version of 1611 was founded for the most part on MSS. of late date and few in number. Nearly all the more ancient of the documentary authorities have become known only within the last two centuries, some of the most important within the last few years. The English reader of the New Testament in the Revised Version now possesses a text which closely approximates to that presumably current during the second and third centuries.

In the case of the revision of the Old Testament, comparatively speaking little change has been made in the text of 1611; for the earliest known Hebrew MS. is not older than A.D. 916, and the state of knowledge on this subject is not at present such as to justify any reconstruction of the text. The Massoretic text, as it is termed, upon which the Authorised Version was based, is still, save in a few

Photo: Cassell & Co., Ltd..

THE CHOIR, WESTMINSTER ABBEY · LOOKING WEST.

exceptional cases, used.* The changes in the Old Testament have been mainly confined to the language, when that was archaic, or obscure, or grammatically faulty.

The work was entrusted to two companies† of scholars: the one for the Old, the other for the New Testament. Two committees of American scholars were also formed, and their conclusions were remitted to England, and were carefully considered before the Revised Version was finally put out. The comparatively few cases of final disagreement between the English and American companies are recorded in an appendix at the end of the volumes.

Although it has not seemed expedient as yet to displace the Authorised Version from the place which it has occupied since 1611, and which holds so unique a position in the hearts of all the English-speaking peoples, yet, for all sorts and conditions of men to whom the English Bible is the most precious of possessions, the Revised Version, especially of the New Testament, is of incalculable service. For innumerable difficulties in language, in expressions, in arrangement, are cleared away; new and more trustworthy "readings" are adopted; and the reader of the volumes, which represent the labours of our leading scholars during many years, are placed abreast of most of the great advances which in later years have been made in textual criticism and in important points of grammatical accuracy.

The long and many-coloured story of the Church of England has been told. It is with some reluctance and with a feeling somewhat of dissatisfaction that the writer here concludes his task. The later pages, which speak roughly of the fifty years which followed the momentous period of the Oxford movement, contain little more than memoranda of events too recent for any fair judgment or even summary on the part of the chronicler. It has been, without doubt, an age of marvellous activity in all church questions. Perhaps its most distinguishing feature has been its zeal in what is generally termed practical work. All these practical works, as we have noticed in the foregoing short sketches, are by no means confined to the followers of any special school of thought. High churchmen and Low churchmen, to preserve the old familiar appellations, are equally in earnest in their efforts. Nor is the ordinary parochial "machinery" made use of by both parties in the church different; the ways of conducting Sunday schools, mothers' meetings, clubs and societies for artisans, for young men and women, for boys and girls, temperance associations, guilds for the development and deepening of a more religious life, are in no marked way dissimilar. The history, properly speaking, of these things is still to be written; but not here—not now.

Thirteen hundred years in the life of a nation is, indeed, a far-reaching period, and

* This text is the one still current among the Jews up to this date; it is, in fact, the "Received" text of the Old Testament. For an exhaustive account of the Massorah and its relation to the received Massoretic text, see Dr. Ginsburg's scholarly volumes on the Massorah. The word "Massorah" literally means "tradition."

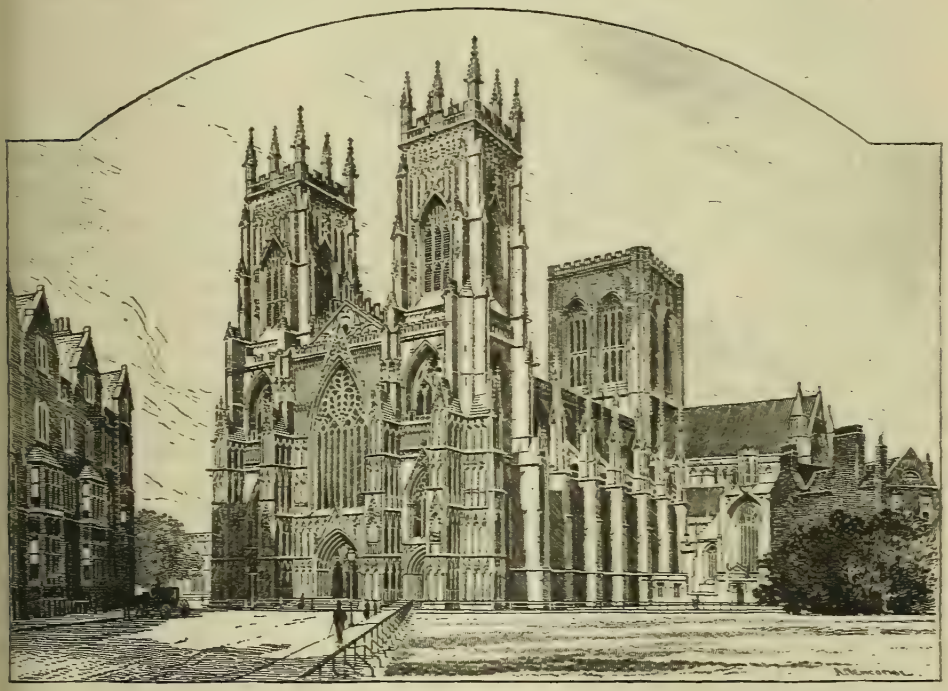
‡ The numbers were as follows:—Twenty-seven for the Old Testament (the chairman, as a rule, was the senior bishop present); twenty-four for the New. The Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol was the perpetual chairman.

Photo : Graphotone Co., Enfield, N.

YORK MINSTER, FROM THE WALLS.

during well-nigh the whole of this long long time, England and the English people have played a great part in the history of the West—a part, as the centuries passed, gradually increasing in importance. To-day, in extent of dominion, in power, in riches, in influence, in the quiet fields also of literature and art, England has no superior; many, not only at home, but across the silver streak of sea which girdles the well-loved island, think, and with good reason, it is on the whole occupying the foremost place among the nations of the world.

During these thirteen centuries of quiet progress upwards, the church has been closely intertwined with the life of the nation. For well-nigh a thousand years of that life the church supplied most of its chief rulers. By the throne, during those first thousand years, generally stood a group of ecclesiastics, who guided its policy and acted as the sovereign's chief advisers. To recall only a few of these as notable examples: by Alfred's side stood archbishop Plegmund; by his great descendant Edgar, stood Dunstan; no counsellor was the Conqueror's friend like Lanfranc; Becket, till he voluntarily left the council chamber of the mighty Anjevin, Henry II., was the inspirer of the policy of that great English king; Hubert Walter played the chief part in the government of England when Cœur de Lion was carrying



YORK MINSTER.

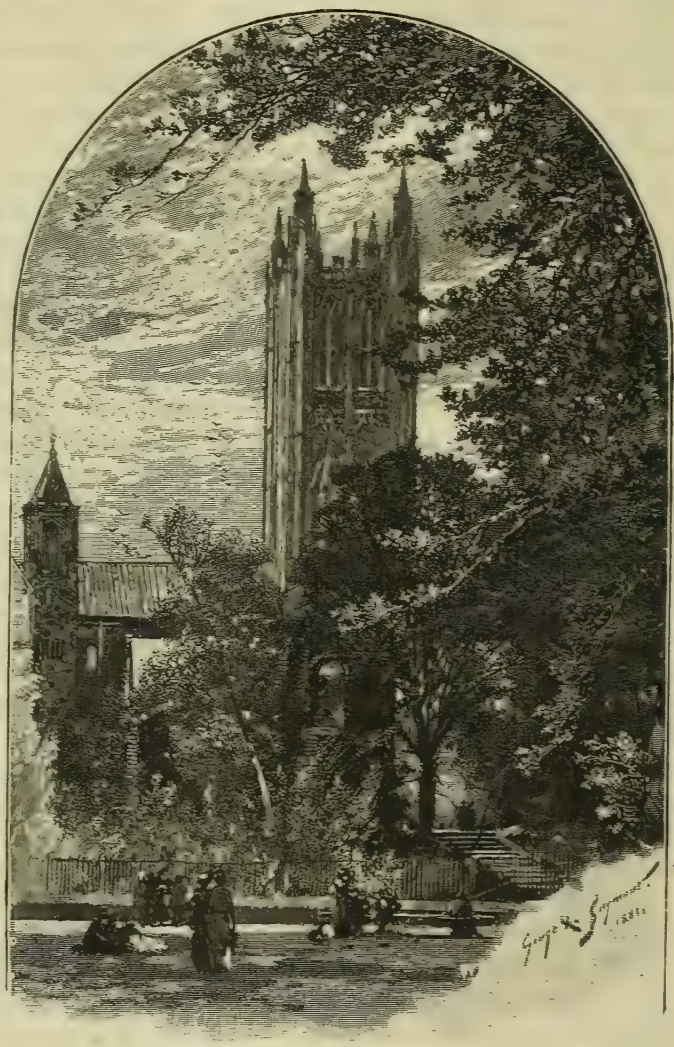
the name and fame of England into distant foreign lands; Stephen Langton was the centre of the English party which successfully defended the people's rights in the terrorism of king John. Then, glancing through the later mediæval times, such names as those of cardinal Beaufort (of Winchester), cardinal Morton (of Canterbury), cardinal Wolsey (of York), during the reigns of Henry VI., Henry VII., and also the earlier years of that of Henry VIII., remind us how, to the very close of the mediæval period, the great prelates influenced, and often bore a chief part in, the direction of all state affairs, civil as well as ecclesiastical.

Even for some time after the Reformation upheaval the same church influences prevailed. During the reign of the boy-king Edward VI. and of his sister Mary, Cranmer, Gardiner, and cardinal Pole (notably the latter) bore a leading part in all state matters. After the Reformation, with the diffusion of learning among other classes besides ecclesiastics, the influence of the church in secular affairs declined; but it made up for that loss by an additional power which, under the new conditions of church life after the Reformation, it gained over the hearts of the people. But its loss of even civil influence was very gradual. Our popular historian* represents Elizabeth as treating the Anglican bishops with studied contempt. This conclusion is scarcely borne out by the history of her reign, for we find the great queen pressing in vain the chancellorship upon archbishop Whitgift. Whitgift, however, declined the custody of the great seal, recognising that the work of the church lay in other ways. James I. admitted archbishop Bancroft into his close confidence; bishop Andrewes, and later Laud, were among his most trusted counsellors. Charles I. we know invested Laud with almost supreme power.

In the meantime, from the date of the death of Wolsey till the period of the Civil Wars, the church more and more had quietly entwined itself into the regard and affections of the nation; and its rapid rebound into its old place after the catastrophe of the great Civil War and its momentary ruin, showed unmistakably how closely it was bound up with the national life. Indeed, the reaction after the Restoration of 1660, and the position of almost boundless influence and consideration in which it found itself after its temporary degradation under the Commonwealth, was positively injurious to the church; the comparative deadness and stagnation of church work and life during the first half of the eighteenth century being in a large measure owing to it. How, under the power of the Evangelical revival, long before the eighteenth century closed, the church awoke to life again; how the Oxford movement some fifty years later, with its various developments, supplemented much that was wanting in that Evangelical revival; how during the second half of the nineteenth century the Anglican revival breathed fresh life into the Church of England, restored its stately cathedrals, its innumerable parish churches, built a great number of new homes of prayer, set on foot and maintained a vast network of religious and philanthropic

* Mr. Froude: Vol. xii., "Conclusion," pages 393-556.

associations which touch every class and order with whom suffering and sorrow are too frequent guests, gave a new and mighty impulse to foreign missionary work, has been told with some detail in the later chapters of our story. Above all, it must be remembered that the enormous sums, amounting to many millions, needed for carrying out these vast and often costly works were solely the free-will offerings to the church, made by the English people, in whose hearts love for the immemorial Church of England had indeed sunk deeply.



BELL HARRY TOWER, CANTERBURY.

One reproach often levelled at the church deserves at least a passing notice. It is said, and rightly, though often with some exaggeration, that the church fails, with all its ministrations, to reach vast masses of the population. Alas! the charge is partly true; would, indeed, that the reproach could be wiped out! But those who often make it, forget what is, after all, the primary cause of their too true allegation. Have those who lightly make the charge ever considered what has happened in this island in later times? When Elizabeth was queen, and Cecil, the ancestor of the historic house of Salisbury, was the minister, the population of England and Wales was computed at a little over *four*

millions. In the days of queen Anne, the population still only numbered just over *six millions*. In the year 1891, in the reign of queen Victoria, these *four millions* of Elizabeth had increased to *twenty-nine millions* of souls in England and Wales.*

And it is this nineteenth century, it must be borne in mind, which has witnessed most of this startling increase in the population; for in the nineteenth century's earlier years there were but a little over *nine millions* in England and Wales. True it is, that many a new church has been built, that the ranks of the clergy have been considerably increased;† but the number of the new churches and of the additional clergy are utterly disproportionate to this enormous and strangely rapid increase. No efforts of the church, great though these efforts have been, have at all sufficed to keep pace with this undreamed-of growth of the population. A somewhat similar sudden need occurred in the first half of the thirteenth century, when a vast increase in the town populations took place; and the numbers of the clergy was found quite insufficient for ordinary and regular pastoral ministrations. The rise of the mendicant orders was largely due to this need.

We have more than once in the course of this History dwelt with peculiar insistence on what we have termed the "continuity" of the Holy Catholic Church in England. It is this "unbroken continuity" which has been—still is, a principal source of her wonderful strength and power. We mean by this that, all through the thirteen hundred years, *there never has been a break in the life of the Holy Catholic Church of England*. It has ever, from the days of Augustine at the close of the sixth century,* to our own days at the close of the nineteenth, professed the faith which is the Catholic faith. It has ever taught the Sacraments ordained by Christ Himself. It has ever possessed the succession of bishops, priests, and deacons, the Catholic orders of the ministry.† Its faith has been the faith contained in the Nicene Creed, originally recited in that form at the council of Constantinople in 381, repeated and ratified by the councils of Ephesus in 431, and of Chalcedon in 451.‡

Unbroken, too, has been its "succession." There was no interruption here in the darkest hours of the viking raids in the time of Alfred; no interruption at the time of the Norman Conquest, for Lanfranc followed the Saxon Stigand at Canterbury, being consecrated in 1070 by nine bishops of English sees. There was no interruption in the days of queen Mary; even she, "Roman" though she was at heart, went

* Ireland and Scotland are not included here.

† In Wales, where the increase of population has been extraordinarily rapid, the number of the clergy has been doubled in the last fifty years.

* Although the formal story of the Church of England dates from A.D. 597, it has been shown (chaps. ii., iii., iv.) that a powerful branch of the Catholic Church had existed in Britain several centuries before that date.

† See Appendix, giving the succession of the archbishops of Canterbury.

‡ Save in the addition of the words "Filioque" ("and from the Son"), which words have been added to the assertion of the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father. This one addition the Church of England, in common with the Church of Rome, has made to the primitive creed of Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon. The Greek or Eastern Church, as is well known, has declined ever to sanction this solitary addition, which is peculiar to all the churches of the West, Roman and Protestant.

on with the old succession, and her archbishop, Pole, did not suffer himself to be consecrated to the arch-see of Canterbury till Cranmer had been burnt at Oxford. There was no break in the Anglican settlement of queen Elizabeth. Pole died a few hours after his loved queen Mary, and Parker was consecrated to the vacant arch-see with the greatest care, being consecrated by four bishops, whose episcopal orders have been again and again examined by lynx-eyed theologians and historians, with never a flaw yet fairly discovered. No serious critic now ventures to impugn the purity of the Anglican succession.

We may well close with the expressions of one or two of the great Anglican divines of the seventeenth century, serenely confident as they were that the Church of England is apostolical in doctrine, in worship, and government; free from the extremes of both irreverence and superstition;* on the whole, the best constituted church in the world; for its doctrines government, and way of worship, in the main, are the same with those of the primitive church.† In this Church, so constituted, with its splendid history, which is, after all, the history of England, with its sacred traditions reaching back into an immemorial antiquity, we have lived; in it, God willing, we will die.‡

The thoughts of these great sons of the Church of England may well be our thoughts, their words ours; for all that they loved and prized in the church of their fathers belongs to us now. Happier yet than they, we have some two centuries' further experience of God's dealings with that Church which has made the great and mighty England with which we are acquainted, and of which we are so justly proud; happier yet than they, for our hopes and aspirations for the future of the Anglican communion are immeasurably grander and more far-reaching than any hopes they dared to entertain. With a grateful heart, the dean of one of the proudest of the English cathedrals, closing his long eventful story, craves leave, with bishop Taylor,* though with different surroundings, that he "may remember Jerusalem, and call to mind the pleasures of the Temple, the order of her services, the beauty of her buildings, the sweetness of her songs, the decency of her ministrations, the assiduity of her priests and Levites, the daily sacrifices, and that eternal fire of devotion which went not out by day nor by night—these are the pleasures of our peace."

* Hickes, dean of Worcester (the very learned non-juror); Ken, bishop of Bath and Wells.
† Bull, bishop of St. David's.

* So Laud, Bull, and Sanderson.
† Works—vol. vii. (284).

APPENDIX.

TABLE SHOWING ROLL OF ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY UNTIL THE RESTORATION, 1660, WITH DATES OF THEIR CONSECRATION AS BISHOPS, AND OF THEIR ACCESSION TO THE ARCH-SEE; WITH A FEW BRIEF NOTES BEARING ON THEIR CAREER AND TIMES.

Augustine.—Consecration, 597; accession, 597; death, 604. Formerly prior of the monastery of St. Andrew, on Mount Cœlius, Rome, the site of the story of Numa Pompilius, the successor of Romulus and the nymph Egeria. Nothing in detail is known of Augustine before he left Rome with forty companions at the bidding of Pope Gregory on his mission to Britain. Augustine was consecrated archbishop by Vergilius, metropolitan of Arles—formerly Abbot of Lerins.

Laurentius.—Consecration, 604; accession, 604; death, 619. A monk of St. Andrew's, on Mount Cœlius. He was one of the band of Roman missionaries sent by Pope Gregory to assist Augustine, A.D. 601, and was originally known as Laurentius the Presbyter.*

Mellitus.—Consecration, 604; accession, 619; death, 624. Mellitus was the head of a band of Italian missionaries, sent to reinforce the mission of Augustine by Pope Gregory from Rome, A.D. 601. In the lifetime of Augustine he was consecrated bishop of London in the then Pagan East Saxon kingdom of Essex. He re founded St. Paul's, originally probably church of the British bishops. Mellitu traditionally built the first abbey of S Peter's, Westminster; as East Saxon bisho he took part in the council held at Rome A.D. 610. He became archbishop on th death of Laurentius.

Justus.—Consecration, 604; accessio 624; death, 627. Augustine appointed hi first bishop of Rochester in A.D. 604. H was among the missionaries sent fro Rome to join Augustine in A.D. 601. was Justus who consecrated Paulinus t the see of York, A.D. 625, when Paulinu undertook the Northumbrian mission o the occasion of the marriage of Ethel burga, the Kentish princess, to Edwi king of Northumbria.

Honorius.—Consecration, 627; accessio 627; death, 653. This fifth archbishop o Canterbury was a pupil of Pope Gregor the Great; he was consecrated by Paulinu of York. A Roman by birth, he was th last of early Italian archbishops. Whe on the failure of the Northumbria

* So Montalembert, who maintains that the second archbishop was a monk.

ission after the death of Edwin, Paulinus eturned to Kent with the widowed Ethelurga, Honorius appointed Paulinus to the ee of Rochester, A.D. 633.

Deusdedit.—Consecration, 655; accesion, 655; death, 664. The first Englishorn archbishop. He changed his name om Frithona; by birth he was a West axon. His name appears as one of the Mercian Witenagemot. As metropolitan e was present at the dedication of the reat monastery of Medeshamstede, afterards known as Peterborough.

Theodore.—Consecration, 668; accesion, 668; death, 690. [A Saxon monk of Canterbury named *Wighard* had been hosen for the primacy by the kings of Northumbria and Kent (Oswiu and Egbert). Wighard, however, died at Rome of the plague before consecration.] It vas this Theodore who, exercising authority over most of England, may be said to have formally organised the church in England, dividing it into several sees and establishing the parochial system, founding, too, various schools of earning.

Brihtwald.—Consecration, 693; accession, 693; death, 731. This archbishop was related to Ethelred, king of Mercia. Bede writes of him as deeply read in the Scripture. He had been previously abbot of Reculver, in Kent. Boniface, the famous archbishop of Mentz, generally spoken of as the apostle to the Germans, gratefully alludes to Brihtwald's encouragement and help in his early days of missionary zeal when he (Boniface) was known as Winfrid of Crediton.

Tatwin.—Consecration, 731; accession, 731; death, 734. He was a renowned scholar, deeply versed in Holy Scripture, and also was famous as a poet.

Nothelm.—Consecration, 735; accession, 735; death, 740. Nothelm, too, was a diligent student and a great collector of manuscripts. In this period the libraries of England became among the most famous in Western Christendom. Before his elevation to the primacy he was the chief or arch-presbyter of St. Paul's, London. In his time York became the seat of a metropolitan.

Cuthbert.—Consecration, 736; accession, 741; death, 758. Previous to his elevation to the archbishopric he was bishop of Hereford (736). In 747 he convened a synod at Cloveshoe.

Bregwin.—Consecration, 759; accession, 759; death, 765. He was known as an eminent scholar and teacher, and, when generally designated as the fittest successor to Cuthbert, only accepted the nomination with extreme reluctance, preferring the life of a student.

Jaenbert.—Consecration, 766; accession, 766; death, 790. The curious episode of the raising the bishopric of Lichfield into an arch-see occurred at this time. It was probably carried out by Offa, king of Mercia, with the view of lessening the influence of Canterbury, where the archbishop Jaenbert was his enemy. Strange intrigues were carried on for a long period between the Pope and "Charlemagne," as the great Frankish emperor was afterwards called, and Offa and Jaenbert. With the consent of the Pope and the Witan of Mercia, then the dominant power in England, Lichfield became, at the expense of Canterbury, the seat of a metropolitan. The Pope's approval of the transaction

was procured by Offa's consenting to admit legates from Rome to a synod of the Church of England as an acknowledgment of the dependence of the Church of England on Rome, which hoped thus to create a precedent. The elevation of Lichfield to the position of an arch-see was only temporary, and the Anglo-Saxon Church admitted no more legates to their synods.

Ethelhard.—Consecration, 793; accession, 793; death, 805. Representatives of Ethelhard sat in the council of Frankfort called by Charlemagne (794), which condemned the second council of Nice which had given a quasi-sanction to a worship of images. In the time of Ethelhard, Higbert of Lichfield gave up the archbishop's title, which was never resumed by the bishops of Lichfield. Alcuin, the world-famous scholar and minister of Charlemagne, was the personal friend and adviser of this Ethelhard. At the synod of Cloveshoe (803), under the presidency of this archbishop, the arch-see of Canterbury was restored to all its former privileges. Since that date these privileges have never been further tampered with.

Wulfred.—Consecration, 805; accession, 805; death, 832. Wulfred had been archdeacon of Canterbury, an office probably instituted by Ethelhard. In these days the decay of earnestness and piety, later so deplored by king Alfred, seems to have begun in the Church of England.

Feologild.—Consecration, 832; accession, 832; death, 832. He had been previously a Kentish abbot, and died soon after his accession.

Ceolnoth.—Consecration, 833; accession, 833; death, 870. Ceolnoth was the first dean of Canterbury. The terrible Danish raids became, at this period in England, a severe scourge, Canterbury being sacke by the Vikings in 839, and again in 85 To use Asser's words, "the world was ou of joint." The perpetual devastation the Northmen, which afflicted the who of the northern and central parts Europe, weighed with especial severit upon England.

Ethelred.—Consecration, 870; accessio 870; death, 889. Ethelred's tenure the archbishopric corresponded with th earlier and middle portion of the reign Alfred, of whom he was the friend an counsellor.

Plegmund.—Consecration, 890; acce sion, 890; death, 914. Plegmund w nominated archbishop by Alfred on th refusal of Grimbald, the monk of St. Bert in the north of France, to undertake th office. He was the devoted friend an minister of the great king, and was ass ciated with him in the great reformatio of the clergy, which was one of the objec of Alfred's life. Plegmund is suppose to have been one of the writers of th Saxon Chronicle. He is styled by Alfre as "my archbishop."

Athelm.—Consecration, 909; accessio 914; death, 923. Athelm was a monk Glastonbury and subsequently first bisho of Wells after its establishment by Ple mund. Athelm was chosen for the pr macy by king Edward the Elder.

Wulfhelm.—Consecration, 914; acce sion, 923; death, 942 He previously ha been bishop of Wells. The well-know "order" of king Athelstan directing h own "reeves" (or officials) to pay tithe made at the council of bishops, bears th date 925, during the primacy of th

Wulfhelm, upon whose advice it appears the king acted.

Odo.—Consecration, 926 ; accession, 942 ; death, 959. Odo was the son of a Danish Viking who, after the invasions of the Northfolk, had obtained a settlement in East Anglia. Against the will of his family he became a Christian, and was in time distinguished as a scholar, and became a clerk ; eventually he was preferred to the bishopric of Ramsbury (later merged in the diocese of Salisbury). Something of the old Viking spirit dwelt in Odo, for in the great battle of Brunanburgh it is said he saved king Athelstan's life. After he had been appointed primate, he espoused heartily the cause of the regulars (the monks) in their fierce disputes with the secular and married clergy, and especially favoured the Benedictine order. In this archiepiscopate, by a law of king Edward passed in a national synod (944), the penalty of excommunication was denounced against those who refused to pay their tithes.

Dunstan.—Consecration, 957 ; accession, 960 ; death, 988. Trained in the famous school of Glastonbury, he at an early age, from his great and versatile abilities, became a prominent personage. He was appointed abbot of Glastonbury (about 943 ?), which he reformed after the Benedictine model. In 957 we find him bishop of London and also of Worcester. He succeeded to the primacy in 960 owing to the favour of king Edgar, during whose reign he was *the* minister with almost absolute power. As a great church reformer he introduced the Benedictine rule into the English monasteries, and discouraged, though without extreme severity, marriage among the clergy. In the days of Dunstan the laws of king Edgar, passed about 970, were the first which acknowledged the right of particular churches to tithes. They were the first, too, which, among the Anglo-Saxons, appointed definite times and seasons for their collection, and enforced the payment of these tithes by temporal penalties. This law respecting "tithes" was repeated by king Canute, and is also found in the collection of Anglo-Saxon laws, often (but erroneously) attributed to king Henry I. (Beauclerc).

Ethelgar.—Consecration, 980 ; accession, 988 ; death, 989. Trained at Glastonbury, he was appointed abbot of Newminster, at Winchester (964), a house which followed the Benedictine rule. In 980 he was consecrated bishop of Selsey. He only survived his translation to Canterbury a few months.

Siric.—Consecration, 985 ; accession, 990 ; death, 994. Trained at Glastonbury, later abbot of St. Augustine's Canterbury, then bishop of Ramsbury (Wilts), one of the chief advisers of Ethelred in the matter of the first payment of the tribute to the invaders, generally known as the Danegelt, Siric was a scholar and a great collector of books. It was this primate who formally sanctioned the famous "Homilies of Elfric the Grammarian," and commanded that they should be read in all the churches of the land. It was from these that we learn, amongst other things, the Eucharistic doctrine held in the Anglo-Saxon Church.

Elfric.—Consecration, 990 ; accession, 995 ; death, 1005. Trained at Glastonbury, a monk of Abingdon, abbot of Cerne Abbot (Dorset), then bishop of Ramsbury

(990), generally identified with the writer of the famous "Homilies of Elfric."

Alphege.—Consecration, 984; accession, 1005; death, 1012. Trained at Glastonbury, a monk of Derehurst (Gloucestershire), abbot of the Benedictine house of Bath, then bishop of Winchester (984). In the Danish raids he was murdered by the Vikings, and ranks as a martyr. The name is sometimes written as Elphege.

Living.—Consecration, 999; accession, 1013; death, 1020. Probably but not certainly trained at Glastonbury, bishop of Wells (999). He partly restored Canterbury cathedral, wrecked by the Danes.

Ethelnolth.—Consecration, 1020; accession, 1020; death, 1038. A monk of Glastonbury, later dean of Canterbury and chaplain to king Canute, of whom he was the intimate friend and adviser. He completed the restoration of Canterbury cathedral, destroyed in the Danish raids.

Eadsige.—Consecration, 1035; accession, 1038; death, 1050. A chaplain of king Canute, coadjutor-bishop to Ethelnolth (1035). He crowned Edward the Confessor, and preached on that occasion a famous sermon alluded to in the Saxon Chronicle.

Robert.—Consecration, 1044; accession, 1051; death, 1070. Abbot of Jumièges in Normandy, bishop of London (1044), friend and adviser for a time of Edward the Confessor. He was driven into exile by the English party under earls Godwine and Harold, and deposed by a sentence of the king and the Witan (1052). He appealed for reinstatement, with success, to the Pope, but the Roman decision was disregarded, and Stigand became archbishop.

Stigand.—Consecration, 1043; accession, 1052; death (in prison at Winchester) some time about 1070. First mentioned a priest of Assandun, bishop of Elmham of the East Angles (1043), bishop of Winchester (1047); received his pallium from the Anti-pope Benedict; formally deposed in 1070 by the authority of the Pope.

Lanfranc.—Consecration, 1070; accession, 1070; death, 1089. Student of Pavia, then a teacher at Avranches, in the north of France, monk and prior of Bec (Normandy), one of the foremost scholars of Europe, later abbot of St. Stephen's, duke William's abbey, at Caen. He became archbishop of Canterbury on Stigand's deposition (1070). He was for years the intimate friend, adviser, and minister of William the Conqueror. He rebuilt Canterbury cathedral, pulling down the old pile, on the new French model, copying more or less closely his own new abbey of St. Stephen's, Caen, thus introducing into England the new French style of architecture and the feeling in favour of vast churches. The reforms introduced by Lanfranc infused new life and vigour into the English church; but at the same time, it must be remembered, the "Norman" bishop became rather a great feudal lord than a father in God, and for good or for evil the power and influence of the church fell more and more under the sole influence of the monastic orders. With Lanfranc came the Cluniacs (Reformed Benedictines) and the Austin Canons. In the next age followed the Cistercians (another vast company of Reformed Benedictines), and shortly after arrived the mendicant friars—Franciscans, Dominicans, and others.

Anselm.—Consecration, 1093; accession, 1093; death, 1109. After Lanfranc's death

between three and four years elapsed before William Rufus, under the pressure of the fear of death, allowed the vacancy to be filled up at Canterbury. For many years monk and abbot of Bec, Anselm, the successor of Lanfranc, deservedly possessed the reputation of being the profoundest thinker and scholar in the church of the West. As archbishop he was without doubt the greatest Christian prelate of his age, but there is no doubt that his victory over the ecclesiastical policy of the sovereigns William Rufus and Henry I. (Beauclerc) had an enormous effect in strengthening the ever-growing claims of Rome to a supremacy in all church matters. The result of the long contest, and the partial victory of, Anselm over Henry I., and somewhat later of Becket over the Angevin Henry II., was largely to change the character of the Church of England; it ceased to be a national church, and became rather an ecclesiastical province of a vast foreign empire. This work of the great archbishops of the early Norman kings was not undone, until the Reformation of the sixteenth century broke up the old mediæval conditions of society, ecclesiastical and civil.

Ralph d'Escures.—Consecration, 1108; accession, 1114; death, 1122. He had been for many years monk and then abbot of Séez (Orne), the friend of Gundulph, bishop of Rochester (who will be remembered as the great building ecclesiastic), and of Anselm. He succeeded Gundulph at Rochester in 1108. An example of Papal assumption in 1119 is chronicled. In that year the Pope consecrated on his own authority Thurstan, archbishop of York, who had previously refused to acknowledge the supremacy of the archbishop of Canterbury.

William de Corbeuil.—Consecration, 1123; accession, 1123; death, 1136. A chaplain of Ralph Flambard, bishop of Durham; prior of St. Osyth (Essex). In de Corbeuil's time the legative question was settled. The archbishop remonstrating against the appointment of John de Crema as legate to England, de Corbeuil went to Rome and obtained the Papal commission as legate, with jurisdiction over all England. Anselm had previously claimed a similar privilege. This was the beginning of the long series of archbishops, who with rare exception were legates of the Holy See, until the Reformation of the sixteenth century.

Theobald.—Consecration, 1139; accession, 1139; death, 1161. Monk and abbot of Bec. There was an interregnum of two or three years, owing to the intrigues of Henry de Blois, bishop of Winchester, king Stephen's brother. Henry de Blois held the legateship until 1143. In 1150 Theobald became legate. He was a great patron of learning, and especially encouraged the study of canon law. During his long archiepiscopate he was generally distinguished for his prudence and wisdom. It was a disturbed and distracted period, the kingdom being rent asunder by the wars of Stephen and the empress Maud.

Thomas à Becket.—Consecration, 1162; accession, 1162; death, 1170. In early life he was a favourite of archbishop Theobald, who, becoming aware of his brilliant abilities, carefully trained him and made him archdeacon of Canterbury. Henry II. appointed him chancellor, gave him his entire confidence, and for some eight years

Becket played the part of a great and vigorous minister. In 1162 he was preferred to the primacy. His zeal now took a different direction. Archbishop Becket became the fervid champion of every supposed ecclesiastical right. Anselm was his model, but the career of Becket has been well described as "forced and unnatural; every act was overdone and almost theatrical. . . . It was an artificial striving after saintship." Much of his enormous reputation he owes to the striking circumstances of his death. For long years after his death he was the popular saint of England, greater, for a time, than the Blessed Virgin—greater than any of the saints. The boundless veneration and exaggerated reverence, which for more than three centuries were paid to his memory, are as strange and unreasoning as the obloquy and hatred which took their place in the sixteenth century.

Richard.—Consecration, 1174; accession, 1174; death, 1184. After a lengthened delay Richard, a Benedictine, prior of St. Martin, Dover, was by the king (Henry II.), with general approbation, chosen for the vacant primacy. He was a just and upright though not a learned man, who avoided all the burning questions which had lately agitated the church. He seems ever to have enjoyed the king's confidence and respect.

Baldwin.—Consecration, 1180; accession, 1185; death, 1190. In the earlier part of his career he was archdeacon of Exeter. Resigning his office, he became a Cistercian monk and abbot of Ford, in Devon. In 1180 he was consecrated bishop of Worcester, and in 1185 was chosen to be archbishop. Pope Urban is said to have addressed a letter to him in these terms: "Monacho ferventissimo, abbati calido, episcopo tepido, archiepiscopo remisso"—sarcastic reproaches not without a basis of truth. He strangely abandoned the care of his vast see, and became a Crusader with Richard Cœur de Lion in 1190, dying eventually in Palestine, it is said, of a broken heart at the sight of the licentiousness and evil deeds of the Crusading army.

[*Reginald Fitzjocelyn* was regularly elected to the arch-see, but died before the formalities of his election were completed. He had been bishop of Bath and Wells.]

Hubert Fitzwalter.—Consecration, 1189; accession, 1193; death, 1205. This prelate was the son of a Norman baron, of Norfolk. was successively dean of York and bishop of Salisbury, and accompanied archbishop Baldwin as a Crusader. In the Holy War he was distinguished as a great soldier and also a fervid ecclesiastic, and became the trusted friend of Cœur de Lion. Returning home after the disasters of the Crusade, king Richard named him as archbishop. The career of the famous archbishop of Cœur de Lion was rather that of a statesman than of a great ecclesiastic. In the frequent absences of Richard I. from England, Fitzwalter was virtually regent, and was conspicuously loyal all through the treasonable intrigues of prince John, whom, however, when on the death of Richard he became king, he faithfully served as chancellor. No English subject has ever held so many great offices as did archbishop Fitzwalter—primate and legate, in succession chief justiciary, chancellor, king's vicegerent. In his administration

of all these posts he has left behind him a white and stainless record.

Stephen Langton.—Consecration, 1207; accession, 1207; death, 1228. He was first distinguished as a brilliant scholar at the University of Paris. Through the private friendship of Innocent III. he was appointed a member of the Papal household, and became a public teacher at Rome, and in 1206 was nominated a cardinal; and when more than one strongly-supported candidate appeared for the vacant arch-see of Canterbury, Innocent III., who was asked to settle the dispute, named Stephen Langton as primate. King John, however, resisted the Papal nomination, but in the end Langton was acknowledged archbishop of Canterbury, but not before the kingdom had been placed under an interdict. In the terrible tyranny of John, Stephen Langton took the part of the outraged barons of England, even when the Pope, before whom John had humbled himself, had made John's quarrel with the baronage of England his own. As the leader of the barons his name appears first among the signatories of Magna Charta. Throughout the long-drawn out struggle between John and the nobility of England, Langton firmly resisted the Pope Innocent III.'s boundless assumptions of authority—the result, of course, of such resistance being that the old friendship between Innocent III. and Langton was changed into hatred. Langton was formally appointed legate by Innocent III., but was constantly thwarted by special legates despatched from Rome, such as Gualo and Pandulf. From the time of Langton the archbishops of Canterbury, as a rule, received their legative commission directly they were recognised at Rome. They were the "legati nati." Special legates "a latere" were, however, sent from time to time, who superseded temporarily their authority.

Richard Grant.—Consecration, 1229; accession, 1229; death, 1231. A scholarly man of no conspicuous ability. Before his consecration he had for some years been chancellor of Lincoln. He died within two years after his consecration.

Edmund Rich.—Consecration, 1234; accession, 1234; death, 1240. This is one of the more famous archbishops of Canterbury, though his reputation is due rather to his personal sanctity than to his acts. From childhood he seems to have been devoted to religious exercises and self-denial. At Oxford as a teacher and then as one of the Salisbury Chapter, his fame for saintliness was widely spread abroad. By very general consent he was nominated to the primacy. Henry III. was on the throne, and his court was mainly composed of foreign favourites. As archbishop, Rich sided steadily with the national party in opposition to the king and the foreigners. At no period in mediæval history did the exactions of Rome press so heavily on the English Church as during the weak and vacillating reign of Henry III. Archbishop Edmund nobly opposed these Papal exactions. Eventually harassed by continual enmity shown him on the part of the king and Pope, and no doubt enfeebled by the exaggerated austerities he had practised for long years, the primate left the country and took refuge in the religious house of Pontigny, once the asylum of Becket. He survived his exile but a short time, dying in the odour of sanctity. The popular voice clamoured for and procured, his

canonisation, and he is known as St. Edmund of Canterbury.

Boniface.—Consecration, 1245; accession, 1245; death, 1270. A son of the count of Savoy. The chroniclers describe him as inferior to all his predecessors in the arch-see. He seems to have been a worldly-minded foreigner, often an absentee from England. Few kind words are spoken of him by contemporary writers.

Robert Kilwardby.—Consecration, 1273; accession, 1273; death, 1278. A Dominican friar of considerable learning and a voluminous writer. He was devoted to the interests of Rome. Pope Nicholas III. nominated him a cardinal, when he resigned the arch-see, dying, however, a few months after his resignation.

John Peckham.—Consecration, 1279; accession, 1279; death, 1292. A Franciscan of considerable learning. He went abroad for purposes of study, and was appointed canon of Lyons and "Lector Palatii" at Rome. Peckham was nominated by the Pope archbishop of Canterbury, as being devoted to the Papal interests. The famous statute of mortmain was vigorously opposed by Peckham. While he was archbishop of Canterbury, another Franciscan was elevated to the Papacy—cardinal Jeronimo—as Nicholas IV.

Robert Winchelsey.—Consecration, 1294; accession, 1294; death, 1313. An English student of great distinction at Paris, then rector of the university there, subsequently chancellor of Oxford, archdeacon of Essex, canon of St. Paul's. He was nominated archbishop by Edward I. and appointed a cardinal. Then commenced an unfortunate and confused career. He resisted king Edward I.'s exactions from the clergy. He intrigued against the king and was disgraced, was then summoned to Rome, whence he returned after the death of king Edward I.; and we find him taking a prominent part in the persecution of the Knights-Templars. In the later years of his life he tried, but in vain, to guide the unfortunate Edward II.

Walter Reynolds.—Consecration, 1308; accession, 1313; death, 1327. Tutor, then treasurer to prince Edward (afterwards Edward II). He seems to have exercised an evil influence over him. When Edward II. became king, Reynolds was appointed bishop of Worcester in 1308, then chancellor, and in 1313 the king obtained for him, through the interference of the Pope, the primacy. In the confused story of the troubles of Edward II. it does not seem that the archbishop was faithful to his royal patron. He even consented to crown Edward III. in his father's lifetime.

Simon Mepeham.—Consecration, 1328; accession, 1328; death, 1333. A scholar, but of no great distinction; canon of Chichester. He obtained the primacy apparently through the influence of Isabella, queen of Edward II., before her fall. Simon Mepeham interfered rarely in state affairs. His blameless, studious life impressed his contemporaries, but, though anxious ever to do his duty, he was scarcely fitted for his high and difficult office.

John Stratford.—Consecration, 1323; accession, 1333; death, 1348. He was distinguished as a student of civil law at Oxford, became archdeacon of Lincoln, canon of York, and dean of the Court of Arches, and for a time represented the king at the Papal court at Avignon. The Pope appointed him bishop of Winchester

(1323). In the deposition of Edward II. bishop Stratford played a leading part. He became chancellor in 1330, and in 1333 was translated to Canterbury, and with brief interludes acted as chief minister of Edward III., retaining his confidence until his death in 1348.

Thomas Bradwardine. — Consecration, 1349 ; accession, 1349 ; death, 1349. One of the greatest scholars and writers of the age. Among the schoolmen he is known as "Doctor Profundus." He was a chaplain of Edward III. Bradwardine died of the Black Death, the year of his consecration.

Simon Islip.—Consecration, 1349 ; accession, 1349 ; death, 1366. A famous lawyer. He was appointed successively archdeacon of Stow, canon of Lincoln and of St. Paul's, and dean of the Court of Arches. He was private secretary and keeper of the privy seal to Edward III., who nominated him to the primacy (1349). Islip was throughout his primacy an earnest advocate of good government, was distinguished as an ecclesiastical legislator, and published useful constitutions in 1351, 1359, and 1362. He was earnest in the cause of education, and a diligent founder of schools. Among his educational establishments the foundation of Canterbury Hall, Oxford, now merged in Christ Church, is memorable. Anti-papal legislation began in good earnest in the course of his primacy, the first of the great Acts of "Provision" being passed in 1350, and the first statute of "Præmunire" in 1353.

Simon Langham.—Consecration, 1362 ; accession, 1366 ; death, 1376. Monk and abbot of Westminster, the friend of Edward III., who appointed him lord treasurer (1360), bishop of Ely (1362), chancellor (1363), archbishop (1366). Urban V. (residing at Avignon) named him cardinal in 1368. Vacating the archbishopric, Langham henceforth resided abroad, believing he could do good service to England at the Avignon court.

William Whittlesey.—Consecration, 1362; accession, 1368 ; death, 1374. He was the nephew of archbishop Islip ; master of Peterhouse (Cambridge), then archdeacon, and later, bishop of Rochester (1362) ; translated to Worcester (1364), and by king Edward III.'s wish was again translated to Canterbury (1368). Whittlesey was not a great primate, his rapid preferment having been largely owing to his connection with Islip. Continued ill-health, too, marred his work after his accession, and he was ever sensible of his want of power and energy.

Simon Sudbury.—Consecration, 1362 ; accession, 1375 ; death, 1381. An eminent canon lawyer, doctor of the university of Paris, chaplain to Pope Innocent VI. Through the influence of the Pope he was appointed chancellor of Salisbury, and in 1362 bishop of London, and probably through the same influence translated to Canterbury (1375). Wycliffe became prominent, and was publicly accused of error in this archiepiscopate. Appointed chancellor (1379) by the duke of Lancaster (Richard II. being king). In the riots headed by Wat Tyler the chancellor-archbishop was publicly murdered on Tower Hill at the same time as the lord treasurer, Hales

William Courtenay.—Consecration, 1370; accession, 1381 ; death, 1396. In 1367 he was elected chancellor of the university of Oxford, rather owing to his family interest

than to his scholarship. [He was a son of the earl of Devonshire and connected with the royal house of England.] For the same reason he was appointed bishop of Hereford in 1370, when only twenty-eight years of age ; translated to London (1375). He became archbishop in 1381, and for a brief space chancellor. The questions aroused by the words and writings of Wycliffe largely occupied the church all through Courtenay's tenure of office. The schism in the Roman Church at this time—the fact of there being two reigning Popes for a long period—divided and seriously weakened Western Christianity.

Thomas Arundel.—Consecration, 1374 ; accession, 1396 ; death, 1414. Like his predecessor, he owed his various preferments to his family connections, being the son of the earl of Arundel (one of the great soldiers of Edward III.) and a near relation of the royal house. The archdeaconry of Taunton was conferred on him when he was but twenty-one, and in the following year he was consecrated bishop of Ely (1374). For some forty years Thomas Arundel as bishop, archbishop, and chancellor was closely connected with most of the great events of that turbulent period, his public career commencing in the last years of Edward III., and continuing all through the reigns of Richard II., Henry IV., and the early days of the reign of Henry V. In 1388 Arundel was translated to York, and in 1397 to Canterbury. In 1398 he was driven into exile, and the Pope was induced by Richard II. to translate the archbishop [but without Arundel's consent] to the Scotch see of St. Andrews. For two years Arundel remained in exile, and the arch-see was occupied by Roger Walden. Returning in 1399, Arundel resumed his position as primate, and was largely concerned in the dethronement of Richard II. and succession of Henry IV. Rather a statesman than an ecclesiastic, five times in the course of that brilliant troubled life of his he filled the position of chancellor. As a prelate he was distinguished ever by his lavish munificence. In the history of the church he will ever be remembered as the determined enemy of the Lollards and the followers of Wycliffe.

[*Roger Walden.*—Consecration, 1398 ; accession, 1398 ; death, 1406. Archdeacon of Winchester and dean of York. He was also entrusted with important foreign missions. In 1395 we find him appointed lord treasurer. Richard II., when Arundel was exiled and translated by Pope Boniface to the see of St. Andrews, caused him to be appointed by Papal provision to the primacy (1398). Walden was formally consecrated, and for about two years acted as archbishop. Upon Arundel's return—the exiled archbishop's party in the state being again in the ascendant—Walden withdrew from the position of primate. Arundel treated his supplanter with kindness, and caused him eventually to be appointed bishop of London (1405). He died, however, almost immediately.]

Henry Chichele.—Consecration, 1408 ; accession, 1414 ; death, 1443. Trained as a lawyer, his abilities soon attracted attention, and he was rapidly preferred. We find him archdeacon and chancellor of Salisbury and employed in the diplomatic service of the state. He became bishop of St. David's in 1408. He was one of the delegates to the Council of Pisa (1409), and

in 1414 by king Henry V.'s desire was chosen archbishop of Canterbury. He acted as the chief adviser of Henry V. and president of the council in his absence during the wars in France. As a prelate, so far as his ceaseless state cares allowed him, he was most diligent. While earnestly religious, he was a devoted patriot, and incurred the anger of the Pope by his policy in maintaining the independence of the Church of England. To Lollardism and its extravagances he was ever bitterly hostile. Among the reforms which he inaugurated was the confiscation of the alien priories, considering them a source of danger to the state. As his life wore on, he more and more withdrew from state affairs, devoting himself entirely to his spiritual duties. It is said he presided over as many as eighteen synods of the clergy In his latter years he was haunted by the fear of an interdict which Pope Martin V. threatened if the "execrable" anti-papal statutes of "præmunire" and "provisors" were not repealed. Worn out by some thirty-five years of ceaseless work, he was about to resign his great post when he passed away. Chichele was always a most diligent and generous patron of learning.

John Stafford.—Consecration, 1425; accession, 1443; death, 1452. As was so often the case with the prelates of the later mediæval period, the study of the law led up to high place and preferment. The great reputation of Stafford as a lawyer was the occasion of his rapid rise—successively archdeacon of Salisbury, dean of Wells, then of the Court of Arches. He attracted the notice of Henry V., who made him a minister of state and privy seal, and then lord treasurer. He became bishop of Bath and Wells in 1425, and chancellor, which high office he held for eighteen years. More of a statesman than an ecclesiastic, he preserved generally friendly relations with the Papal power. His public career continued all through that somewhat troublous period of the long minority of Henry VI. Preserving the reputation of a generally prudent ruler, though scarcely that of a statesman of the highest class, he died just before the outbreak of the "Roses" war.

John Kemp.—Consecration, 1419; accession, 1452; death, 1454. Another of those late mediæval famous ecclesiastical statesmen who through their erudition and skill in canon law made their way rapidly upward. Comparatively at an early period of his life, we find him archdeacon of Durham, then dean of the Court of Arches. In 1419 he was consecrated bishop of Rochester; a favourite of Chichele, he was brought under the notice of Henry V., who gave him the privy seal. In 1421 he was translated to Chichester, and the same year to London, being much employed in foreign diplomacy as well as in state affairs at home. From London he passed to the arch-see of York, and as chancellor he acted as chief adviser of the crown for the long period of six years. His ecclesiastical policy strongly favoured the pretensions of Rome, and in 1439 he was rewarded with a cardinal's red hat. In 1450 he again became chancellor, and in 1452 Pope Nicholas V. approved the choice of the English government and appointed Kemp to Canterbury by "Provision." The wording of archbishop Kemp's oath to the Pope *

* See vol. ii., p. 358.

is a strange monument of complete subservience to the most exaggerated Roman claims.

Thomas Bouchier.—Consecration, 1435; accession, 1454; death, 1486. This was another of these great statesmen-ecclesiastics of the fifteenth century. In Bouchier's case, however, his rapid rise was largely owing, in the first instance, to his powerful family connections. At an early age he obtained the deanery of St. Martin's-le-Grand (London), and when about thirty years old was appointed bishop of Worcester (1434). Some nine years later he was translated to Ely (1443) and in 1454 to Canterbury. In 1472 Pope Sixtus IV. bestowed on him the dignity of a cardinal. All through the stormy period of the Wars of the Roses, and then during the reign of Edward IV., Bouchier played a prominent part, and filled for some time the great office of chancellor. As a prelate, however, he was neglectful of his duties, being ever rather the statesman than the ecclesiastic.

John Morton.—Consecration, 1479; accession, 1486; death, 1500. Morton was one of the most distinguished of the pre-Reformation prelates. He commenced his career, as was then so usual, by a long course of legal study. His advance was checked for many years by his devotion to the Lancastrian cause and to the fortunes of the ill-fated queen of Henry VI., Margaret. Under Edward IV. his great talents and industry caused him to be received into partial favour, and he was mixed up with many of the political intrigues of that period. A long list of preferments were in succession bestowed upon him. Not, however, till nearly the end of the reign was he raised to the episcopate. He became bishop of Ely in 1479. Henry VII. made him chancellor and archbishop of Canterbury in 1486, and he received the honour of the cardinalate, as Rome desired the friendship of the great chancellor. Till his death, in 1500, Morton was the minister of the reign. He was a distinguished lawyer, a successful financier, and assisted, perhaps guided the king, who trusted him, in that wise policy which restored peace and prosperity to England, so long rent asunder by dynastic disputes and ruinous civil wars. Among other works connected with ecclesiastical reformation he commenced that visitation of the monasteries, which Wolsey took up with yet greater energy for a time.

Henry Dean.—Consecration, 1496; accession, 1501; death, 1503. An Augustinian canon and prior of Llanthony (Gloucester), chancellor of Ireland (1494), bishop of Bangor (1496), translated to Salisbury (1499). He was made lord keeper of the great seal (1500); by king Henry VII.'s desire was chosen as archbishop in succession to Morton in 1501. His health, however, soon failed him, and he died in the early part of 1503.

William Warham.—Consecration, 1502; accession, 1503; death, 1532. A successful lawyer and favourite of Morton. Warham was employed in various foreign missions, and won the confidence of Henry VII. He became Master of the Rolls, archdeacon of Huntingdon (1496), bishop of London (1502), chancellor, and archbishop of Canterbury (1503). He resigned the chancellorship in 1515, and devoted himself to his ecclesiastical duties. Wolsey succeeded him as chancellor and minister of Henry VIII. Warham was the friend

and patron of the great pioneer reformers —Erasmus, Colet, and others. His last public act was a solemn protest against the arbitrary legislation of Henry VIII.

Thomas Cranmer.—Consecration, 1533; accession, 1533; death, 1556. Cranmer was a diligent student of law at Cambridge, but did not attain any special early distinction. It was by chance he came under the notice of Henry VIII. in the burning question of the divorce. His appointment to the primacy in 1533 was a surprise to the church. It was, however, largely justified by his subsequent career. His vast services to the Church of England, especially in the matter of her noble formularies, in the matter of breaking the bonds of Rome, in the matter of preserving her unbroken continuity, are generally now gratefully acknowledged. Emphatically he towered high above all his contemporaries. His conduct has been curiously and disadvantageously compared with that of archbishop Arundel, who in the preceding century resisted a formidable attack on the church; but it must be remembered Henry VIII. was a very different master to Henry IV; it must be remembered, too, that when Arundel and Henry IV. lived, the terrible indictment against Rome and mediæval corruptions had not been formulated by the pioneers of the Reformation—Erasmus, Colet, and the company of early reformers.

Reginald Pole (*Cardinal*).—Consecration, 1556; accession, 1556; death, 1558. Through his mother, Margaret, countess of Salisbury, daughter of George, duke of Clarence (brother of Edward IV.), Pole was a near relation of the royal house of England. Educated by Henry VIII., he was destined for the highest post in the church, and was actually offered the archsee of York on the death of Wolsey. But his conscience forbade his approval of the "divorce" of Henry VIII., and the result of his strong feeling on this point was that he spent most of his years in exile—ever the bitter opponent of Henry VIII. Created a cardinal by Pope Paul III. in 1538, his life was largely spent in intrigues against his native land. Some time after Mary became queen, he was recalled as legate, and restored England to the Papal obedience, becoming archbishop of Canterbury after Cranmer's death. During the latter years of Mary he was the queen's chief minister, friend, and adviser, and the cruelties which have given Mary her terrible epithet of "bloody" were in a great measure prompted by Pole. "Carnifex et flagellum Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ" he is styled by archbishop Parker, his successor. He was a man of stainless character, and in his woeful policy he thought he was doing God true service. He died within a few hours of his unhappy royal mistress.

Matthew Parker.—Consecration, 1559; accession, 1559; death, 1575. A distinguished Cambridge student, fellow, and then master, of Corpus Christi College, a friend and pupil of Bucer, chaplain to Anne Boleyn and Henry VIII., he was known as a moderate and learned reformer, was appointed dean of Lincoln, but declined a bishopric. Under queen Mary he was deprived of his deanery, but was left unmolested. When Elizabeth came to the throne, Parker was selected by the queen and her secretary of state Cecil, partly owing to his former connection

with Anne Boleyn, partly owing to his known great learning, moderation, and prudence, as the chief adviser in ecclesiastical matters, and was chosen, against his personal wishes, for the vacant arch-see of Canterbury (1559). His wisdom was conspicuously shown in his choice of suffragans. The Elizabethan compromise, with its careful preservation of the doctrines and customs of the primitive church, was largely owing to his advice. The archbishop may be considered as the pioneer of the great Elizabethan revival in letters.

Edmund Grindal.—Consecration, 1559; accession, 1576; death, 1583. A fellow of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, pupil and chaplain of bishop Ridley, chaplain of Edward VI. During the Marian persecution he was among the more prominent of the English exiles, and mostly dwelt and studied at Strasburg. His intercourse with the foreign reformers at this time gave his opinions that Calvinistic colour which subsequently brought him into collision with Elizabeth. After the death of Mary, Grindal returned home, and was chosen master of Pembroke Hall, and soon after was selected by Parker for the see of London. His sympathy with the Puritans became marked. He was translated to the arch-see of York (1570), and on Parker's death to Canterbury (1576), Cecil desiring at that time especially to conciliate the Puritan party. His policy, however, gravely offended the queen, and he was sequestered for five years. His health failed him, and he appointed Whitgift bishop of Worcester, a favourite with the queen, as his deputy. For some time before his death, in 1583, he was afflicted with blindness.

John Whitgift.—Consecration, 1577; accession, 1583; death, 1604. A pupil of the reformer, John Bradford, and friend of Ridley. During the reign of Mary he remained in retirement. On the accession of Elizabeth he was elected a Professor of Divinity (Cambridge), and successively master of Pembroke Hall and of Trinity College. He came under the queen's favourable notice, and in 1573 was appointed dean of Lincoln and in 1576 bishop of Worcester. He continued to rise in Elizabeth's favour, and, after acting as coadjutor to Grindal, succeeded him in the primacy (1583). The disloyalty of the Romanists—the long-continued plots in favour of Mary, queen of Scots—had given the Puritan party a strong position in England. Whitgift's policy sternly repressed them, and the last twenty years of Elizabeth's reign was a period of something akin to persecution. He was a stern disciplinarian, though, on the whole, a just ruler of the church, which under his government acquired power and stability. But the discontent among the Puritan party grew, and the seeds of the eventual fatal schism which overthrew church and throne, were sown largely during his tenure of the archiepiscopate.

Richard Bancroft.—Consecration, 1597; accession, 1604; death, 1610. Bancroft was early distinguished as a tutor at Cambridge, and was known as an eloquent preacher. Cox, bishop of Ely, and archbishop Whitgift were attracted by his talents and learning. Whitgift employed him as his assistant and friend for some years, and in 1597 procured his nomination to the great see of London. He followed his patron at Canterbury, and faithfully

leveloped his predecessor's policy, which nay be fairly described by the term, in fter times so well known, of High Anglicanism. Bancroft's influence at the Hampton Court Conference contributed o the stern rejection of all the Puritan lemands. He was throughout his career painstaking and indefatigable churchnan — feared rather than loved. His olicy, however, widened the breach, early growing wider, between the Anglican and Puritan parties.

George Abbot.—Consecration, 1609 ; accession, 1611 ; death, 1633. Abbot attained considerable distinction at Oxford, and was elected master of University College. He was known at the university as an eloquent preacher, and was strongly influenced by Puritan theology. In 1599 he became dean of Winchester and subsequently (1603 and 1605) vice-chancellor of his university, where his power and influence were very great. In 1609 he was nominated to the bishopric of Lichfield and Coventry, and almost immediately after translated to the see of London (1610). He had powerful friends at the court of James I.—amongst others prince Henry of Wales—and on the death of Bancroft, to the surprise and indignation of churchmen generally, the Puritan bishop Abbot was nominated to the primacy. The Church of England expected and hoped that the arch-see of Canterbury would have been bestowed upon Lancelot Andrewes, whose profound scholarship, devoted piety, and beautiful life had apparently marked him out for the high and responsible dignity. After the death of the prince of Wales the power of Abbot waned, and after an unfortunate mischance (Abbot shot accidentally a keeper in Bramyil Park) his influence was completely lost.

William Laud.—Consecration, 1621 ; accession, 1633 ; death, 1645. Laud acquired distinction very early at Oxford. Elected a fellow of St. John's College, his divinity lectures soon attracted attention, as containing teaching on church matters absolutely opposed to the prevailing Puritan tone of the university. He at Oxford began his lifelong opposition to George Abbot, afterwards the archbishop, who was the most influential teacher on the Puritan side. In 1611 he was elected president of St. John's, and under the powerful patronage of bishop Neile was brought under king James I.'s notice, who appointed him a royal chaplain, and in 1616 gave him the deanery of Gloucester. His energy and determination to correct the carelessness and often slovenly character too often visible in the Anglican services became widely known, while his scholarship in ecclesiastical literature was generally acknowledged. In 1621 he was consecrated bishop of St. David's. Laud rose rapidly higher in public estimation. His famous controversy with the Jesuit Fisher placed him in the front rank of theologians, and he stood high in favour with James I. and yet higher with prince Charles of Wales. In 1626 we find him translated to the see of Bath and Wells ; successively dean of the Chapel Royal in succession to Andrewes, bishop of London, and archbishop of Canterbury, the last promotion bearing the date of 1633, and gradually king Charles I.'s trusted and intimate counsellor. All through the eleven years of the despotic rule of Charles, Laud shared with Wentworth (earl of Strafford)

the odium of being the chief ministers and advisers of Charles I. In 1640–41 the hated ministers fell. Strafford was executed in 1641, and Laud, after a lengthened imprisonment, in 1645.

William Juxon.—Consecration, 1633; accession, 1660; death, 1663. Juxon was the friend and confidant of Laud; fellow of St. John's, Oxford, president of St. John's in succession to Laud (1621), dean of Worcester, bishop of Hereford, and, again succession to Laud, was translated to London (1633). In 1636 Charles I. was induced by Laud to give the white staff of treasurer to bishop Juxon. Thus in the persons of Laud and Juxon was revived the old mediæval practice of entrusting the highest offices and the positions of the greatest influence to ecclesiastics. In his administration of the treasury Juxon, while, of course, pursuing strictly the policy of Charles I. and Laud, was prudent, conciliatory, and stainlessly honest. Of course, he fell when the policy of absolutism was shattered; but on the part of the Puritans a gentler feeling was displayed towards bishop Juxon than towards any of the old ministers of Charles I. He ministered to the condemned king on the scaffold, and in the dark period through which in the days of the Civil War and the Commonwealth, the Church of Englar passed, he was unmolested, and able bear his part in keeping alight the feebl burning torch of the church. On t Restoration, naturally bishop Juxon w chosen primate, and for the last time life followed his master Laud and officiat as archbishop of Canterbury at the coron tion of Charles II. But Juxon was an o man and worn out, and very soon pass away amidst general respect and mourni (1663).

TABLE OF ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY SIN THE RESTORATION AND DEATH OF JUXON.*

	ACCESSION, A.D.
Gilbert Sheldon	1663
William Sancroft	1678
John Tillotson	1691
Thomas Tenison	1695
William Wake	1716
John Potter	1737
Thomas Herring	1747
Matthew Hutton	1757
Thomas Secker	1758
Frederick Cornwallis ...	1768
John Moore	1783
Charles Manners Sutton ...	1805
William Howley	1828
John Bird Sumner	1848
Charles Thomas Longley ...	1862
Archibald Campbell Tait ...	1868
Edward White Benson ...	1883
Frederick Temple	1896

* From the Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum of Bishop Stubbs (Appendix VIII.), as far as 18

Photo : J. Thirlwall, Hereford.

HEREFORD CATHEDRAL AND WYE BRIDGE.

EXCURSUS G.

MISSIONARY EFFORT IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

HE earliest recorded effort of the Church of ngland, after the separation from communion ith Rome, to provide religious teaching beyond ıe seas, was probably archbishop Cranmer's ap-ɔintment of two chaplains for Calais, at that time ngland's only foreign possession. "To discover ıd to plant Christian inhabitants in places con-ɜnient" was the object specified in the expedition Sir Humphrey Gilbert in 1583, when he took ɔssession of Newfoundland. But for a long period ıere seems to have been no organised effort either ı provide religious instruction or Christian minis-ation among the English colonists, or the native ɹces of the newly-discovered lands. Sporadic ission efforts we catch sight of here and there, ıt nothing more. In 1646 John Eliot, "the ɔostle," as he has been well termed, "of the orth American Red Men," began to labour in ew England, and he worked on unweariedly until is death in 1690. The tracts and writings of this ɜvoted servant of God made a great impression in ngland, and in 1649 the Long Parliament passed ɑ ordinance establishing "A Corporation for Pro-ıoting and Propagating the Gospel of Jesus Christ ı New England." Under Oliver Cromwell's direc-on a general collection for missionary purposes as made throughout England, which produced ıe sum of £12,000, a considerable amount, con-dering the then value of money. This was ex-ended in the maintenance of missionaries in New ngland and in the New York states. This Cor-ɔration was revived in 1662 after the Restoration, ıd was generally known as the "New England ompany."

Out of the movement which originated the ɜligious societies in England for the correction of ce, immorality, and irreligious living, alluded to ı our history in the days of queen Anne, and even arlier, arose the venerable "Society for Promoting hristian Knowledge" (1699). One important ranch of this association was "the fixing arochial libraries throughout the plantations," ɜpecially in North America. As a supplement to this, to secure the employment of living missionary agents "The Society for Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts" was established (1701). This organised missionary work was a somewhat novel idea, but it worked quietly and faithfully on, and in 1741, after about forty years, we meet with the following dispassionate but no doubt strictly accurate and careful summary of the results of this early missionary endeavour on the part of the noble pioneer society by bishop Secker, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury:—"In less than forty years, under many discouragements, and with an income very disproportionate to the vastness of the undertaking, a great deal hath been done, though little notice may have been taken of it by persons unattentive to these things, or backward to acknowledge them. Near a hundred churches have been built; above ten thousand Bibles and Common Prayers, above a hundred thousand other pious tracts distributed; great multitudes, upon the whole, of negroes and Indians brought over to the Christian faith; many numerous congregations have been set up, which now support the worship of God at their own expense, where it was not known before; and seventy persons are constantly employed, at the expense of the Society, in the farther service of the Gospel."

Bishop Secker's modest *résumé* of foreign mission work is dated 1741. But a marvellous change was about to pass over the "plantations" and colonies of England. In the next half century the story of the progress of the English-speaking races beyond the seas reads like a romance. In the great western continent vast countries were ever opening to the view of the amazed colonists. The narrow seaboard known to the pilgrims of the *Mayflower* became a continent far greater than the whole of Europe; new and vast countries seemed ever opening to men's bewildered gaze; while in the east, in Hindostan, the factories and settlements of the original Anglo-Indian adventurers, with a territory consisting of a few square miles, thanks to the splendour of the exploits of a young English official, Robert Clive,

had developed in a few years into a magnificent empire. "Such an extent of cultivated territory, such an amount of revenue, such a multitude of subjects, was never added to the dominion of Rome by the most successful proconsul. . . . The fame of those who subdued Antiochus and Tigranes grows dim when compared with the exploits which the young English adventurer achieved at the head of an army not equal in numbers to one half of a Roman legion."* This strange and wonderful transference of Hindostan, one of the greatest and wealthiest empires of the world, from the sceptre of eastern princes to England, may be roughly dated between 1744 and 1772, when lord Clive closed his brilliant, unhappy life. In the last years of the last quarter of the eighteenth century we again take up the thread of our missionary story. It was in the little religious club, the "Eclectic," where the chief evangelicals were wont to meet together, that Wilberforce, Thornton, Venn, Simeon of Cambridge, and the other members of the Clapham sect, taking counsel how they could best help their brothers, cast their eyes over the Greater Britain which had arisen in their lifetime, and amongst other lands they saw the teeming nationalities of Hindostan with its vast territories and magnificent cities in the hands of England, *but practically untouched by Christianity*.

Out of these little meetings of the evangelical "Eclectic" Society sprang "the Church Missionary Society," the greatest of these famous associations which are at once the glory and the shame of the nineteenth century—the *glory*, because they were the first real effort of the church, after a long period of missionary silence, save for those efforts above detailed, in which the S.P.G. holds the foremost place, to carry out the command of the Risen Master; the *shame*, because after the great awakening to the recognition of an inescapable duty, the effort, mighty though it seems to have been, has not been ten times as great!

Well-nigh a hundred years have come and gone since Wilberforce and Thornton, Venn and Simeon, in the little "Eclectic" club in the busy city, or in the now famous house at Clapham, looked out over the plains of Hindostan all white for a harvest of souls no one as yet had dreamed of reaping. In that hundred years have arisen, mainly the resu of the prayerful counsels of that group of goo and earnest men, the vast Protestant missionar associations for which the present century (th nineteenth) now closing will be for ever celebrate associations connected with the Church of Englar and nobly supplemented with Nonconformist effor

To take as an example the largest of these, "th Church Missionary Society," its revenue in 1801–1802–3, 1803–4, respectively was £373, £566, £61 Its revenue in 1894–5 amounted to £264,538, an the figures increase considerably as year succeed year, the later years showing the most astoundin progress not only in the amounts contributed* an expended, but in the number and character of th devoted and earnest workers in the cause.

But the C.M.S., although the greatest, is onl one among these groups of toilers for God i distant lands. We must in this brief sketch ju quote the figures of the sister societies of th Church of England to complete our little outlin missionary picture.

Taking here the figures of 1894, and adding a together the income of the C.M.S., the S.P.G., and the annual revenues of the smaller societies c the Church of England, we arrive at the gran total of £572,712 spent in that year upon foreig mission work.

To these large sums must be added the annua income of joint missionary societies of churchme and Nonconformists, £211,486. English and Wels Nonconformists (including Wesleyans, Independ ents, Baptists, and various other Dissenting bodie annually expend £379,550, Scotch and Irish Pre byterians £195,944, while Roman Catholics ar credited with £15,879.‡

Surely the blessing of Almighty God rests upo these puny efforts of ours to spread abroad th kingdom of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ!

* Macaulay: "Essay on Lord Clive."

* In the C.M.S. Report for 1896–7 the receipts of the ye available for the Society's general purposes, reached the tot of £297,625.

† In the S.P.G. Report for 1896—pages 9 and 222—the *gro* income of the Society is put down as £133,515.

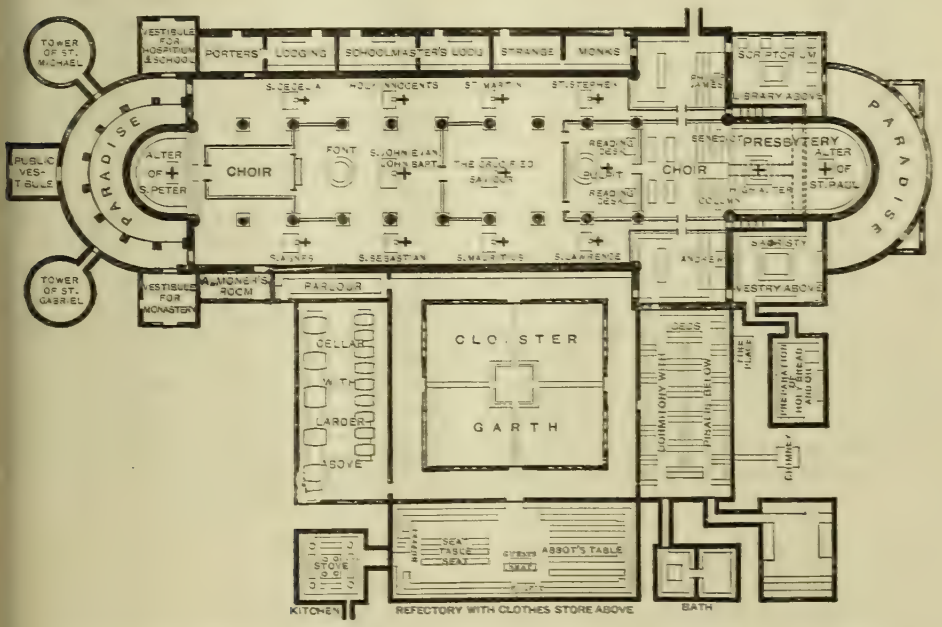
‡ The figures here given are quoted from the C.M.S. offici Report for 1895–6, the latter totals being according to Can Scott Robertson's annual analysis of British contributions foreign missions (C.M.S. Report, 1895–6, pages 59–60).

EXCURSUS H.

THE ORIENTATION OF THE EARLY CHRISTIAN CHURCHES.

·is a fact well known to the archæologist that it the peculiarity of the Basilican plan that its ɔrientation" is almost always *the reverse* of that lopted in the mediæval period, and which is the ıstom in modern churches. [The "Basilica" was .e name given by the Romans to their public ılls, used for the administration of justice or as exchanges." Some few of these were probably :tually converted into churches in the time of, or ter the period of, the Emperor Constantine. But .e ground plan of these buildings was, with some ɔcessary changes, generally followed in a large ɔportion of the early churches of the fourth and llowing centuries, when Christianity became the ligion of the Roman Empire.]

Now in these Basilicas there appears to have been no fixed principle of orientation. In the early Roman churches the practice of placing the porch in the east, and the altar and the apse at the western extremity, was usually though not universally adopted. Among the churches of the early centuries in the city of Rome only seven can be reckoned, which are an exception to what may be almost termed the primitive rule of the *western* sanctuary. As many as forty, on the other hand, have been enumerated, which possessed a western sanctuary, three of the five great Basilicas at Rome—the Vatican (St. Peter's), the Lateran (St. John, Lateran), and the Liberian (St. Mary Major)—being constructed with a *western* sanctuary. The



PLAN OF THE ABBATICAL CHURCH OF ST. GALL. (ASCRIBED BY MABILLON TO EGINHARD, EARLY IN NINTH CENTURY.)

(*From G. G. Scott's "English Church Architecture."*)

great Basilica at Tyre, burned in the Diocletian persecution, A.D. 303, and restored by Constantine, is described by Eusebius [H.E. viii. 2] as having its *entrance* at the east, and as a necessary consequence its sanctuary and altar at the west end. In like manner the Basilica built by Constantine at Jerusalem hard by the Holy Sepulchre had its three principal doors facing the rising sun; opposite at the *west* end was the apse and the altar. As time went on, in many of the more important churches we find an apse and a sanctuary *with* an altar at *both* ends of the sacred edifice. The celebrated plan of the abbey of St. Gall, supposed by Dom Mabillon to have been drawn by Eginhard, son-in-law of Charlemagne, early in the ninth century, shows us a vast abbey church with this double apse—the one at the west, the other at the east end of the church—each containing an altar and partially surrounded with an exedra, or bench of stone for ecclesiastical personages, the western altar being dedicated to St. Peter, the eastern to St. Paul.

This double apse was not uncommon in the more important churches of the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries, especially in the Rhine district of Germany. The ancient cathedrals of Trèves and Mayence, and the abbey of Laach, may be cited as well-known examples.

In England the metropolitan church of Canterbury, as described by Eadmer the Precentor (eleventh century), had a double apse, the western altar being dedicated to St. Mary. But it is in the *western* apse of Canterbury that we find the throne of the archbishop, while the monastic choir was placed at the eastern end of the church. This shows that the altar in the *western* apse, adjacent to the archiepiscopal throne, was undoubtedly in early times the great altar of the church. The recently-discovered Roman-British church at Silchester, destroyed probably by the Saxon invaders in the sixth century, was entered at the east end, and had its sanctuary and altar at the western extremity of the building. This church, being built evidently by Roman builders, followed the favourite Roman primitive plan of a western sanctuary.

It has been suggested, with high probability, that this arrangement of the double sanctuary grew out of the development of the monastic system. T monks requiring for their constant service an al and sanctuary of their own, the original weste sanctuary and altar being left for the peop gradually the monks' altar became the chief high altar, and the western apse and sanctuary w done away with; and thus the eastern sanctua in the churches of the Roman obedience, very ge erally in the mediæval cathedrals, abbeys, a churches, took the place of the primitive Basilic sanctuary, which, as we have seen, was, as a gene rule, at the western end.

While, however, it is indisputable that t "west-end" sanctuaries and altars were the p vailing though not the invariable type of t widely-spread primitive churches built in all pa of Christendom upon the Roman-Basilican pla there was another and perhaps an equally ancie type which preferred invariably the east end of t church for the sanctuary and altar. We find t Irish oratories and churches, of which a consid able number remain still with us, lie always e and west. The entrance of these ancient church and oratories is ever on the west, and a little advance of the east wall stands a stone altar front of a stone bench.

Ireland received its Christianity from Brita early in the fifth century. These churches, th without doubt roughly represent the plan usual Christian Britain in the fourth and fifth centuri There was therefore another primitive type church different from the Roman-Basilican abo described. Other peculiarities, too, belong to th early British churches; notably the eastern term ation, which, different to the Basilican, was alwa *square*. This pointed to Britain having origina received the Faith not from Rome, but from so Oriental missionaries. (One favourite, though a parently baseless, tradition, we know, sugge Joseph of Arimathæa as the founder of the chur at Glastonbury; another ascribes its foundation the apostles SS. Philip and James.) The instan above quoted of the Silchester church, with western sanctuary, is at once explained by the f that as Silchester was a Roman city, its chur or churches would naturally follow the Roma not the primitive British, type.

INDEX.

*An Asterisk, thus: * 227, denotes an Illustration.*

bbot, Archbishop, iv. *12; letter from, *13
blution of vessels, iv. 371
bsolutism: growth in England, iv. 20; the Church sides with, 23; ominous development of, 34; fall of, 38
ct of Uniformity, The, iv. 166
damnan, Life of Columba, i. 66
delhard, ii. 64
drian VI., iii. 7
dvertisements of Parker and Elizabeth, iii. 376
Ella of Deira, i. 115
gilbert, Bishop, i. 186
griculture, The Church and, i. 304; monks as teachers of, ii. 392
idan, i. 134; evangelistic work, 136; death, 141
igulf and Alcuin, i. *321
lasco, John, iii. 196, 216, 242
lban, Story of, i. 11; trial, *13; shrine, *21
lbert of York, i. 275
lchfleda, Princess, i. 152
lchfrid, King, i. 182
lcuin, i. 275; page from his Bible, *277; minister of Charlemagne, 320; letter to Ethelherd, 324; death, 320
ldfrid, King, and Wilfrid, i. 219, 226
ldhelm, i. 210, 250; church at Bradford, *249; songs, 251; bishop, 254
ldred of York, ii. 61-3; charter of, *61, 68
lexander VI., iii. 2
lfred, i. 2, 319, 367; at Athelney, 370; victory over Danes, 372; reign of, 373-82; work for the Church, 383; and English literature, 391; and the monasteries, 392; and Rome, 394; literary works, 402; in his study, *377; his jewel, *380
llen, Cardinal, and the Armada, iii. 400
ll Souls: origin of feast, i. 151
lphege, Archbishop, i. 451; martyred by Danes, *453; his body translated, ii. 26
ltars, Destruction of, iii. 207; the word, 224
merica, Discovery of, ii. 376, 430
nderida, Fate of, i. 19
ndrewes, Lancelot, iii. *456; tomb, 457; iv. 14
neurin the Bard, Poems of, 26, 469
Angles, The, i. 22, 59, 114; Gregory and the, 80
Anglican Church, The, iv. 1; continuity of, 450; in the nineteenth century, 419
Anglicanism, iv. 14, 87
Anglo-Saxon Church in the tenth century, i. 446; hierarchy of, 465; independence of, i. 2, 394, 465; ii. 19, 131; iii. 75
Anglo-Saxons, Tribes of, i. 22, 162.
Anna, King, i. 151
Annates, Abolition of, iii. 74, 76
Anselm, ii. 152; abbot of Bec, 154; archbishop of Canterbury, 155; seal, *156; disputes with the king, 158; charter of, *160; chapel at Canterbury, *164; and Roman claims, 165; death, 168
Apostolical succession, The, iii. 347; iv. 332
Appeals to Rome, i. 211, 223, 318; ii. 118, 158, 165, 192, 215, 248, 360, 371; Act for restraint of, iii. 51, 75
Appropriation of benefices, iii. 140
Archbishops of Canterbury, Roll of the, iv. 452
Architecture, Norman, ii. 136; modern church, iv. 438
Arius and his heresy, i. 16
Armada, The, iii. 406; effect in hatred of Roman Catholicism, 407
Arnold, Dr., iv. *317, 319; on the "Tracts for the Times," 337; his theology, 415
Arran, Earl of, ii. 372
Art, Ecclesiastical, i. 167, 206, 258, 292; ii. 392, 395; iv. 438
Arthur, The real king, i. 25
Articles of Religion, The forty-two, iii. 218; the thirty-nine, 364, *365; and Eucharistic doctrine, 367
Arundel, Archbishop, and the Lollards, ii. 331, 333
Ashdown, site and battle, i. *365
Aske, Robert, and the Pilgrimage of Grace, iii. 115; affixing proclamation at York, *117; executed, 119
Askew, Anne, Martyrdom of, iii. 171
Assandun, Battle of, ii. 10; church of, 24
Asser, i. 386
Assisi, ii. *261; St. Francis blessing, *273; church of St. Mary, *269
Athanasius, Testimony of, i. 17
Athelney, Isle of, i. *369; traditions of, 371
Athelstan, i. 410
Augmentations, Court of, iii. 111, 139
Augsburg, Council and Diet of, iii. 18
Augustine, Landing of, i. 79; enters Canterbury, *85; and the British bishops, 95, *97; extent of his work, 99; death, 102
Augustinians, Order of, ii. 279
Aust Cliff, i. *93; conference, 94
Authorised Version, The, iii. 161; iv. 6; preface to, iv. *5, 7
Avignon, Castle of the Popes, ii. *309; removal of papacy to, 311

B

Babington conspiracy, iii. 398
Badge for Waltham pilgrims, ii *64
Bagot, Dr., Bishop of Oxford, iv. *361
Baldwin, Archbishop, as a Crusader, ii. 231
Balliol College, Oxford, iv. *353
Bamborough Castle, i. *141
Bancroft, Archbishop, iv. 3, *4; the canons, 8; his severity, and its consequences, 11
Bangor antiphonary, Hymn from, i. 51
Bangor, Monastery of, i. 32
Bardic poems, The, i. 26, 28, 469
Barebones Parliament, iv. 135
Barlow, Bishop, iii. 227, 347
Basle, ii. *449
Bath, Roman remains at, i. *23
Baxter, Richard, iv. *180; before Judge Jeffreys, *181; death, 182
Bayeux tapestry, ii. 83; scenes from, *57, *83, *84, *85, *115, *116, *117
Beaufort, Cardinal, ii. 340; chantry at Winchester, *341
Bec, Monastery at, ii. 123, 152
Becket, Thomas, ii. 191; archbishop, 191; washing feet of beggars, *193; and the Constitutions of Clarendon, 194; flight, and reconciliation with the king, 195, 197; assassination, 199; canonisation, 204; pilgrimages to shrine, 206; relics of, *196; picture from MS. of quarrel with the

king, *197; watching the corpse, *201; relics of, and Colet, ii. 426; destruction of his shrine, iii. 130
Bede, The Venerable, i. 262; works, 263; "Ecclesiastical History," 25, 90, 94, 264, 300; page from, *29; page from "Commentary," *265; chair, *264; letter to bishop Egbert, 267; death, *269
Bede roll of Durham, ii. *411
Behmen and the mystics, iv. 242
Bellarmine, Cardinal, iii. 458; on the Roman hierarchy, ii. 378
Benedict, Bishop, i. 183, 203, 257
Benedict IX. and his crimes, ii. 94
Benedictine rule, i. 55, 420, 432; ii. 63, 95
Benedictines in England, ii. 227, 386
Benefices, Reason of the poverty of many, iii. 140
Benefit of clergy, iii. 71
Benignus, Bishop, i. 42
Benson, Archbishop, iv. *371; at the Lincoln judgment, *369
Berengar, and transubstantiation, ii. 126
Bernard of Clairvaux, St., ii. 220; vision of, *221; views on the Eucharist, 223; of the Virgin, 224; preaching the second Crusade, *225; hymns, 226
Berridge, John, iv. 263
Bertha, queen of Kent, i. 82, 103
Beveridge, Bishop, iv. 211
Beverley Minster, ii. 62
Bible, The English: Wyclif's, ii. 320, 330; iii. 152; Tyndale's, iii. *149, *154,* 155, 162; Coverdale's, *156, *157, 158; Matthew's, 158; Taverner's, 158; the Great, 159, *160, *161; the Bishops', 160, *369, *371, *372; the authorised version, 161, iv. 6; the Genevan, iii. 370; iv. 7; Rheims and Douai, iii. 371; revised version, iv. 444
Bible Society, The, iv. *277, 278
Bird, Bishop, iii. 228
Birinus, Bishop, i. 146
Bishop, A mediæval, ii. *285
Bishops, Appointment of, i. 395; ii. 55, 165; iii. 76
Bishops, Celtic, i. 46, 196, 203
Bishop's Bible, The, iii. 160, *369, *371, *372
Bishop's Book, The, iii. 152, 163
Bishop's War, iv. 36
Bishopsbourne Church, iii. *441
Black-book, on the monasteries, iii. 105
Black Death (*see* PLAGUE)
Black-letter days, iii. 359
"Boethius," Alfred's, page from, i. *389
Böhler, Peter, and John Wesley, iv. 247
Boisil, i. 234
Boleyn, Anne, iii. 43; portrait, *44; window in Windsor castle, *45; fall and death, 54
Bolingbroke, Viscount, iv. *221
Boniface V. and the Roman mission, i. 111; archbishop of Mainz and the Franks, 315; archbishop of Canterbury, ii. 287
Bonner, Bishop, iii. 229, 320; burning a man's hand, *321; close of life, 342
Bosworth, Battle of, ii. 364
Bradford, Doorway at, i. *248; church of Aldhelm, *249
Breaking of the bread before the people, iv. 374
Breviary, The, iii. 199
Bridget, St., i. 42; her double monasteries, 47, 57
Britain, Introduction of Christianity into, i. *5
British and Foreign School Society, iv. 299
British bishops and Augustine, i. 93, *97
British Church, Early, i. 11, 15; in Wales, 31; extermination of, 18, 22, 59; influence, 52; remains of, 18; and Augustine, 95, *97; and Laurence, *101, 104
Broad Church party, iv. 414
Brooks, Bishop, and trials of the martyred bishops, iii. 282, 284
Broughton, Hugh, iv. 6
Brunanburgh, Song of, i. *409, 410
Bruno of Toul (Leo IX.), ii. 95
Bruno, St., conferring the Carthusian habit, ii. *217
Bucer, Martin, iii. 196, 216; his "censura" on the Prayer-book, 222; remains burnt, 312
Bull, Bishop, iv. 210, 212
Bullinger: letter to the bishops, iii. 415
Bunyan, John, iv. 106, *109
Burnet, Bishop, iv. *213; on conformity, 216
Bury St. Edmunds, i. 363
Butler, Bishop, and his "Analogy," iv. *223
Byzantine cloisters, St. Paul's, Rome, ii. *105

C

Cadwallon, King, i. 126, 128
Cædmon: his poems, i. 171; illustrations to, *173, *176, *180, *181; his followers in song, 174
Cædwalla: charter to Wilfrid, i. *216
Calendar, The, iii. 358
Calvin to Somerset, iii. 198
Camaldoli, Monastery of, ii. *92, 218
Cambridge, in the time of Simeon, iv. 305; Clare College and King's Chapel, *304; Holy Trinity Church, *305; King's College Chapel, *309
Campeggio, Cardinal, iii. 47
Candles, Use of, iv. 371, 372
Canon law, ii. *213
Canons, Laudian, iv. 70
Canterbury, Old view of, iii. *265
Canterbury Cathedral, Rebuilding of, ii. 130; from south-west, iii. *317; St. Gabriel's Chapel, ii. *157; the choir, iii. *429; pilgrimages to, ii. 206
Canterbury, See of, founded, i. 86, 110; early history, 199; school of, 247; dignity and antiquity, 33[illegible]; succession of archbishops of, i[illegible]; *Appendix*
Canute, ii. 9; reign, 11-15; charact[illegible] and laws, 21-26; letter to t[illegible] English people, 22; a charter b[illegible] *13; making a donation to t[illegible] Church, *25
Capetown Cathedral, iv. *427
Cardan on Edward VI., iii. 190
Cardinalate, Office of the, ii. 238
Carmelites, Order of, ii. 279
Caroline books, i. 323
Caroline divines, The, iv. 178
Carthusians, The, ii. 219; of Londo[illegible] iii. 81; bloody suppression of, 91
Cartwright's "Admonition to Parli[illegible] ment," iii. *409
Catechism, The, iii. 204; Westmi[illegible] ster, iv. 147
Cathedrals, Modern use of, iv. 436
Caxton, William, ii. 376; showin[illegible] specimens of printing, *373
Cealchythe, Canons of, i. 330
Cecil, Richard, iv. 270
Cecil, Sir William (Lord Burleigh[illegible] iii. 334, *337; influence on t[illegible] Elizabethan settlement, 412; o[illegible] poses the three articles, 425; dea[illegible] and character, 447; Sir Robe[illegible] 450; iv. 24
Cedd, i. 158, 190
Celebrations, Rarity of, iv, 290
Celibacy, i. 422, 467; ii. 105, 133, 16[illegible] 170, 232, 282, 294, 347; abolish[illegible] in English Church, iii. 219; r[illegible] enacted under Mary, 243, 31[illegible] finally abolished, 356, 375
Celtic Church: its bishops, i. 4[illegible] characteristics, 107, 178; indepen[illegible] ence, 88, 106; liturgies, 34; mi[illegible] sionary work, 92, 108, 143, *15[illegible] 162, 298; relations with Rome, [illegible] 105, 144, 179, 188; tonsure, 4[illegible] monastic life, *33, 47, *61
Censer, 13th century, ii. *296
Censura, The, of Bucer, iii. 222
Ceolfrid, Abbot, i. 261
Chad, St., i. 162, 193, 203; death, 19[illegible]
Chalice, The mixed, iv. 371, 373
Chalice and paten of 1300, ii. *29[illegible] chalice veil, 17th century, iv. *68
Chamberlain, The, in a monastery, [illegible] 400
Chancellors, Ecclesiastical, ii 344
Charlemagne, and Alcuin, i. 276, 31[illegible] succession, 319; and question [illegible] images, 323; and the Danes, 33[illegible] coronation of, *285; a judgment [illegible] *317; portrait, *320; relics [illegible] *324, *325
Charles I., Marriage of, iv. 26; a[illegible] cession and contest with Parli[illegible] ment, 27; betrays Strafford, 3[illegible] war with Parliament, 40; surre[illegible] dered by the Scots, 130; trial a[illegible] execution, 131, *133
Charles II., iv. 155; letter from, *15[illegible] his Declaration of Indulgence, 17[illegible] profligacy, 174; at St. Paul's, *17[illegible] death, 184, *185
Charles V. and Erasmus, ii. 462; a[illegible] Luther, iii. 15

Chaucer: pictures of the Church, ii 319
Chavasse, F. J., on modern Evangelicalism, iv. 411
Charter, of Offa to Æthelmund, i. *309; of Edgar, *417; of William II. to the church, ii. *121; the Great, ii. 242
Charters of Exemption, i. 254
Charterhouse, Old, iii. *81, *93
Chasuble, The Westminster, ii. *397
Chichele, Archbishop, ii. 344, 347; pages from breviary, *344, *345
Chichester Cathedral, reliefs from, ii. *132, *133
Chillingworth and his book, iv. 84
Chivalry, Rise of, ii. 183
Christ before Pilate, from Psalter, ii. *45
Christ Church, Oxford, iv. *357; do. college, iii. *40
Christian Knowledge, Society for Promoting, iv. 210, 299, 469
"Christian Year," The, iv. 323
Chrodegang, Rule of, ii. 60, 63
Chronicle, Anglo-Saxon, ii. 115
Church, The, in Anglo-Saxon times, i. 446; in the 13th century, ii. 280; in the 14th, 297; in the 15th, 345, 376; in reign of Elizabeth, iii. 428; at the Restoration, iv. 176; in the early 18th century, 218; in the 19th, 286; a bond of national union, i. 280, 302; and land, ii. 164, 179; and popular rights, 234, 240; property of, iii. 88; influence of on England, iv. 446
Church Association, iv. 388
Church Missionary Society, iv. 278, 407; old committee room, *410; house, *412; board room, *413; statistics, 470
Churches, Norman, ii. 134, 142
Churches, Repair of, iv, 435
Churchyards, Neglect of, iv. 293
Circa, The, in a monastery, ii. 398
Cistercian order, ii. 210; its solitary character, and ruins of abbeys, 221; extent, 227
Citeaux, ii. 220
City life, Growth and miseries of, ii. 254
Civil War, The, iv. 40, 76, 126, 134
Clairvaux, Monastery of, ii. 222
Clapham Sect, The, iv. 276
Clapton Sect, The, iv. 296
Clarendon, Constitutions of, ii. 194, iii. 78; abrogated, ii. 206; but re-enacted, 207
Clarendon, Lord, iv. *173
Clarke, Dr. Samuel, iv. 230
Cleanliness, Neglect of, in monastic life, ii. 406
Clement V., ii. 298, 304, 311
Clement VII., iii. 9; and Henry VIII., 10, 47
Clement VIII. on Hooker, iii. 440
Clergy, Benefit of, iii. 71
Clergy, The numbers of mediæval, ii. 345; oppression under Commonwealth, iv. 147; degraded position in early 18th cent., 234. (*See also* CELIBACY, CONCUBINAGE, IGNORANCE, PLURALITIES, etc.)
Clermont, Council of, ii. 174
Clonmacnois, i. 50; relics of, *36, *44, *45, *48
Cloveshoe, Council of, i. 287, 331
Cluny, Monastery of, i. 420, ii. 95; reform at, 218
Cobham, Lord, ii. 333
Coifi, priest of Odin, i. 123
Colenso, bishop, iv. *425; the Colenso controversy, 426, 433
Colet, dean, ii. *420; sermon before Convocation, 422, *425; pilgrimage to Canterbury, 426; Oxford lectures, 431; attacks upon, and defence by the king, 432; school of St. Paul's, *433; and Savanarola, 434; Erasmus on his death, 435; influence on Erasmus, 452
Colliery legislation, iv. 396, *397
Collins, Anthony, iv. 220
Colman of Lindisfarne, i. 185
Columba, St., i. 59; embarkation, *65; landing-place, *69; character and appearance, 72; his austerities, 75; death, *76; creed, 78.
Columban, St., i. 52, 92
Commerce, Monks in, ii. 392
Commission of inquiry into the state of the monastic orders, iii. 99
Commonwealth, The, iv. 134
Communion, used as a term for the sacrament, iii. 194; in one kind, ii. 232; in both kinds, iii. 194; in Bohemia, *357; cup for (1573), iii. *132; first English order for, 195; its significance, 203; forbidden under Mary, 243; the Elizabethan, 340, *341
Comperta, The, concerning the monastic orders, iii. 106; facsimile from, *105; real character of, 107
Comprehension, Efforts towards, iv. 203
Concubinage amongst clergy, ii. 106
Conferences, Pan-Anglican, iv. 433
Confession: canon enjoining, ii. 246; enforced, 284; public and private, iii. 196
Conformity, Occasional, iv. 216
Congé d'Élire, iii. *77
Congress, The Church, iv. 431
Conquest, Norman, ii. 118; semi-religious character, 118, 126; results on the Church, 127; ecclesiastical changes, 134; era of church building, 134
Constantine, Emperor, i. 16
Constitutions of Clarendon, ii. 194; abrogated, 206; re-enacted, 207
Continental war, effect on the Church, iv. 286
Continuity of the Church, iv. 450
Controversy, Period of, iv. 218; the Deistical, 219; the Arian, 228
Conventicle Acts, The, iv. 170
Convents of nuns at the suppression, iii. 124; their work, 126
Convocation of clergy, ii. *453; of 1562 and the Articles, iii. 364; suppression of, iv. 232; resuscitation of, 428, *429
Cope, The Sion, ii. *289
Cosin, Bishop, iv. 163
Courtenay, Archbishop, and Wyclif, ii. 326
Courts, Ecclesiastical, iii. 29, 39; reformed, 63
Coverdale, Myles, and his Bible, iii. *156, *157, 158, 227, 348; portrait, *228
Cowper, William, iv. 258, *273; his house at Olney, *272
Cranmer, Thomas, and the divorce, iii. 48; archbishop, 50; influence with Henry VIII., 172; character, 178, 307; work as a Reformer, 191; and the order of Communion, 195; book on the Sacrament, 218, 280, 304; and the succession, 231; his last official act, 237; protest against the Mass, and arrest, 239; at Traitors' Gate, *273; first trial at Oxford, 272; second trial, 278; recantations, 295, 299; degradation, 296; scene in St. Mary's, 302, *305; his last testimony, 304; martyrdom, 306; services to the Church, 307; band that bound him to the stake, *312; title-page bearing his name, *314
Cranmer's Bible, iii. 159
Cromwell, Oliver, iv. 109; his family, 111; letter from, *113, *117; his army, 114; character and conduct in Ireland, 115; public work, 119; death, *121; desecration of his remains, 123, 160; his Ironsides, 115, 127; supreme power, 130; seizes the king, 131; Protector, 136, *137; failure to destroy the Church, 138; at Ely cathedral, 150; preaching, from caricature, *153
Cromwell, Richard, iv. *154, 158
Cromwell, Thomas, iii. 39; portrait, *65; vicar-general, 86; execution, 88, 134, his monastic commission, 99
Cross, "Invention" of the, ii. *173
Cross at Whalley, i. *272
Cross, Sign of the, iv. 375
Crown, The, and Church, iii. 57; power of, i. 6; iii. 58, 107; iv. 17
Crusades, The, ii. 172; Peter the Hermit, 174; loss of life in, 175; effects in consolidating Papal power, 176; increasing ecclesiastical property, 179; development of Mariolatry, 183; St. Bernard preaching, *225; Crusaders on the march, *233
Custos operum, in a monastery, ii. 398
Cuthbert, St., i. 217, 233; with head of Oswald, *152; entreated by Egfrid, *237; death, 239; relics, *240, *241, *244, *245; legend of the remains, 244
Cynegils of Wessex, i. 146
Cynewulf the poet, i. 174

D

Dagan and Laurence, i. *101, 105

Damiani, Cardinal, and Mariolatry, ii. 182
Danegelt, i. *345, 346
Danes, The, i. 332; first raids in England, 279, 335; on Continent, 336; in Ireland, 340; in Normandy, 344; in Europe generally, 351; at York, 353; hatred of Christianity, 343, 348, 363; traces in modern England, 364; defeat by Alfred, 372; and Athelstan, 410; coming up the Channel, *357; a descent of, *361; supremacy of, ii. 2; massacre of the, ii. 6
Danish supremacy, ii. 2; conquest by Swein, 7; results, 13
Dante: on Anselm, ii. 169; on St. Bernard, 226
David, St., i. 32, 34
Day, Bishop, iii. 230
Declaration, The, of Henry VIII. on the monasteries, iii. 105
Decretals, False, i. 394
Deepdale abbey: chancel arch, iii. *143
Deerhurst church, Saxon work in, ii. *8, *9
Deira, Kingdom of, i. 115
Destruction of shrines and relics, iii. *125, 126; of books, 134; of buildings, *135
Diocesan Conferences, iv. 432
Directory for Public Worship, The, iv. 144
Dixon, Canon, on the suppression of the monasteries, iii. 98, 107, 134
Domesday book, ii. 144, *145
Dominic, St., ii. 271; and the Albigensian war, 272, 472; and the Rosary, 275; chapel at Bologna, *277; and the Inquisition, 276, 471; portrait, *278
Dominicans, Order of, ii. 274; and the Inquisition, 291, 472
Dooms or laws of Ethelbert, i. 102; of Ina, 165
Dorchester Abbey, i. *145
Douai Bible, iii. 372
Dream of the Rood, i. 175, 399
Druidism and Christianity, i. 15, *17
Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, iii. 186; Guildford, 187; and Lady Jane Grey, 230
Dunstan, i. 412; revives monasticism, 422, 432; and Edwy, 424; archbishop and minister, 431; lives of, 440; his canons, 446; at tomb of Odo, *427; last sermon, *437; drawing ascribed to him, *441
Durham Cathedral, ii. 136, *137; choir, iv. 297
"Durham, Rites of": picture of life in a great monastery, ii. 394

E

Eadbald, i. 108
Eadmer: biography of Anselm, ii. 152, 168
Eadsige, Archbishop, ii. 58
Eanfleda, Princess, i. 120; queen, 182
Eanswith and Folkestone, i. 111
East Anglia, i. 118, 147, 280
Easter, Differences about, i. 95, 184
Eastward position, The, iv. 371, *372, *373, *471
Eata: Celtic bishop, i. 184, 190, 234
Ebbsfleet, Augustine lands at, i. 82
Ecclesiastical Courts in England, ii. 131, 191; iii. 29, 63
"Ecclesiastical Polity," Hooker's, iii. 434; title-page of, *437
Eccleston on the Friars, ii. 258, 262
Edgar Atheling, ii. 62
Edgar, King, i. 431; and Dunstan, 412
Edith, Queen, ii. 79
Edith (Matilda), Queen, ii. 82, 163
Edmund and Dunstan, i. 414
Edmund Ironside, ii. 5, 9; divides England with Canute, and death, 10
Edmund, St., i 362; ii. 8; abbey, i. 363
Edmund, St., of Canterbury, ii. 250
Edred, King, i. 427
Education: growth of, ii. 375; loss to, in suppression of monasteries, iii. 142; religious, iv. 403
Edward the Confessor, ii. 6; accession, 16, 42; character and purpose, 27, 48; reign, 45; his laws, 49, 243; relations with the Church, 51; the Church in his reign, 66; lives of, 74; death-vision, 79; death, *80; fame, 85; re-interment, 90; in church, *53; and Westminster abbey, *73; shrine, *89
Edward the Elder, i. 407
Edward the Martyr, Death of, i. *433, 435
Edward I.: devises a Parliament, ii. 287; confiscates half the Church revenue, 288; mortmain and other measures, 288; resists the Pope, 290
Edward II., ii. 297; head, *298; shrine, *299
Edward III., ii. 308; statute of provisors, and præmunire, 310; glory and degradation, 324
Edward IV., ii. 343, 362
Edward VI., iii. 185, diary, *185, *189, *233; his character, 189; portrait, *200; death, 230; injunctions of, 192; burial, 237
Edwin of Northumbria, i. 111, 118; his kingdom, 119; marriage, 120; conversion, 123; death, *125
Edwy and Dunstan, i. 428, *429
Egbert, archbishop of York, i. 274; Bede's letter to him, 267
Egbert of England, i. 284, 301; and the Church, 338, 350
Egbert of Kent, i. 198
Egfrid, King, i. 206; and Wilfrid, 208; death, 218
Eleanor, Queen, ii. 187
Elfleda: princess and abbess, i. 170, 226
Elfric: bishop and grammarian, i. 451; homilies of, 450, 455; ii. 128; epistles, 461; Old Testament translations, pages from, *457, *461; doctrine of the Eucharist, iii. 367
Elgiva, Story of, i. 428
Eliot, Sir John, iv. 27, *29; death in the Tower, 31
Elizabeth: accession of, iii. 326; early life, 331; room in the Tower, *328; autograph M.S., *329; examined by Romish bishops, *333; religious views changed by Pope's insolence, 336; reclaims jurisdiction in the Church, 339; overtures from the Pope, 355; first Convocation under, 362; and the Articles, 364; the Church under, 372; and marriage of clergy, 375; tolerates Romanism, 388; excommunicated by the Pope, 388, 394; Roman Catholic plots against, 394; her murder sanctioned by the Pope and Philip, 398; quarrels with Grindal, 421; supports Whitgift, 425; last days and death, *449; influence on the Church, 451; effigy, *452
Elizabethan reformation, iii. 339; church, 378, 428; literature, 383; drama, 385; bishops and divines, 409, 455; church settlement, 427, 451, 459; Christmas-day service, *433; the Elizabethan age, 446
Ely, i. 208; view, *213; cathedral, *138
Emma of Normandy, ii. 5; "Encomium" of, 21
"Encomium Moriæ," Illustrations from, ii. 465
Endowments, Origin of, i. 310
Engagement, The, of Cromwell, iv. 150
England: Name of, i. 115, 162, 286; and Romish dominion, i. 318 (*see also* ROME, PAPACY, etc.); influence of the Church on, i. 280, 302; ii. 234, 240; iv. 23, 446
Engles, or Angles, i. 114, 147
English life, Changes in, ii. 3
Episcopacy, Hooker on, iii. 439
Episcopate: early English, i. 308; Saxon, 465; Norman changes in, ii. 133; recent growth of, iv. 433
Erasmus: letters of, ii. 412, *413; and Luther, 414, 418, iii. 23; his view on reformation, ii. 415; at Basle, 419; letter from Wicelius to, 420; pilgrimage with Colet, 426; of Colet, 431; life, 450; his Greek Testament, 454, *461; portrait, *457; honours and last days, 460; statue at Rotterdam, *464; "Encomium Moriæ," *465
Eric the Red, i. 339
Ermenburga, Queen, i. 210, 214
"Essays and Reviews" controversy, iv. 421
Ethandune, Battle of, i. 372
Ethelbert of Kent, i. 82, 99, 103; burial, *105, 108
Ethelburga, i. 111; her convent, 127
Etheldreda, Queen, i. 208, 212
Ethelfleda, Lady of the Mercians, 392, 407
Ethelfrid the Ravager, i. 116; slaughters monks at Chester, *117; his death, 119
Ethelhard of Canterbury, i. 324
Ethelred of Mercia, i. 271

Ethelred of Wessex, i. 348, 359; victory over Danes, and death, 367
Ethelred the Unready, i. 412, 435; reign, ii. 2; Norman marriage, 5; massacre of Danes, 6; flight and return, 7; death, 9
Ethelwald, bishop, Ring of, *340
Ethelwold, i. 418; page from his "Benedictional," *421
Ethelwulf of Wessex, i. 342; ring, *340
Eucharist, Doctrine of the, i. 455, ii. 126; St. Bernard on, ii. 223, 246, iii. 180; English divines on the, 182, 367; Hooker, 438
Evangelical party, The, iv. 262; its characteristic teaching, 271; defects in ditto, 273; its work, 274; discouraged by hierarchy, 283; reasons of its weakness, 387; the Church Association, 388; its real power and influence, 390; philanthropic work 391; recent developments, 400
Evangelical revival, The, iv. 262
Evangelisation of England, i. 107, 163, 179
Evelyn on the Church in 1655, iv. 152
Evesham, Bell-tower at, ii. *409; archway at, iii. *148
Excesses of reformers, ii. 419
Excommunication, Effects of, ii. 284

F

Factory legislation, iv. 393
Fagius, Paul, iii. 196, 216; his remains burnt, 312
Falaise Castle, ii. *40
Farish, William, iv. 312
Farne Island and St. Cuthbert, i. 236
Fathers, Library of the, iv. 341
Fécamp, ii. 75; corn-chest at, ii. *29
Feckenham, Abbot, and the body of Edward the Confessor, ii. 90
Felix, Bishop, i. 148
Female monasteries, i. 47, 57, 164, 297, iii. 124; culture in, i. 252, 295
Finan of Lindisfarne, i. 158, 183
Finnian, i. 34, 60
Fisher, bishop of Rochester, iii. 63; execution, 80
Fitzurse, Reginald, ii. 198
Five-Mile Act, The, iv. 170
Flambard, Ralph, ii. 151
Fletcher, John, of Madeley, iv. 268, *269
Fleury, Monastery of, i. 424
Fontevraud, Monastery of, ii. 219
Foreign artificers, i. 167, 206, 258
Fountains Abbey, iii. *137
Fox, bishop of Winchester, ii. 381
Foxe, bishop of Hereford, iii. 47
Foxe, John, the martyrologist, iii *280, *281
Francis, St., of Assisi, ii. 256; interview with the Pope, *257; his order of Franciscans, 256, 259; preaching to the birds, *265; receiving the stigmata, *268; blessing Assisi, *273
Franciscans: foundation of the, ii. 256; their learning and influence, 260; work and poverty, 264; formation of two schools, 292
Frankfort, Council of, i. 323
Franks, Empire of, i. 312; map, *313; break-up of, 326
Franks casket, The, i. *408
Friars, The, ii. 254, 290, 318, 411; their poverty, 263; suppression, iii 81, 122
Friars Observant suppressed, iii, 81
Frisia, Missions in, i. 314
Frith, John, iii. 83; and Cranmer, 84; martyrdom, 85
Froude, J. A., on the clergy, iv. 287
Froude, Richard Hurrell, iv. 324, 338; his "Remains," 346
Furness Abbey, iii, *121
Fursey, i. 148; effect of his visions on Roman doctrine, 150

G

Games of Novices, Traces of, in Gloucester and other cathedrals, ii. 404
Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, iii. 47, 163; and Act of Six Articles, 169; opposes Reformation, 198; reply to Cranmer on the Sacrament ,218; restored by Mary, 238; patriotism, 249; death, 252; on the martyrs, 311; portrait, *320; chantry at Winchester, *325
Gasquet, Dr., on the mediæval English hierarchy, ii. 376; on monasticism in England, 386, and iii, 98, 110; on the amount of spoil, 138
Geneva, iii. *229
Genevan Bible, The, iii. 370; iv. 7
German Reformation, iii. 16
Germany, Attempts at ecclesiastical union with, iii. 162
Gildas, Works of, i. 24, 26, 469
Glass-painting for modern churches, iv. 442
Glastonbury: legend of, i. 14; and Dunstan, 414; tumult at, ii. 144
Glastonbury Abbey, iii. *136; St. Joseph's chapel at, i. *16; Lady Chapel at, *416; plan of monastery, ii. *400; abbot's kitchen, *401
Gloucester, Foundation of, i. 168
Gloucester Cathedral, ii. 140; and Domesday Book, 144; nave, *141; lady chapel, *181; general view, *393; cloisters, *405; east window, iii. *193; traces of games in, ii. 404; Laud's communion rails at, iv. 59, *73
Godfrey de Bouillon, ii. 175, 179
Godmundham, Assembly at, i. 122
Godwin, Earl, ii. 14, 43; banished, 46
Goethe on English clergy, iv. 238
Goldsmith, Oliver, iv. *237; picture of the clergy, 238
Goodrich, Bishop, iii. 227
Gorm of Denmark, ii. 2
Gospel (1138) of St. Mark, ii. *153
Gospel-books: Lindisfarne, i. *133, *160, *293; Kells, *49; St. Chad, *193; from St. Augustine's monastery, *201; from coffin of St. Cuthbert, *233
Gothic architecture, iv. 439; Sir Gilbert Scott on, 442
Grandimontan monks, ii. 219
Gravestones at Hartlepool, i. *393, *460
Gray's "Elegy," iv. *295
Great Bible, The, iii. 159, *160, *161
Greek learning, Revival of, i. 8, ii. 376, 430, 452; importance to Christianity, 454
Green, Mr. J. R., on the suppression of the monasteries, iii. 110
Gregory the Great, i. 79; his zeal, 87; "Non Angli sed angeli," *80; policy of Roman domination, 88, 93; death, 102
Gregory XIII. sanctions the murder of Elizabeth, iii. 398
Grey, Lady Jane, iii. 230, 234; refusing the crown, *237; death, 251
Grimshaw, William, iv. 263
Grindal, Archbishop, iii. *413; reply to the Puritans, 417; Spenser's description of him, 419, 472; collision with Elizabeth, 420; letter to the Council, *421
Grocyn: teaches Greek, ii. 430
Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln, ii. 250; influence on Simon de Montfort, 253; and the Franciscans, 262
Guest-hall, Scene in a, i. *169
Guest-master, The, in a monastery, ii. 399
Guillaume Long-sword of Normandy, ii. 30
Gunpowder, Invention of, ii. 365
Guthrun, i. 367, 369, 372

H

Hadrian, i. 200
Halfdene the Dane, i. 369
Hampden, Dr., iv. 344, *345
Hampden, John, iv. 34, 95, *97
Hampton Court Conference, iv. 3
Hampton Court Palace, iii. *32
Harding, Stephen, ii. 220
Harold Bluetooth, ii. 2
Harold of England, ii. 15, 44, 108 builds Waltham abbey, 63; greatness of character, 111; receiving tidings of the Norman landing, *113; oath to William, 117; death at Hastings, 118
Harold Hardrada, ii. 42; invasion of England, 110; death, 111
Harold Harefoot, ii. 15
Harthacanute, ii. 15; grant of land by, *17
Harvey, James, iv. 244, 263
Hatfield, Battle of, i. 126; synod, 204
Head of the Church, Title of, iii. 67; declaration of eight bishops, *73, 82

Heath, Bishop, iii. 230
Heavenfield, Battle of, i. 130
Helena, Empress, i. 16
Henrietta Maria, iv. *25
Henry I.: coronation, ii. *161; death, 170; struggle with and concessions to the Church, 165, 170
Henry II., ii. 186; his laws, 190; choice of Becket as chancellor, and archbishop, 191; Constitutions of Clarendon, and quarrel with Becket, 194; reconciliation, 197; death of Becket, 200; penance at the tomb, *205; carries on the policy of Clarendon, 207; last troubles and death, 211; tomb, *212; his resistance to canon law, 213
Henry III., ii. 245; reign, 285; effigy, *286
Henry IV., ii. 332, 336
Henry V., ii. 338
Henry VI., ii. 339
Henry VII.: tomb, ii. *363; chapel, *365; doorway to chapel, *364; character, 380
Henry VIII., iii. 28, 41; marriage with Katharine of Arragon, 42; Anne Boleyn, 43; character, 46, 103; divorce proceedings, 47; first ecclesiastical legislation, 64; struggle and submission of the clergy, 66, 79; and the English Bible, 66, 158; Act of Succession, 80; Papal excommunication, 95; suppresses the monasteries, 96, 102; proclamation on rites and ceremonies, 167; the Act of Six Articles, 168; and the office of Communion, 182; death, 184; pamphlet against Luther, *57; in his Parliament, *61; portrait, *69; Great Seal, *100
Henry Stuart, Prince, iv. 14
Herbert, George, and Bemerton, iv. 87, *88, *89, *90
Hereford Missal: pages with erasures, iii. *89, *129
Hereswitha, Queen, i. 166
Heresy, Laws against, ii. 332, 347; iii. 270
Heretics, Act for punishment of, iii. 79
Herlwin of Bec, ii. 123
Hermann of Cologne, and the English offices, iii. 196, 204
Hertford, Synod of, i. 204
Hexham, Old bucket found at, i. *352
Hexham abbey, i. 207; crypt, *229; old cross, *232
Heylin on the Church of England, iii. 376
Hierarchy, English, on eve of the Reformation, ii. 376; its political character, 379
High Commission, Court of, iv. 18, 35; abolished, 39; re-established by James II., 186
Higher Criticism, The, iv. 424
Hilda of Whitby, i. 165; and Cædmon, 172; at Council of Whitby, 186
Hildebrand (Gregory VII.), ii. 96; portrait, *99; work, 103; and Emperor Henry IV., *101; and the question of celibacy, ii. 105
Hodgkins, Bishop, iii. 348
Hogarth, Caricatures by, iv. *216, *225, *229, *233, *241
Holbeach, Bishop, iii. 227
Holgate, Bishop, iii. 228
Holy days, ii. 206
Holy Island, i. *132
Holy Roman Empire, i. 319
Homilies, Books of, iii. 191, 360
Honorius I. and Birinus, i. 147
Hooker, Richard, iii. 435, *436; his "Ecclesiastical Polity," 436; King James on, 440; his marriage, 442; death, 444; on Eucharistic doctrine, i. 460; iii. 367, 438
Hooper, Bishop, iii. 208; portrait, *209; martyrdom, *213, 270
Hordarian, The, in a monastery, ii. 399
Horsley, Bishop, on Evangelicalism, iv. 284; on neglect of week-day services, 291
Houghton: Carthusian prior, iii. 91
Howley, Bishop, iv. *291; on the clergy, 288
Huntingdon, Countess of, iv. *264
Huntsman salt-cellar, ii. *396
Hutten, Ulrich von, ii. 437; iii. 24
Hymns in Services, iv. 290; Early English, with musical notation, ii. *21 *366

I

Iconoclasm in churches, iii. 193, 226; iv. 150
Ida the Flame-bearer, i. 115
Ignorance amongst the clergy, ii. 382
Images in the Church, i. 323; Pecock on, ii. 352; removal of, iii. 192, 225
Ina, king of Wessex, i. 283; "dooms" or laws of, 165
Independence of Saxon Church, i. 2, 394, 465; ii. 19, 131; iii. 75
Independents, The, iv. 128, 146
Indulgence, Declaration of, by James II., iv. 188, *189
Indulgences, ii. 317, 335; iii. *13, 14
Infirmarian, The, in a monastery, ii. 399
Injunctions of Edward VI., iii. 191
Injunctions for Readers, in the time of Elizabeth, iii. 373
Innocent III. and John, ii. 236; bull of, *237, annuls Magna Carta, 244; and Francis of Assisi, *257
Innocent VIII., iii. 2
Inquisition, The, ii. 291
Interdict under John, ii. 238; effects of an, 284
"Institution of a Christian Man," iii. 152
Iona, i. 63, 70; Maclean's Cross, *72; cathedral, *73; tombs of the kings, *78; its rule, 140
Ireland, Celtic church of, i. 34; its growth and zeal, 39; map of, *37; schools, 42, 50; missionary work, 52; England's debt to, 60; and Romanism, iv. 1
Irish saints, i. 43; monasteries, 43, 50
Islington Clerical Meeting, iv. 409
Ivar the Boneless, i. 352; his massacres, 360; and King Edmund, 362

J

Jaenbert and Charlemagne, i. 328
James the Deacon, i. 124, 135, 182, 186
James I., iv. 3; additions to Prayer-book, 5; three canons enforced, 11; death, 15; portrait, *16; character, 20; autocratic views, 21; unpopular Romanist and foreign policy, 26
James II., iv. 184; attempts to restore Romanism, 186; Declaration of Indulgence, 188, *189; aggression on the universities, 188; leaves the kingdom, 196; and relics of Edward the Confessor, ii. 90
Jarrow, i. 259; window in, *260
Jesuits, The, iii. 395, 457
Jewel, Bishop, iii. 350, *355; his challenge, 351; his "apology," 352, *353; patron of Hooker, 354; services to the church, 412, 428; Oakeley on, iv. 355
Joan of Arc and coronation of Charles VII., ii. *337
John: infamy of, ii. 235; cedes the kingdom to the Pope, 239, 284; death, 244; tomb at Worcester, *245; order for burial there, *229
Jones of Layland, iv. 294
Joseph of Arimathæa: legend, i. 14
Judith and Alfred, i. *401
Julius II., iii. 3; satire on, 4; portrait, *5
Justus, i. 87, 99, 108
Jutes, The, i. 22, 112; landing of, *25
Juxon, bishop and treasurer, iv. 34; archbishop, 160, *161

K

Katharine of Arragon, Queen, iii. 42; divorce, 52; first trial, *49
Keble, John, iv. *321, 332, 336
Kells, Book of, i. *49
Kemp, Archbishop: oath to the Pope, ii. 358
Ken, Bishop, iv. 207, *209, 210
Kent, History of, i. 286
Keswick Convention, iv. 407, *408
Kildare Cathedral, i. *56; St. Bridget's house at, 58
King-monks, Anglo-Saxon, i. 287
King's Book, The, iii. 172
King's College chapel, Cambridge, ii. *392
Kirkstall Abbey, iii. *144
Kingsley, Charles, iv. *417
Knox, John, iii. 214; preaching, *217; and Scottish Protestantism, iv. 2
"Kyrie rex splendens," MS. of, i. *444

L

Ladies, Saxon, i. *468
Lambeth, 1281, Council of, ii. 294
Lambeth Articles, Whitgift's, iii. 454

Lambeth Palace, iv. *419; chapel, iii. *381
Land, large proportion in hands of the Church after the Conquest, ii 146; further acquisitions during Crusades, 179
Lanfranc, ii. 36; early life, 122; reception by Herlwin at Bec, *124; friendship with William I., 125; and transubstantiation, 126; becomes archbishop, 128; work in England, 130; death, 150; influence on English monasticism, 408
Langton, Stephen, ii. 236; seal, *238; patriotic attitude, 240, 243
Lateran, Fourth Council, ii. 246, 283
Latimer, bishop, his sermon, iii. 36; on the king's Declaration concerning monasteries, 106; on transubstantiation, *165; resignation and poverty, 171; portrait, *177; influence on Cranmer, 179; preaching, *196, *292; arrest by Mary, 238, 270; trial at Oxford, 271, *277; second trial, 284; martyrdom, 290
Latin tongue, Use of, i. 463; influence on solidarity of the church, ii. 282
Latitudinarians, The, iv. 206, 217
Laud, William, iv. 30; impeached by Long Parliament, 38; his library at Oxford, *41; early life, 43; relics, *44 *48, 69; work at Gloucester, *45, *73; influence with Charles and Buckingham, 46; controversy with the Jesuit Fisher, 47, *53, 83; views of the royal prerogative, 49; primacy, 51; his absolute policy as minister, 51; page from his Scottish prayer-book, *49; his church policy, 54; letter from Charles to, *57; certificate of dioceses, *61; services to the church, 64, 82; work at Oxford, 66; Laudian canons, 70; trial and execution, 76, *81, *85; effect of his policy, 139
Laudian canons, The, iv. 70
Laurence, i. 102; and Dagan, *101, 106; and St. Peter, 109
"Laus Perennis," i. *57
Law, Roman, ii. 213
Law, William, iv. 242; his "Serious Call," 243
Laymen, House of, iv. 431
Legates, Roman, i. 330, ii. 91, 100, 128, 132, 178, 240, 247; a legate's court, ii. *357; his oath, 358; last official in England, iii. 53; Pole as, 259
Leland, Dr. John, iv. 222
Leo X., iii. 6; and Luther, 15
Leo XIII. and the Bull "Apostolicæ Curæ," iv. 379
Leofric, Earl, ii. 44; and Godiva, *69
Leprosy in England, ii. 255, 259
Lichfield, Arch-see of, i. 329
Lincoln Cathedral, ii. 138, iv. *316; choir of, ii. *252
Lincoln judgment, The, iv. *369, 370
Lindisfarne, i. 135; priory ruins, *163, *333; gospel-book, *133, *160, *293
Literature in the early English Church, i. 246, 270; in Alfred's reign, 406; revival in England, ii. 210
Littlemore church, iv. *365
Liturgies, Celtic, i. 34; of Chrysostom, ii. 182; early English, iii. 176, 199
Llancarvan: monastery, i. 32
Llandaff: monastery, i. 32
Locke, John, iv. *226
Lollards, The, ii. 321; martyrs, 322
Long Parliament, iv. 38, 76, 126, 128, 131; Pride's Purge, 132; hostility to the Church, 139; "root and branch" bill, 140; summons Westminster Assembly, 142; persecution of the Church, 147
London, Dr., and the monastic suppression, iii. 101, 123
London, Growth of, ii. 14, 73
London Missionary Society, The, iv. 279
Luitbrand, i. 83, 103
Luther and Erasmus, ii. 415, iii. 21; portrait, ii. *416; life, iii. 12; burns the Pope's bull, 15, *17; his German Bible, 16; death, 18; character and theology, 19; translating Bible, *20; autograph inscription by, *21; page from German Bible, *25
Lutheranism, Defects in, iii. 21
Lutterworth Church, ii. *335; font, *328; pulpit, *317
Luxeuil, Monastery of, i. *53, 106; influence and rule, 55
Lyminge Church, i. *127

M

Macbeth, King, ii. 46
Magdalen College, Oxford, iv. *356; and James II., iv. 188
Magna Carta, ii. *241
Mailduf and Malmesbury, i. 250
Malmesbury, i. 252; abbey, *281
Manchester, Lord, and the church, iv. 149
Manichæism, ii. 272
Manners-Sutton, Archbishop, iv. 298
Manuscripts, Writing of, i. 293
Marian bishops, The, iii. 342
Marian exiles, The, iii. 324
Marriage: among Anglo-Saxons, i. 467; of the clergy, iii. 219, 375
Marriott, Charles, iv. 326, *341, 343
Martel, Charles, i. 312, 319
Martyr, Peter, iii. 196, 216, 240; outrage on his wife's remains, 312
Martyrs, Marian, iii. 270, 278, 310; the memorial at Oxford, *301; relics of, 312; report to bishop Bonner on two, *313
Mary, Queen, pronounced illegitimate, iii 54; her mass, 233; accession, 235; coronation, *241; real influence for the Reformation, 244, 315; her marriage with Philip and its results, 248; portrait, *253; the great persecution, 269; her ecclesiastics, 319; character, misfortunes, failure, and death, 322
Mary Queen of Scots, iii. 388; reproved by Knox, *389; letter from, *392; portrait, *393; Burleigh's ground-plan for her trial, *397; execution, *401; the centre of Romanist conspiracies, 391; effigy, *453
Maserfield, Battle of, i. 153; relics of, *161
Mass: the word, i. 472; Henry VIII. and the, iii. 182; symbolism of the, 203; princess Mary and the, 232; restoration of the, 236; doctrine of, 271
Masses for the dead, ii. 371
Matilda, Queen, ii. 35, 84; her abbey at Caen, *125; death, 146
Matthew's Bible, iii. 158
Maurice, Frederick Denison, iv. *417
Maurilius of Rouen, ii. 121
Mayflower, Puritans in the, iv. *9, 11
Medals, Political, iv. *184, 191-8
Melancthon and Erasmus, iii. 23
Mellitus, i. 87, 100, 108
Melrose abbey, iii. *145
Mendoza: on the Roman Catholic movement in England, iii. 395; expelled, 396
Mercia, Kingdom of, i. 115, 151, 281
Merton, Battle at, i. 367
Methodism: origin of, iv. 243; rapid growth, 247; separation from the Church, 249, 259; influence on Anglicanism, 262, 285
Methodists, The, iv. 244, *245; separate from the Church, 259; ridicule of, 282
Metropolitan, Title of, iii. 83
Middle Ages, Close of the, ii. 362
Mildmay Conferences, iv. 406
Milner, Dean, iv. 268, 312
Milner, Joseph, iv. 268
Milton, John, iv. 98; earlier Puritan spirit in his poems, 100; visit from Cromwell, *101; and "Paradise Lost," *105
Ministers of religion, Loss of, iii. 140
Missionary effort in the Church, iv. 409
Modonnoc, Legend of, i. 34
Mohammedans, Oppression of pilgrims by, ii. 173
Monasteries: in Wales, i. 31; in Ireland, 43, 50; double, 47, 57, 168; Saxon, 291, 422; Alfred's restoration of, 392; Norman, ii. 227; small, suppressed by Wolsey, iii. 38; the lesser, suppressed, 96; the great commission for suppressing, 99, 111; the "comperta," 106; general iniquity of the confiscation, 108; method of confiscation, 112, 132; loss and destruction, 134; loss to the poor, 141; to education, 142; good results of the suppression, 146
Monastery: scenes at the gate of a, ii. *385, *389; officers and discipline of a, 397; daily life in, 402; refectory of a, *404
Monastic charity, i. *381
Monastic life: decline, ii. 390, 393; organisation and method, 391; picture of, in "Rites of Durham," 396; daily routine, 402; discipline, 407; its cardinal error and selfishness, 409; un-English character, iii. 145; Celtic, i. *33, *61

Monastic orders, The, ii. 228; suppression of, iii. 96; their alleged guilt, 97; and Roman supremacy, 99; charges against, 105; their real character, 107
Monastic rules, ii. 228
Monasticism: origin of, i. 44; in Early English life, 287; great Danish suppression, 354; decline in England, 391; on Continent, 419; revival under Dunstan, 422, 432; at Cluny, 419. ii. 95; Norman revival, ii. 136, 388; great renaissance of, 216, 227; in 15th century, 384; statistics, 387; decline, 389; uselessness of, 393; selfishness, 410; fall of, i. 7, iii. 145
Monk, The life of a, ii. 402
Monkwearmouth Church, i. *256; Saxon doorway in, *279
Monothelism, i. 214
Moravians, and Wesley, iv. 246
More, Sir Thomas: on cardinal Morton, ii. 383; on Mariolatry, 429; life, 436; portrait, *437; Erasmus on, 438; Henry VIII. and, 440, iii. 62; the "Utopia," ii. 442; trial, 446; taking leave of his daughter, *445; his execution, 447, iii. 60; house at Chelsea, ii. *448; letter to Erasmus, iii. 24
Mortmain, iii. 72
Morton, Cardinal-archbishop, ii. 380; Sir Thomas More on, 383; tomb, *361
Motett for four voices (1516), ii. *468
Musculus: on Elizabethan Church, iii. 379
Music, Church, i. 260, 294; early instruments of, *294, *295, *296; motett for four voices, ii. *468; modern, ii. 366, iv. 443

N

National Society, iv. 300
Nectansmere, Battle of, i. 218
Neglect of churches and churchyards, iv. 292
Nelson, Robert, iv. 209
Nennius, Works of, i. 25, 469
Neot, St., i. 406
Nesterfield, Council of, i. 222
Newman, John Henry, iv. *324, 327, 348; Tract 90, 350; mental struggles, 360; secession to Rome, 364
Newton, John, iv. 265, *313
Nicene Council, Second, i. 323
Nicholas the Legate, ii. 240
Nidd, Council of the, i. 226
Ninian, i. 17; Church, *19
Nonconformity, the Church and, iv. 11, 68, 166, 173
Non-jurors, The, iv. 204
Non-residence, ii. 381, iii. 35
Norman churches, ii. 134; architecture, 142; origin of, 135; specimen of moulding, *136
Normans: origin, ii. 28; influence in England, 5, 27; dukes, 30; conquests in Italy, 32; power in Europe, 36; their pagan customs, 38
Norris, Henry Handley, iv. 297
Northmen, Massacres by the, i. 18; their tribes, 22, 112, 332
Northumberland, Duke of, iii. 186, 230, death, 236
Northumbria, Independence of, i. 411
Norwich Cathedral: nave, ii. *137
Nun of Kent, The, ii. 444; iii. 55, 469
Nunneries in England, iii. 124; their work at time of their suppression, 126

O

Oates, Titus, iv. 171
Obscure men, Epistles of (Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum), iii. 24
Observant, Friars, iii. 81
Odin, Worship of, i. 162
Odo of Canterbury, i. 423; Dunstan at tomb of, *425; pastoral of, 426
Offa, and St. Albans, i. 11, 328; and Charlemagne, 328; establishes archsee at Lichfield, 329
Officers of a monastery, ii. 397
Olaf of Norway, ii. 4
Oldfield, Sir John, ii. 333
Olney, and church, iv. *265
Ordeal, Trial by, i. 467
Orders, Anglican, Leo XIII. on, iv. 379
Organ in King's College, Cambridge, iii. *361
Organ-bellows at Halberstadt, iii. *377
Oriel College, Oxford, iv. *325; the quadrangle, *337, *343
Orientation of Early Christian Churches, iv. *471
"Orosius," Alfred's, Page from, i. *388
Osbern, and Anselm, ii. 153
Osmund, Bishop, and the use of Sarum, ii. 144
Oswald: king and saint, i. 119, 128; erects cross, *129; kingdom, 131; and Aidan, 134; work for the Church, 142; death, 154
Oswin of Deira, i. 140, 155
Oswiu, King, i. 114, 155; deposes Wilfrid, 196; death, 206
Owini at the monastery, i. *197
Oxford: second synod of, ii. 295; trials of the martyrs, iii. 271, 282; MS. account of ditto, *277; revival under Laud, iv. 67; Methodists at, 243, *245; martyrs' memorial at, iii. *301; general view of, iv. *329; Oriel College, *325; its quadrangle, *337, *343; porch of St. Mary's, *349; Balliol College, *353; Magdalen College, *356; Christ Church, *357; college, iii. 40
Oxford Movement, iv. 320; addresses to the primate, 330; the Tracts for the Times, 331; study of the Fathers, 340; Tract 90, 350; the extreme school of the, 353; action of the university, 357, 359; secessions to Rome, 364; general results of the movement, 367, 381; and ritual controversies, 370

P

Paley, Archdeacon, iv. *284; on the Evangelicals, 285
Pallium, The, i. 87, *88; and Rome, ii. 132
Palmer, Sir William, iv. 328; on anti-Papal character of Oxford Movement, 338; on ritual controversy, 368
Pan-Anglican Conferences, iv. 432
Papacy: corruption and degradation of, ii. 93, 311; power of (*see* ROMAN SUPREMACY); revival of, ii. 96; schism in, 311; secularisation of, iii. 3
Papal claims, i. 106, 227, ii. 98, 247, 285, 358; resistance to, 251, 310, 324; final revolt against, iii. 90, 150
Papal influence in monasteries, ii. 390, iii. 99, 111, 122, 146
"Paradise Lost," iv. 104
Paraphrase of Erasmus, iii. 191
Pardons, ii. 317, 361
Parish priests, in Paston Letters, ii. 370
Parker, Archbishop, iii. 343, *352; his character, 344, 380; and the Prayer-book, 346; consecration, 347, *349; letter from, *345; on marriage, 356; general reforms, 358; and the Articles of Religion, 364; and the English Bible, 371; his Advertisements, 376; the Church under, 378; death, 380; his library, 382, 470; and English literature, 386
Parker Library, The, iii. 470, *471
Parliament: established by Edward I., ii. 288; subservience to Henry VIII., iii. 107; declares for Puritanism under Charles I., and suppressed for eleven years, iv. 30, 31; the Short, 36; the Long Parliament meets, 38; war with the king, 76, 126; disputes with the army, 128; ineffectual struggle with Cromwell, 131; Pride's Purge, and the Rump, 132; the Barebones, 135; hostility of Long Parliament to the Church, 139, 147; the Convention Parliament, 158
Parties, Religious, in England, iii. 163
Paston Letters, The, ii. 367, *368, *369
Pastoral work, Modern, iv. 434
Patrick, St., i. 38; his bell, *40
Paul III. and Henry VIII., iii. 95
Paul IV., iii. 10; and Cardinal Pole, 266; and Elizabeth, 336
Paulinus, i. 87, 111, 118, 121; death, 127
Peada, King, i. 152, 158; death, 160
Pearson, J. L., and architecture of churches, iv. 439, *441
Pecock, Bishop, ii. 348; his life, 350; his "Repressor," 351, 379; page from, *353

Pelagius and his heresy, i. 14
Penda, King, i. 126, 148, 155; death, 156
Penitentials, ii. 214; of Theodore, i. 210
Pépin, of Herstall, i. 312; le Bref, 313
Perrers, Alice, ii. 309, 324
Persecution: popularly connected with Romanism, iii. 246; Marian, 269
Peter the Hermit, ii. 174; preaching, *177
Peter's pence, ii. 131; Act forbidding, iii. 78
Peterborough: foundation of, i. 160; cathedral, ii. *139, iv. *296
Petition of Rights, iv. 28
Philip II. of Spain, iii. 248; Mary's instructions for his reception, *249; abandons the queen, 252; protects Elizabeth, 327; sanctions her murder, 398; his character, 402; portrait, *404; and the Armada, 406
Philippe le Bel and the Templars, ii. 302, 306
Philpotts, Bishop Henry, iv. 299
Piety, Pictures of mediæval, ii. 372
Pilgrimage of Grace, The, iii. 114
Pilgrimages: Saxon, i. 306; English, ii. 72; to Jerusalem, 173; to Canterbury, 206; badges for the pilgrims, *203, *204; Pecock on, 353
"Pilgrim's Progress," The, iv. *107
Piscina, in various churches, iv. *376, *377
Pius IV. and Elizabeth, iii. 355; and the Prayer-book, 355, 387
Pius V. excommunicates Elizabeth, iii. 388
Plague, Yellow, i. 159, 195; of 1349, ii. 312; effects on Church, 315
Plegmund, i. 386
Pluralities, ii. 316, 381, iii. 35; in Anglican Church, iv. 234, 288
Poems, British, i. 26, 469; Anglo-Saxon, i. 174, 398, 418
Poetry, English, Birth of, i. 171
Pole, Cardinal, iii. 117, 252; portrait, *257; received as legate, 259; influence on Mary, 264; disgrace at Rome, 266; death and tomb, *268; letter to Cranmer, 294, *297; injunctions, 318
Ponet, Bishop, iii. 226
Poor, Loss to the, in destruction of the monasteries, iii. 141
Pope, Alexander, iv. *227
Pope, English change in title of, iii. 76; renunciation of, 90
Popes, Power of the, i. 227, 231, ii. 98, 282, 286; degradation of the, ii. 93; the secular, iii. 1; tombs, ii. *97
Popular rights, the Church and, ii. 234, 240
Population of England, ii. 227, 384, iii. 122; vast increase in, iv. 449; failure to reach the, 448
Portent of 1066, The, ii. *109
Poverty of benefices, Reason of, iii. 140
Præmonstratensians, The, ii. 219
Præmunire, Statutes of, ii 310, 359; entry of, *313; Henry VIII. and, iii. 66
Pratt, Rev. Josiah, ii. *313
Prayers in English, iii. 175
Prayer-book: First, of Edward VI., iii. 201; new ordinal, 207; Second Book, 220; page from, *221; of Elizabeth, 339, *341; Latin version, 358; Rome and the, 355, 387; additions under James I., iv. 5; proscribed, 144; final revision under Charles II., 163, *165, *169; subsequent minor alterations, 166
Preaching at St. Paul's Cross, ii. *349
Presbyterianism in England, iii. 412, iv. 127, 142, 154
Primers or books of prayer, iii. 175
Printing: invention of, ii. 366, 374; Caxton showing specimens of, *373; press of 1498, *375; pages from early impression of the Salisbury Missal, *377; influence of, 430, iii. 24
Profligacy under the Restoration, iv. 174
Propagation of the Gospel, Society for, iv. 178, 210, 299, 469
Property, Church, iii. 88
Prophesyings, Elizabeth and, iii. 421
Protestant, The name of, iii. 18
Protestant union, Attempts at, with the Continent, iii. 162
Provisions, Papal, ii. 309, 351
Provisors, Statute of, ii. 310, 359
Prynne, iv. 76
"Psychomachia," page from (11th century), ii. *81
Purgatory, ii. 283, 371, iii. 151; rise of doctrine, i. 150
Puritanism: rise, iii. 363, 373; growing alienation from the Church, 432, 462; its character and narrowness, iv. 92; the "seat of repentance," *93; modern impressions of, 95; its spirit and work in England, 123; unpopularity and fall, 155; after the Restoration, 161
Puritans, The, iii. 363, 373, 410; their demands, 415; loyalty to Elizabeth in spite of persecution, 426; increasing alienation from the Church, 432, 462; hopes from James I., and disappointment, iv. 3; three hundred expelled from the Church, 11; agitation under Charles I., 30; in Long Parliament, 39; dislike of architecture and ornament, 63; Laudian persecution of, 68; their religion, 92; their achievements, 95, 123; schism among, 127; and Cavaliers, *129; a meeting of, *141; pamphlets, *148, *149; and Charles II., 161; their expulsion from the Church, 166; further measures of persecution against, 168
Pusey, Dr. E. B., iv. 322, *333, *348; letter to bishop of Oxford, 347; condemned for heresy, 357; as a high-church leader, 366; and lord Shaftesbury, 386; on the Book of Daniel, 424
Pyx, Chapel of the, Westminster, ii. *49

R

Radbertus: treatise on transubstantiation, i. 456; ii. 126, 246; iii. 180
Ragged School Union, iv. 401
Ragnar Ladbrok, i. 346; death, 356; song, 358
Raikes, Robert, iv. 279
Ratramn: on transubstantiation, i. 456; ii. 126; iii. 180, 287
Reading Abbey, Ruins of, ii. *169
Reading, Synod of, ii. 294
Reconciliation with Rome under Mary, iii. *261; effect on England, 263
Reculvers, i. *222
Recusant, iv. 378
Redwald, and Edwin, i. 118
Reformatio legum, The, iii. 218
Reformation: causes of the, ii. 247, 282, 312, 346; iii. 56, 156, 244; need of, ii. 413, 422; iii. 40, 59; power of, ii. 471; characteristics of the English Reformation, iii. 59; the Parliament of the, 63; severance from Rome, 76; suppression of the monasteries, 96; Early English formularies, 150, 152; translation of the Bible, 154; religious parties in the Church (1538), 163; Reformation really promoted by queen Mary, 244; Anglican divines on the, 466
Reformers, English divines on the, iii. 467
Relics: veneration of, ii. 426; iii. 127; disappearance in England, iii. 148
Religion, Decline of, in the early eighteenth century, iv. 239
Religious Tract Society, The, iv. 278
Reliquary (15th century), iii. *133
Remiremont, monastery, i. 57
Remonstrance, The Grand, iv. 40
Renard, Spanish ambassador, iii. 237, 248, 252
Reredos, Embroidered (13th century), ii. *293
Restoration, The, iv. 155; of the Church, 159
Reuchlin, iii. 26
Revival of the Papacy, ii. 95; of monasticism, 216; of Romanism, iii. 457; iv. 364; the Methodist, iv. 247; the great Evangelical, 262; the Oxford, 320
Reynolds, Archbishop, ii. 298
Rheims Bible, iii. 371
Rich, Archbishop, ii. *249
Richard I., ii. 229; character and death, 235
Richard III., ii. 363
Richard Sans-Peur of Normandy, ii. 30
Richard the Good, 32
Ridley: bishop of London, iii. 179; portrait, *181; Ridley's Walk, Cambridge, *184; his destruction of the altars, 207; arrest under Mary, 270; first trial, 270; second, 282; martyrdom, *289; letter to England, 291
Ridley Hall, Cambridge, iv. 408
Ritualistic controversy, iv. 368, *369
Robert of Canterbury, ii. 53

Robert le Diable, ii. 34; departure for the Holy Land, *33
Robert of Normandy, ii. 148, 175, 179
Rochester, Bishopric of, i. 99
Roebuck, Mr., on factory legislation, iv. 399
Rogers, Martyrdom of, iii. 270
Rollo of Normandy, ii. 28
Romaine, William, iv. 264
Roman Catholics in time of Elizabeth, iii. 329, 387; emancipation of, iv. 377; present position of, 378
Roman corruption, ii. 93, 311; iii. 3
Roman exactions under Innocent III., ii. 247; nature and extent of, 355; a principal cause of the Reformation, 248, 282, 286, 317; resistance to, 251, 310, 324; final repudiation of, iii. 78, 90, 150
Roman law, ii. 213
Roman legates, i. 330; ii. 91, 100, 128, 132, 178, 240, 247; last *ex officio* in England, iii. 53
Roman supremacy, i. 93, 106, 188, 227, 394; ii. 59, 98, 128, 159, 166, 186, 240, 354; iii. 94
Romanesque architecture, ii. 142
Romanism, Revival of, iii. 462; iv. 364
Rome: mission to England, i. 79; and the Celtic Church, 93, 106, 179, 188; and Saxon Church, i. 2, 110, 182, 219; appeals to, *see* APPEALS; and the Frankish empire, 318; and images, 323; and Alfred, 394; and the Saxon arch-see, ii. 59; Council of, 99; claims of, *see* ROMAN EXACTIONS and ROMAN SUPREMACY; growth of influence at the Conquest, 128, 356; and the pall, i. 395; ii. 132; English hatred of, ii. 286, 310, 324, 334; iii. 246, 387, 407; iv. 30, 390; Act for restraint of appeals to, iii. 51 (*see* APPEALS); Mary's reconciliation with, iii. 259; and the trial of Reformation bishops, 276; and the English Prayer-book, 355, 387; and the Anglican Church, iv. 376
Romish claims, England's influence on, i. 318
Rood, Dream of the, i. 175, 399
Rose, Hugh James, iv. 298, 328
Roses, Wars of the, ii. 342; results of, i. 6; ii. 343
Rosny (Sully) on the Elizabethan Church, iii. 429
Round-arch architecture, ii. 142
Royal nuns in Early England, i. 289
Rugby School chapel, iv. *416
Rump Parliament, iv. 132, 135

S

Sacheverell, Dr., iv. *217
Sacrament of the altar, Oxford canons for celebration of, ii. 295
Sacrist, in a monastery, ii. 398
Sæberht, i. 99; tomb, *100
Saints, reverence for, ii. 348; prayer to, iii. 151
Salisbury Cathedral: Lady Chapel, ii. *180
Sancroft, Archbishop, iv. *201
Sanderson, Bishop, iv. 178
Sarum Use, The, ii. 144; iii. 200
Satires on the Church, iii. 24
Savanarola and Colet, ii. 434
Savoy Conference, The, iv. 161
"Saxon Chronicle," The, i. 25, 403; page from, *405
Saxon Church, Independence of, i. 2, 394, 465; ii. 55, 91, 131
Saxons, The, i. 113, 162
Scandinavian brooches, ii. *24; comb-case, ii. *26
Schmalkald, League of, iii. 18
School, A monastery, iii. *141
Scory, Bishop, iii. 227, iii. 348
Scotland, Vassalage of, i. 409; attempt to enforce Episcopacy in, iv. 35; war with, 36; threatened invasion by, 74; enforces Presbyterianism on the English Parliament, 127, 142, sells Charles I. to the English, 130; invasion of England, and defeat at Preston, 131; further invasion and defeats at Dunbar and Worcester, 134
Scott, Sir Gilbert, on Gothic architecture, iv. 442
Scott, Thomas, iv. 266, *313; his "Commentary," 267
Scriptorium of a monastery, i. *305; ii. 405
Seal of the archbishop of Canterbury, iv. *451
Sealed Books, The, iv. 166
Secker, Archbishop, on evangelicalism, iv. 283; on neglect of churches, 293
Secular popes, The, iii. 1; patronage of art, 11
Sedgmoor, i. *369
Sees, new, Cathedrals of, iv. *437
Services in a monastery, ii. 402
Seven bishops, Petition of the, iv. 191; committal, and sympathy of Nonconformists, 193; acquittal, i. *9; iv. 194
Shaftesbury, Lord, iv. 391, *392; factory legislation, 392, *394, *396, *397; ragged schools, *400, 401; and the costermongers, *402; on religious education, 403; funeral, 405
Shaftesbury, Third Earl of, author of "Characteristics," iv. *220
Sharp, Archbishop, of York, iv. 211
Sherborne Minster, i. 254
Sherborne Abbey, i. *385; Saxon work in, *384
Ship-money question, iv. 34
Shrines, Spoliation of, iii. *125
Sigebert "the good," i. 158; Sigebert "the learned," 148; death, *149
Sikes, Dr., of Guisborough, and his prophecy, iv. 295
Silchester: remains, i. 19, *20
Simeon, Charles, iv. 287, *289, *301; his private classes, 307; influence and work, 310; "Trusts," 311
Simon de Montfort, ii. *253
Simony, in time of Edward the Confessor, ii. 67; of Hildebrand, 103; in England, 104, 151; on Continent, 218
Singers receiving instruction, i. *261
Singing in the highway, i. *397
Singing for dead souls, ii. 371
Siric, Archbishop, i. 450
Siward, Earl: death, ii. *44
Six Articles, Act of the, iii. 168; entry in the statute-roll of, *169; martyrdoms under, 171; repeal of, 194
Sixtus IV., iii. 2
Social English life, Influence of the Church on, i. 303
Solemn League and Covenant, The, iv. 142
Solidarity of the Church, ii. 281
Somerset, Duke of, iii. 186, *188
Songs, English, i. 398, 418
Soto, Peter de, and the martyrs, iii. 286, 294
Spanish marriage of Mary, iii. 248, 252; its influence on her policy, 249; protection of Elizabeth, 327
Spenser, Edmund, iii. 383, *385, *386; on Grindal, 472
Spoil of the monasteries, iii. 138
St. Albans Abbey, i. *12, 328
St. Augustine's Monastery, i. *200; gospel-book from, *201
St. Giles: seat of Lord Shaftesbury, iv. *393; church, *405
St. John and British Christianity, i. 15, 187
St. John's Chapel in the Tower, ii. *171
St. Luke, in Gospel-book of St. Chad, i. *193
St. Martin's Church, Canterbury, i. *81, 86
St. Mary's Abbey, York, iii. *119
St. Mary's Church, Dover, i. *111
St. Mary's Church, Oxford, iii. *285; Cranmer's pillar in, *308; his pulpit, *309
St. Oswald's Priory, i. *153
St. Paul's Cathedral: foundation of, i. 100; the old, ii. *421; Laud's restoration, iv. 63, *65; rebuilt by Wren, iv. 176, *440
St. Paul's Church, Jarrow, i. *246; stone at, *273
St. Paul's School, ii. 433
St. Peter, Westminster: tradition of, i. 101; authority invoked at Whitby, 188
St. Peter's, Rome, iii. *9
Stamford Bridge, Battle of, ii. 111
Standard, Battle of the, ii. 186, *189
Stanley, Dean, iv. 417, *418
Star Chamber Court of, iv. 18, *21, *40, 35; abolished, 39
State and Church, i. 280, 302; ii. 18, 55, 166
Stephen, Reign of, ii. 185
Stevens, William, iv. 295
Stigand, ii. 24, 58, 80; deposition, 127
Stigmata, St. Francis and the, ii. *268
Stirrup, Danish, ii. *12
Stoke Pogis Church, iv. *292
Strafford, Wentworth Earl of, iv. 31, *33; impeachment, and execution, *37, 38, 75, *77
Streoneshalch (Whitby), i. 166

Strype, iii. 451
Study, Need of, iv. 444
Suarez, the Jesuit, iii. 458
Submission of the clergy, iii. 71, 79
Succession, Act of (Henry VIII.), iii. 80
Succession, The apostolical, iii. 347; iv. 332, 450
Suffolk, Letter from Duke of, to his son, ii. 374
Suffragan bishops, iii. 81
Sunday schools, iv. 279, *281
Superstition, and the monasteries, iii. 147
Supplication against the ordinaries, iii. 67
Supremacy (*see* ROMAN)
Suppression of alien priories, ii. 389; of the Templars, 304, 389; of the monasteries, 394; iii. 39, 96, 120; Green on, 110; method of, 112; hiding treasure at, *113; of the friaries, 122
Surrenders of monasteries, iii. 131
Sutri, Council of, ii. 94
Swein: king, ii. 3; conquest of England, 7; strange death, 8; demanding ransom, *5
Swift, Dean, iv. *235; on the clergy, 236

T

Tait, Archbishop, iv. *433
Taliesin the Bard, Poems of, i. 26, 469
Tancred and his sons, ii. 32
Tara, baptism at, i. 39, *41; brooch, *36
Tate and Brady, iv. 290
Taverner's Bible, iii. 158
Taylor, Bishop, iii. 227
Templars, Knight, ii. 223; numbers and wealth, 300; barbarous suppression in France, 302; in England, 304; knights escorting pilgrims, *301; Temple Church, *305; papal suppression, 307
Temple, Archbishop, iv. *432
Ten Articles, The, iii. 151
Tenison, Archbishop, iv. *214
Tertiaries, Order of, ii. 275
Tertullian, Testimony of, i. 14
Test Act, The, iv. 171, 215
Testament, Greek text of, ii. 431; new study of, 433, 454; Complutensian Polyglot, 466; effects on the Church, 467; Tyndale's English, iii. 449
Testwood, Martyrdom of, iii. 171, *173
Theodore, Archbishop, i. 201; founds English hierarchy, 209; deposes Wilfrid, 211; redresses him, 218; death, 219
Thirlby, Bishop, iii. 228
Thirteenth century, Church in the, ii. 280; its fearful power, 283
Thorney Island, i. 100; ii. 72
Throgmorton's conspiracy, iii. 396
Tillotson, Archbishop, iv. *205, 207
Tindal, Matthew, iv. 221
Tintern Abbey, iii. 109, *147
Tithe, Origin of, i. 310
Toland, John, iv. 219
Toleration Act, The, iv. 201
Tonsure, Celtic, i. 47
Tostig, Earl, ii. 46; invasion of, 111
Tower of London, Prisoners' Walk in, iii. *269
Tracts for the Times, The, iv. 331, 336; cessation of, 352; No. 90, 350
Tracy, William de, ii. 198; his confession, 202
Transubstantiation: origin of the doctrine, i. 456; Lanfranc and, ii. 126; Hildebrand and, 127; decreed by Fourth Lateran Council, 246; enforced by Henry VIII., iii. 170; Cranmer and, 178; importance of the doctrine, 180; Edward VI. on, *225; and the martyrs, 271
Travers The Puritan, iii. 434
Treasurer, The, in a monastery, ii. 399
Trent, Council of, iv. 376, *380
Triers, the Puritan, iv 151
Triptych, French ivory, ii. *292
Tudors, Power of the, i. 6; iii. 58, 107; iv. 18
Tunstall, Bishop, iii. 229, 319, 342
Tyndale, William, iii. *153, 154; his translation of the Bible, *149, 156; his martyrdom and prayer, 158
Tynemouth Priory, iii. *138

U

Undenominational work, iv. 406
Uniformity, Acts of, Edward VI., iii. 201; Elizabeth, 340; iv. 164
University Press, Oxford, iv. 67
Urban II. and William II., ii. 157; and the Crusades, 174
Usagers, The, iv. 206
Use, Variety of, in England, ii. 143; of Sarum, 144
Utilitarianism, Growth of, iv. 318
Utrecht Psalter, Page from, i. *297

V

Vallombrosa, Monastery of, ii. *93, 218
Valor Ecclesiasticus, iii. 88
Venn, Henry, iv. 264, *313
Vestiarian controversy, iii. 373
Vestments: luxury in, i. 296; in the church, iii. 151
Via media, the Anglican, iii. 208
Vikings: the first raids, i. 279, 335; origin of raids, 332; thirst for blood, 334; enmity to Christianity, 339, 348, 382; a funeral, *337; ship, *341; a chief, *349; a raid, *353; combs, *392
Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, iv. *17, *22, 24; impeached, 27; assassinated, 28
Virgin: cult of the, i. 177, ii. 182, 471, iii. 200; St. Bernard on, ii. 224; St. Francis on, 266; Dominic and the rosary, 275, 471; festival of the conception, 296; Sir Thomas More on, at Coventry, 429; prayer to her, 371, 427; coronation as queen of heaven, 184; Newman and Pusey on, iv. 363, 366
Vitalian, Pope, and England, i. 201

W

Wales: British Church in, i. 31; and Irish church, 34; monasteries, 32
Walpole, effect of his policy on the Church, iv. 233
Walter: archbishop, ii. 231; seal of, *231; bequests to Church, 234
Waltham Abbey, ii. 63; nave, *65
Walton, Isaak, iv. 179; on Hooker, iii. 439, 441
Warburton, Bishop, and his "Divine Legation," iv. 224; on Evangelicalism, 283
Ward, William George, iv. 327, *352; degradation from degrees, 359
Warham, Archbishop, iii. 27; portrait, *28; and ecclesiastical courts, 29; his last protest against the Reformation, 30
Waterland, Works of, iv. 230
Watson, Joshua, iv. 296
Wealth of the Church, ii. 346, iii. 88
Wedmore, Plan of, i. 372
Week-day services, Neglect of, iv. 291
Werfrith of Worcester, i. 385
Wesley, Charles, iv. 244, *257, 258
Wesley, John, iv. 243, *245, *249; letter from, *260; his pulpit, *261
Wessex, i. 282
Westminster Abbey: foundation of, i. 100, ii. 71; Edward's, 75; destroyed and rebuilt by Henry III., 76; dark cloister, *77, *78; the nave, *281; triforium arch, *283; tomb of Henry VII., *363; chapel, *395; refectory door, *408; choir of, iv. *445
Westminster Assembly, The, iv. 142, *145; their "Directory," 144; Catechisms and Confession, 147
Westminster Hall in time of Charles I., iv. *125
Westminster, Synod of, ii. 232
Weston, Dr., at the trial of the martyr bishops, iii. 272, 275
Whiston, William, iv. *228
Whitby Abbey, i. 166, *184; and English poetry, 171; council of, 186, *189
Whitefield, George, iv. 246, *252; separates from Wesley, 248, 259; his preaching, *249; letter, *256
White Horse at Uffington, i. *365
Whitgift, Archbishop, iii. 423, *425; his three articles, 425; persecutes and executes Puritans, 426; and Hooker, 439; Lambeth articles, 454; death, 455
Whithorn Priory, i. *19

Wicelius to Erasmus, ii. 420
Wilberforce, Dr., of Winchester, iv. * 385
Wilberforce, William, iv. 274, * 389; his anti-slavery work, 276, 391
Wilfrid, i. 182; Bishop of Northumberland, 190; work in England, 202, 206, 299; in state, * 205; "needle" at Ripon, * 207, 230; and Queen Etheldreda, * 209, 213; deposed and appeals to Rome, 211; imprisoned, 214; with South Saxons, * 217; second appeal to Rome, * 225; death, 229
William the Conqueror: early life, ii. 34; vastness of his work, 112; character, 114; claims to England, 116; coronation, * 118; riches, 119; influence on the Church, 120; marriage, 125; seal, * 128; remorse, 147; death, * 149
William Rufus: coronation, ii. * 148; avarice and simony, 151; and Anselm, 155; death, 161
William of Orange, iv. 195, 199; elected king, 198; efforts for the comprehension of Dissenters, 202
William the Silent assassinated, iii. 396
Williams, Isaac, iv. 325
Williams, Dr. Rowland, iv. * 420, 422
Willibrord: mission in Frisia, i. 314
Wilton Abbey, Seal of, ii. * 70
Winchester House, iii. * 245
Winwick Cross, Remains of, i. * 161
Witenagemot, A, i. * 465
Woden, Worship, of, i. 162
Wolsey, Cardinal, iii. 30; his pluralities, 31, 35; power, 34; arrest and death, 35; suppresses small monasteries, 38; his palace, * 32; arrival at Leicester Abbey, * 33; in procession to Westminster, * 36; letter to Henry VIII., * 37; his college at Oxford, * 40
Wolsey's Gateway, Ipswich, iii. * 97
Women: work and influence of, i. 164, 177; in the Anglican church, iv. 382
Worcester, Crypt of, ii. * 56
Wordsworth, Christopher, iv. 297
Worms, Diet of, iii. 16
Wulfhere, King, i. 161, 197
Wulfstan, Bishop, ii. 56, 68; influence of, 109
Wyclif, ii. * 316; his pulpit, * 317; his teaching, 319; and the English Bible, 320, 330; his poor priests, * 321; denial of transubstantiation, 322; as royal commissioner, 324; trial, * 325; pioneer of the Reformation, 327; sacramental doctrine, 328; and the Lollards, 331; influence of, 335
Wycliffe Hall, Oxford, iv. 408

X

Ximenes, Cardinal, and the Complutensian Polyglot, ii. 467

Y

Yellow Plague, The, i. 159
York: see of, i. 192, 389; school at, i. 273, 300; synod of, ii. 232
York Minster, iv. * 447; east window, * 315

Z

Zwinglius, Influence of, iii. 208, 216

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